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AMERICANA

(AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE)



VOLUME XXIX

January, 1935—December, 1935

The American Historical Society, Inc.

80-90 Eighth Avenue

New York

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CONTENTS

VOLUME XXIX

January, 1935—December, 1935

Archer, Gleason L., LL. D., How the Pilgrims Built Their Houses....	147
Archer, Gleason L., LL. D., With Axe and Musket at Plymouth, Part I	523
Benedict and Allied Lines, Walter S. Finley.....	98
Bois Fort Ojibwa of Minnesota, A Ritual Parchment and Certain Historical Charts of the, Albert B. Reagan, Ph. D.....	228
Book Review	312
Book Review and Preview.....	514
Bryant, the Poet of Humor, Charles I. Glicksberg, Ph. D.....	364
Christian, Wilmer Frederick, Jr., M. D., Walter S. Finley.....	251
Cincinnati, The Diplomas of the Society of the, Major Edgar Erskine Hume, U. S. A.....	7
Conklin, Edwin P., Logging on Puget Sound, as Illustrated in the Lives of Sol Simpson and Mark E. Reed.....	256
Cooper, John Baptist Henry, California Pioneer, J. R. Shaw.....	663
Dinsmoor, Alice, George Washington, Fielding and Betty Lewis.....	48
Essex County, Arts and Crafts in, Bartlett H. Hayes, Jr.....	460
Essex County, Massachusetts, Religion in, S. H. Paradise, M. A. Oxon.	181
Finley, Walter S., Benedict and Allied Lines.....	98
Finley, Walter S., Martin Van Buren McGilliard.....	245
Finley, Walter S., Philip Kling, Business Man.....	121
Finley, Walter S., Stephens Family	451
Finley, Walter S., Wilmer Frederick Christian, Jr., M. D.....	251
Franklin, the Unrecognized Commonwealth, Orra Eugene Monnette..	321
Glicksberg, Charles I., Ph. D., Bryant, the Poet of Humor.....	364
Goertz, Arthémise, Myths and Monuments of Old Mexico.....	588
Hart, Lineage of Ann (Nancy) Morgan, Revolutionary Heroine, Myrtle M. Lewis.....	130
Hayes, Bartlett H., Jr., Arts and Crafts in Essex County.....	460
Hull, Herbert A., Joseph Stanly Lichtenberg, Ophthalmologist.....	116
Hume, Major Edgar Erskine, U. S. A., The Diplomas of the Society of the Cincinnati	7

Ingraham, Dr. Charles A., Chancellor Reuben Hyde Walworth, Jurist, Reformer and Citizen.....	331
Irwin, Ray W., Ph. D., Protégés of the United States in Consequence of the War With Tripoli, 1801-67.....	345
Johnson, Adelaide, Ellen Hardin Walworth, Forerunner of the New Time	651
Kershner, Howard E., Perez M. Stewart, Construction Engineer and Inventor	126
Kling, Philip, Business Man, Walter S. Finley.....	121
Lewis, Fielding and Betty, George Washington, Alice Dinsmoor.....	48
Lewis, Myrtle M., Governor John Webster and His Family.....	668
Lewis, Myrtle M., Lineage of Ann (Nancy) Morgan Hart, Revolutionary Heroine	130
Lewis, Myrtle M., Mather and Allied Families.....	284
Lewis, Myrtle M., Williams and Allied Lines.....	430
Lichtenberg, Joseph Stanly, Ophthalmologist, Herbert A. Hull.....	116
Lynah, Mary-Elizabeth, Colonel William Rhett, Torrid Politician and Pirate-Chaser Extraordinary	375
McGilliard, Martin Van Buren, Walter S. Finley.....	245
McMurtrie, Douglas C., The Beginning of Printing in Rhode Island..	607
Mather and Allied Families, Myrtle M. Lewis.....	284
Medicine Ceremonies Performed Over Whistling Wind, Albert B. Reagan, Ph. D.....	630
Mexico, Myths and Monuments of Old, Arthémise Goertz.....	588
Miley, Cora, Franklin Pierce, the Most Charming Personality of All the Presidents	156
Monnette, Orra Eugene, Franklin, the Unrecognized Commonwealth..	321
Paradise, S. H., M. A. Oxon., Religion in Essex County, Massachusetts	181
Pierce, Franklin, the Most Charming Personality of all the Presidents, Cora Miley	156
Pilgrims, How the, Built Their Houses, Gleason L. Archer, LL. D....	147
Plymouth, With Axe and Musket at, Part I, Gleason L. Archer, LL. D.	523
Pollard, Lancaster and Lloyd Spencer, Early Phases of the History of the State of Washington.....	396
Puget Sound, Logging on, as Illustrated in the Lives of Sol Simpson and Mark E. Reed, Edwin P. Conklin.....	256
Reagan, Albert B., Ph. D., A Ritual Parchment and Certain Historical Charts of the Bois Fort Ojibwa of Minnesota.....	228
Reagan, Albert B., Ph. D., Medicine Ceremonies Performed Over Whistling Wind	630
Religion in Essex County, Massachusetts, S. H. Paradise, M. A. Oxon.	181
Rhett, Colonel William, Torrid Politician and Pirate-Chaser Extraordinary, Mary-Elizabeth Lynah.....	375

CONTENTS

v

Rhode Island, The Beginning of Printing in, Douglas C. McMurtrie..	607
Schimmel, Louis William, Business Man and Banker, Walter S. Finley	123
Shaw, J. R., John Baptist Henry Cooper, California Pioneer.....	663
South Carolina, Social Classes and Customs in, 1830-60, David D. Wal-	
lace, Ph. D. Litt. D., LL. D.....	57
Spencer, Lloyd, and Lancaster Pollard, Early Phases of the History	
of the State of Washington.....	396
Stephens Family, Walter S. Finley.....	451
Stewart, Perez M., Construction Engineer and Inventor, Howard E.	
Kershner	126
Tripoli, 1801-67, Protégés of the United States in Consequence of the	
War With, Ray W. Irwin, Ph. D.....	345
Tyler, Lyon Gardiner, Historian, Educator, Author, The Editor.....	455
Wallace, David D., Ph. D., Litt. D., LL. D., Social Classes and Customs	
in South Carolina, 1830-60.....	57
Walworth, Chancellor Reuben Hyde, Jurist, Reformer and Citizen, Dr.	
Charles A. Ingraham.....	331
Walworth, Ellen Hardin, Forerunner of the New Time, Adelaide	
Johnson	651
War with Tripoli, 1801-67, Protégés of the United States in Conse-	
quence of the, Ray W. Irwin, Ph. D.....	345
Washington, Early Phases of the History of the State of, Lloyd Spen-	
cer and Lancaster Pollard.....	396
Washington, George, Fielding and Betty Lewis, Alice Dinsmoor.....	48
Webster, Governor John, and His Family, Myrtle M. Lewis.....	668
Williams and Allied Lines, Myrtle M. Lewis.....	430



ILLUSTRATIONS

Apache Medicine Ceremonies, Articles and Signs Used in.....	630
Atherton Coat-of-Arms	289
Aztec Calendar Stone Which Was Discovered in 1790 During Exca- vation Work in Front of the Great Cathedral in Mexico City, The Famous	Front Cover No. 4
Aztec Period, Quetzalcoatl, the Plumed Serpent.....	596
Bellow Coat-of-Arms	447
Benedict, Alfred B.....	102
Benedict Coat-of-Arms	98
Blockhouse on Whidby Island.....	424
Bobo House, Cedar Spring Road, near Spartanburg (Piazzas are Modern). House Built About 1812.....	64
Burial Hill, View from, Looking Toward Town Square, Plymouth.	534
Cedar Grove, Hallway at, Seven Miles from Edgefield.....	88
Cedar Grove, Parlor of the Nicholson Home, Seven Miles from Edgefield	84
Charleston, Doorway of Old Tupper House, 23 Ann Street.....	68
Charleston, St. Philip's Church.....	60
Christian, Edna McGilliard	254
Christian, Wilmer F.	252
Charter, The First Public Printing in Rhode Island (1730).....	610
Cherry Vale, Home of the Friersons.....	80
Cincinnati, Diploma of the Society of the.....	12
Cincinnati, Eagle of the Society of the, in Diamonds....Front Cover	No. 1
Cincinnati Punch Bowl, Ornamented with the Design of the Diploma of the Society of the Cincinnati.....Frontispiece	No. 1
Cincinnati, the Society of the, Diploma of the, in the State of New Jersey	32
Cincinnati, the Society of the, Major L'Enfant's Water-Color Sketch of the Design for the Diploma of.....	27
Cincinnati, the Society of the, Provisional Certificate of, Issued to Cornet Schaffner.....	20
Cincinnati, the Society of the, Provisional Certificate of, Issued to Captain De Marcellin.....	22
Columbia River at the North End of Grand Coulee.....	428

Common House, Site of the.....	550
Cooper House, The	664
Cooper, John Baptist Henry.....	663
Cooper, Martha	Between 666-667
Cooper, Martha, Residence of.....	Between 666-667
Delano Barn, A Corner of, at the Eaves.....	148
Delano Cottage, Fireplace in the Old Kitchen of.....	148
Delano Cottage in April, 1924.....	154
Delano Cottage, The Great Chimney.....	154
Diploma of the Society of the Cincinnati.....	12
Diploma of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey	32
Donkey Engine in the State of Washington, The First.....	256
Dry Falls, State Park, Grand Coulee.....	428
Ezra Meeker Retracing the Old Oregon Trail.....	424
Factor's Home at Fort Nisqually, The.....	412
First Street in New England, Leyden Street.....	534
Fort Nisqually	412
Fort Okanogan, at the Junction of the Okanogan and Columbia Rivers	404
Fort on Burial Hill, The Site of the Old.....	566
Foster Coat-of-Arms	Back Cover No. 2
Friersons, Cherry Vale, Home of the.....	80
Grant Coat-of-Arms	297
Hanging Stairs, Russell House, 51 Meeting Street, Charleston. Self-Supported for Three Stories.....	57
Hart Coat-of-Arms	Back Cover No. 1
Hart, Nancy, Holding British Soldiers at Bay.....	130
Heaven, The Door of.....	Title Page 613
Huguenot Church	60
Indian Sweat-House, Yakima Valley.....	396
Keitt, Mrs. Thomas Wadlington, Home of, Seven Miles East of Newberry	72
Kenmore—Built in 1752.....	50
Kenmore, Salon at.....	50
King Philip	295
King Philip War—A Raid on the Settlers, The.....	287
Kling, Philip	121
Landing of Roger Williams.....	430
Lawrence, View of Northern Side of Common.....	190
L'Enfant's, Major, Credentials as a Member and Agent of the Society of the Cincinnati.....	11
L'Enfant's, Major, Water-Color Sketch of the Design for the Diploma of the Society of the Cincinnati.....	27

Leyden Street, First Street in New England.....	534
Lewis, Betty Washington.....	50
Lichtenberg, Joseph Stanly.....	116
Logging in the Northwest, from Oxen to Locomotive.....	256
Logging in the Puget Sound Country.....	260
Lord Coat-of-Arms	98
Lyford Coat-of-Arms	98
Manning, Governor John L., Milford, The Home of.....	76
Manning, Mrs. Elizabeth Peyre, <i>née</i> Richardson.....	78
Massasoit, the Great Sachem of the Wampanoags.....	Frontispiece No. 4
Mather Coat-of-Arms	Front Cover No. 2
Mather, Richard	284
McGilliard, Elizabeth Lloyd	250
McGilliard, Martin Van Buren.....	245
Milford, The Home of Governor John L. Manning.....	76
Mills and Booming Grounds, Shelton Logging Company and Sub- sidiaries, Shelton, Washington.....	278
Mission Established by the Oblate Catholic Fathers in 1847.....	396
Monument to the Sun, More Popularly Known as the "Pieara De Sacrificios," or "Sacrificial Stone," Comprehensive View of the	588
Nahua Civilization. Teoyaomiqui (or Coatlicue), Goddess of Crea- tion	596
Nicholson Home, Parlor of Cedar Grove, Seven Miles from Edge- field, the	84
Olney Coat-of-Arms.....	Back Cover No. 3
Orcutt, A. F.....	667
Oregon Trail, Old, Ezra Meeker Retracing the.....	424
Parsonage (1734), The Old, on Leyden Street, Plymouth.....	550
Planters Hotel, Old.....	60
Plymouth Harbor, As Viewed from Coles Hill.....	566
Plymouth, The Old Parsonage (1734) on Leyden Street.....	550
Plymouth, View from Burial Hill Looking Toward Town Square.	534
Providence "Gazette," Title Page.....	621
Pyramid of the Sun, The.....	588
Quetzalcoatl, the Plumed Serpent, Aztec Period.....	596
Raid on the Settlers, A—The King Philip War.....	287
Red Cross, Membership Appeal.....	676
Reed, Mark Edward	270
Reed, Thomas Milburne	266
Rhett, Colonel William.....	375
Rhode Island Almanac, Title Page of the First.....	609
Richardson, Mrs. Elizabeth Peyre Manning, <i>née</i>	78

Ritual Parchment Illustrated, A.....	230, 234
Roger Williams	Frontispiece No. 3
Roger Williams Coat-of-Arms	Front Cover No. 3
Roger Williams, Landing of.....	430
Russell House, Hanging Stairs, 51 Meeting Street, Charleston. Self-supported for Three Stories.....	57
St. Philip's Church, Charleston.....	60
Salem, First Church.....	Frontispiece No. 2
Sayle Coat-of-Arms	434
Schimmel, Julia	124
Schimmel, Louis William	123
Seamen, An Act for the Government and Regulation of.....	Title Page 625
Seal of Authority Given to General Don Mariano Guadalupe Val- lejo by the Mexican Government.....	Back Cover No. 4
Simpson, S. G.	262
Simpson Logging Company	260
Simpson Logging Company and Subsidiaries, Mill and Booming Grounds, Shelton, Washington.....	278
Society of the Cincinnati, Major L'Enfant's Credentials as a Mem- ber and Agent of the.....	II
Spokane House	404
Steptoe Butte, Near Spokane.....	420
Stephens, Evelyn G.	454
Stephens, Thomas H.	451
Stewart, Perez M.	126
Teoyaomiqui (or Coatlicue), Goddess of Creation. Nahua Civil- ization	596
Treat Coat-of-Arms	291
Tupper House, Doorway of Old, 23 Ann Street, Charleston.....	68
Tyler, Lyon Gardiner.....	457
Vallejo, General Don Mariano Guadalupe.....	Between 664-665
Vallejo, Seal of Authority Given to General Don Mariano Guada- lupe, by the Mexican Government.....	Back Cover No. 4
Vallejo, The Home of General M. G.	Between 664-665
Walworth, Ellen Hardin.....	651
Walworth, Hon. Reuben Hyde.....	331
Walworth Mansion, Saratoga, New York.....	658
Webster Coat-of-Arms	668
Whidby Island, Blockhouse on.....	424



CINCINNATI PUNCH BOWL, ORNAMENTED WITH THE DESIGN OF THE DIPLOMA OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI
 A piece of the so-called "Chinese Lowestoft," made in China for the Society in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Original in
 the museum of the Washington Association of Morristown, New Jersey

VOL. XXIX

JANUARY, 1935

NUMBER 1

AMERICANA

ILLUSTRATED



THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.

SOMERVILLE, NEW JERSEY, AND NEW YORK CITY

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of Congress of March 3, 1879

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The American Historical Society, Inc.

AMERICANA

Published by THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC., formerly published by the National Americana Society. Issued in quarterly numbers at \$4 per annum; single copies \$1. Publication Office, the C. P. Hoagland Company Building, 16 Union Street, Somerville, N. J.

AMERICANA is a Quarterly Magazine of History, Genealogy, Heraldry, and Literature. Manuscripts upon these subjects are invited, and will be given early and careful consideration. It is desirable that contributions should contain not less than two thousand nor more than ten thousand words. Contributors should attach to their manuscript their full names, with academic or other titles, and memorandum of number of words written.

All correspondence relating to contributions should be addressed to the Editor. All communications should be addressed:

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.,
Somerville, N. J., or 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City

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Contents

	PAGE
The Diplomas of the Society of the Cincinnati.	
By Major Edgar Erskine Hume, U. S. Army, President of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia and Assistant Secretary General - - - - -	7
George Washington, Fielding and Betty Lewis.	
By Alice Dinsmoor, "Bernmoor," Westwood, New Jersey -	48
Social Classes and Customs in South Carolina, 1830-60.	
By David D. Wallace, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL. D., Professor of History and Economics in Wofford College, Spartan- burg, South Carolina - - - - -	57
Benedict and Allied Lines.	
By Walter S. Finley, Cleveland, Ohio - - - - -	98
Joseph Stanly Lichtenberg, Ophthalmologist.	
By Herbert A. Hull, St. Louis, Missouri - - - - -	116
Philip Kling, Business Man.	
By Walter S. Finley, Cleveland, Ohio - - - - -	121
Louis William Schimmel, Business Man and Banker.	
By Walter S. Finley, Cleveland, Ohio - - - - -	123
Perez M. Stewart, Construction Engineer and Inventor.	
By Howard E. Kershner, New York City - - - - -	126
Lineage of Ann (Nancy) Morgan Hart, Revolutionary Heroine.	
By Myrtle M. Lewis, Glen Rock, New Jersey - - - - -	130



AMERICANA

January, 1935



The Diplomas of the Society of the Cincinnati

BY MAJOR EDGAR ERSKINE HUME, U. S. ARMY,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN THE STATE OF
VIRGINIA AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL



THE Society of the Cincinnati was instituted on May 13, 1783, by the officers of the Continental Army at the cantonment on the Hudson River. The "proposals" previously made by Major-General Henry Knox, Washington's Chief of Artillery, were adopted on that date, and what is now the oldest military society in the country came into being. The Revolutionary War was at an end and American independence had been achieved. The officers who had together borne the hardships of that war sought by means of this society to keep alive in peace the friendships forged in the eight years of military service.

The name is derived from that of the illustrious Roman general, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, who left his farm to lead his country's army to victory, and thereafter, refusing honors proffered by a grateful Senate, returned again to his plough. The members of the new society sought to emulate Cincinnatus in peace as in war. They unanimously chose as their first President the man whose conduct had so resembled that of the Cincinnatus of old. General Washington accepted the office and retained it to the end of his life. General Knox, the author of the plan, was the first Secretary General. Washington was succeeded in turn by Alexander Hamilton, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Thomas Pinckney, and so on. In all there have been but twelve holders of this high office, each being continued in duty for life.

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

The Institution of the Cincinnati begins with these words:

It having pleased the Supreme Governor of the Universe, in the disposition of human affairs, to cause the separation of the colonies of North America from domination of Great Britain, and, after a bloody conflict of eight years, to establish them free, independent, and sovereign states, connected, by alliances founded on reciprocal advantage, with some of the greatest princes and powers of the earth;

To perpetuate, therefore, as well the remembrance of this vast event, as the mutual friendships which have been formed under the pressure of common danger, and, in many instances, cemented by the blood of the parties, the officers of the American army do, hereby, in the most solemn manner, associate, constitute, and combine themselves into one society of friends, to endure as long as they shall endure, or any of their eldest male posterity, and, in failure thereof, the collateral branches who may be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members.

At the first meeting the design of the society's insignia was approved, and on June 19 the meeting charged Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, the distinguished French engineer who later planned the city of Washington near which he sleeps at Arlington, with the duty of having them made in Paris. The badge consists of a bald eagle, "a bird peculiar to the American continent." Grasped in the eagle's talons are golden olive branches and above its head an olive wreath by which it is suspended from a ribbon of sky blue and white, "descriptive of the union of France with America." On the breast of the eagle is a medallion with "the figure of Cincinnatus being presented with a sword by three Senators, and in the background his wife standing at the door of their cottage, near it a plough and other instruments of husbandry." Round the whole the legend: *Omnia Reliquit Servare Rempublicam* (He left all to serve the Republic). On the reverse "a sun rising; a city with open gates, and vessels entering the port; Fame crowning Cincinnatus with a wreath inscribed *Virtutis præmium*, and below, hands joined, supporting a heart with the motto: *Esto Perpetua*, and round the whole *Societas Cincinnatorum Instituta A. D. 1783.*"

It was voted to recognize as members the officers of the French Navy and Army who had served in America, giving them the right to organize a branch of the Society in France. All officers were required, upon signing its rolls, to contribute one month's pay to maintain the

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Society and aid members in need. To the eligible for membership, an American officer must have served for three years in the Continental Army or have been in service to the end of the war. Later the officers of the Navy were also admitted.

The Cincinnati was divided into fourteen branches, one in each of the original thirteen states and one in France. Some of the State Societies ceased to exist, for a time, owing to the members having become scattered, and partly also on account of the opposition of those in political power, but all have been restored and flourish today. Triennial general meetings have been held without interruption.

Among the great leaders of our Revolution who were members of the Cincinnati, there may be mentioned, besides Washington himself, Hamilton, LaFayette, Knox, Greene, Steuben, Benjamin Lincoln, the two Pinckneys, John Paul Jones, McDougall, Putnam, Schuyler, Gates, President Monroe, Moultrie, Kosciuszko, Anthony Wayne, Sullivan, Muhlenberg, Weedon, "Light Horse Harry" Lee, and St. Clair. President Pierce was an hereditary member.

The French members included, as Baron de Contenson says, "the very élite of the French nobility," and a few words as to them may not be amiss. Among them were: Marshal of France the Count de Rochambeau, Commander of the French Auxiliary Army in America; Admiral the Count de Grasse, Naval Commander without whom there could have been no victory at Yorktown; Lieutenant General the Count d'Estaing, Commander of the French Coöperating Army in America, first President of the French Cincinnati, who perished on the guillotine; General the Count d'Aboville, commandant of artillery in the French Expeditionary Force, who died in the Restoration; Count d'Autichamp, father of one of the principal chiefs of the Vendée; Vice-Admiral Count de Bougainville, the celebrated navigator; Prince Victor de Broglie, Deputy of Alsace to the States General, who perished on the guillotine; the Duke de Castres, son of the Minister of Marine; Berthier, the future Prince de Wagram and one of Napoleon's generals; the Marquis de Chastellux, one of the celebrated philosophers of the eighteenth century and one of the "Immortals" of the French Academy; the Marquis du Châtelet who during the French Revolution poisoned himself in prison as did also his friend Condorcet; the Count de Custine, General in Chief during the French Revolution, who perished on the guillotine; the Duke de

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Damas; five members of the great Irish family of Dillon; General Aubert du Bayet, later Ambassador; the Count de Fersen of Sweden, who made such heroic efforts to rescue Marie Antoinette; the navigator Fleuriot de Langle; the Duke de Lauzun, later the Duke de Biron, General in Chief of the Armies of the Republic; the three brothers de Lameth; Colonel the Viscount de Mirabeau, brother of the arch enemy of the Cincinnati; Admiral the Count de Kersaint, Deputy to the Convention, who perished on the guillotine; the Duke de Montmorency, the future Academician and Minister of Foreign Affairs under the Restoration; the Marquis de la Tour du Pin, Prefect of the Empire; Captain the Viscount des Cars, who was killed at the battle of Les Saintes; the Marquis de MacMahon; Lieutenant-General the Baron de Montesquieu, grandson of one of France's greatest thinkers; the great La Motte-Picquet; the Viscount de Noailles, brother-in-law of LaFayette and Deputy to the Assembly and later hero of a famous naval engagement; the Count de Ségur, later Ambassador and Grand Master of Ceremonies of Napoleon; the Bailli de Suffren, one of the greatest sailors of the eighteenth century; the Marquis and the Count de Saint-Simon; Colonel the Marquis de Pange, who fell in the Vendée; General the Count de Talleyrand-Périgord; Lieutenant General the Marquis de Bouillé, Governor of the Antilles; the Count de Vioménil, Marshal of France under the Restoration, and many more. One of the first hereditary members admitted was the son of Major General the Baron de Kalb, who had been mortally wounded at the battle of Camden in 1780.

The Institution provided for the admission of a limited number of honorary members, men whose services and ideals were similar to those of the Cincinnati. Under this provision some of the most noted men of this and other countries have been elected to honorary membership, including: Franklin, Gouverneur Morris, Paca, Perry, Bainbridge, Winfield Scott, Decatur, Zachary Taylor,* Webster, Grant, Sherman, Farragut, Cleveland, Dewey, Jusserand, Schofield, Benjamin Harrison, McKinley, President Loubet of France, Chaffee, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Woodrow Wilson, His Majesty Albert King of the Belgians, Foch, Joffre, Pétain, Newton Baker, Leonard Wood,

*General Taylor was the son of Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Taylor, an original member of the Cincinnati in Virginia, and might have succeeded his father had not the Virginia Society then been dormant.

... to the ...
... Major of the Corps of
Engineers in the Service of the
United States of America, being
in virtue of his services in the
said Service entitled to be a Member
of the Society of the Cincinnati
... to the ...
... as a Member ...
... having obtained the permission
to go to France in his own private
affairs is charged with the
with the execution of some
important business of the said
Society. Given under our hand
this ... 1793
...
...

MAJOR L'ENFANT'S CREDENTIALS AS A MEMBER
AND AGENT OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI
In General Washington's handwriting, in the archives of the
Society of the Cincinnati

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Pershing, and March.* The most recent addition to this illustrious roll is the name of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the fifteenth President of the United States to wear the Eagle.

Major L'Enfant, who was going to France, was charged by the Society with the duty of having made the Eagles, the emblems of membership. Not only did he design the Eagle, but his drawing of a diploma of membership was also adopted. His original drawing of the diploma is preserved in the Cincinnati archives, now on deposit in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress (see illustration).

It being the wish of the Society of the Cincinnati that Major L'Enfant take with him some form of credential attesting his membership in the Society and his mission on its behalf, the following draft was prepared:

1783, Octo. 1.

I do hereby certify that Maj. L'Enfant, Major of the Corps of Engineers in the Service of the United States has acquired by his service during the War the right of being acknowledged a Member of the Society of the Cincinnati and having obtained the permission of Congress to return to France on his own private affairs he has at the same time undertaken to transact some necessary business relative to the Order of the Society.

Given under my hand at Rocky Hill this day of

Countersigned

H. KNOX,

Sec. General.

G. W.

President General.

There is a copy of this document in the archives of the General Society, but apparently it was not used, or, at least, another paper of almost the same purport was issued. The following copy of it, in General Washington's handwriting, is likewise in the Society's papers:

This is to certify that Ch. L'Enfant Major of the Corps of Engineers in the Armies of the United States of America, being by virtue of his services in the said Armies entitled to be a Member of the Society of the Cincinnati is entitled to all the rights and privileges of the said Society—and having obtained permission to go France at his own private affairs, is charged with the execution of important business of the said Society.

Given under my hand this 1 day of Nov^r 1783. . .

Signed G. W.

Presid^t General. (see illustration).

*General March was elected an honorary member in recognition of his distinguished services as Chief of Staff of the Army during the World War. He has since become an hereditary member.

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Though this is but a copy of a letter, it may, in a sense be considered the oldest certificate of membership in the Society of the Cincinnati.

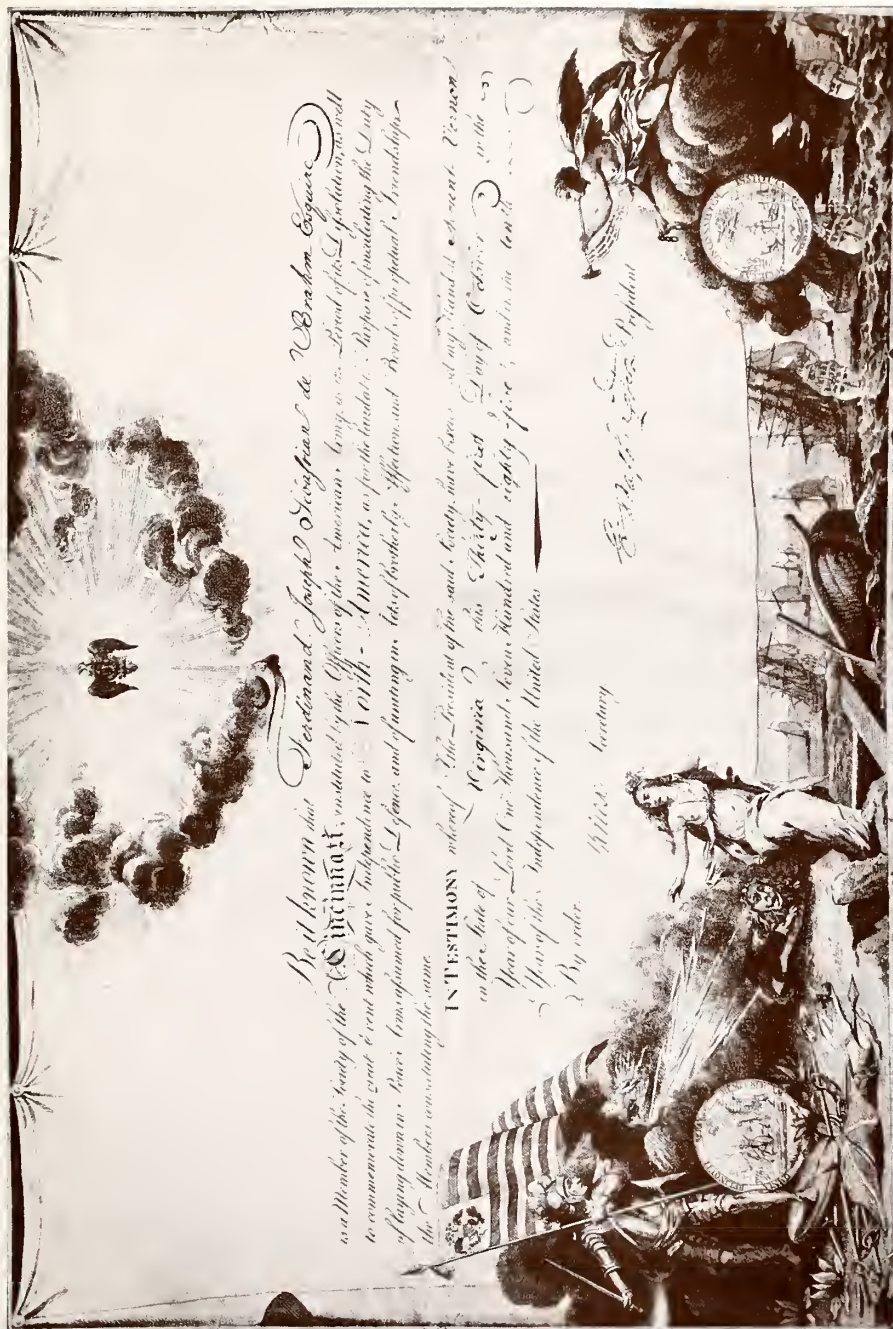
The Society of the Cincinnati met, upon the call of Washington, for its first General Meeting at Philadelphia in May, 1784. There were many things to be considered and the meeting lasted for a fortnight. Major L'Enfant returned in time to deliver the Eagles to the members who had ordered them. He likewise brought the copper plate for the diploma.

The design of the diploma is thus described in Lossing's "Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution" (II, 128):

The design represents American Liberty as a strong man armed, bearing in one hand the Union Flag, and in the other a naked sword. Beneath his feet are British flags, and a broken spear, shield, and chain. Hovering by his side is the eagle, our national emblem, from whose talons the lightning of destruction is flashing upon the British lion. Britannia, with the crown falling from her head, is hastening toward a boat to escape to a fleet, which denotes the departure of British power from our shores. Upon a cloud, on the right, is an angel blowing a trumpet, from which flutters a loose scroll. Upon the scroll are the sentences: *Palam nuntiata libertatis A. D. 1776. Fœdus sociale cum Gallia, An. D. 1778. Pax: libertas parta, An. D. 1783.* "Independence declared, A. D. 1776. Treaty of Alliance with France declared, A. D. 1778. Peace: independence obtained, A. D. 1783."

Upon a medallion on the right is a device representing Cincinnati at his plow, a ship on the sea, and a walled town in the distance. Over his head is a flying angel, holding a ribbon inscribed *Virtutis præmium*; "Reward of Virtue." Below is a heart, with the words, *Esto perpetua*; "Be thou perpetual." Upon the rim is the legend, *Societas Cincinnatorum Instituta A. D. MDCCLXXXIII*: "Society of the Cincinnati, instituted 1783." The device upon the medallion on the left is Cincinnatus with his family near his house. He is receiving a sword and shield from three Senators; an army is seen in the distance. Upon the rim are the words: *Omnia Relinquit Servare Rempublicam*: "He abandoned everything to serve his country" (referring to Cincinnatus).

Lossing adds that in the earlier impressions from the plate, taken previous to the year 1785, the sentence upon the scroll is *Palam nuntiata libertas*, not *libertatis*. Some person, who doubtless supposed the original word to be incorrect, caused the letters *tis* to be crowded



DIPLOMA OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI
Signed by General Washington as President-General and General Knox as Secretary-General
Issued to all original members.

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

into the space occupied by the final *s* in *libertas*. The original word was correct. Possibly the change was made on account of the many criticisms made of the Latin in the motto: *Omnia Relinquit Servare Rempublicam*. Of it Benjamin Franklin, later to become an honorary member of the Cincinnati, wrote from Paris in 1784 to his daughter, adding: "The gallant officers of America may not have the merit of being great scholars, but they undoubtedly merit much, as brave soldiers, from their country, which should not leave them merely to *fame* for their '*virtutis premium*,' which is one of their Latin mottoes." (Bigelow's "Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," VIII, 445.)

A careful examination of the original sketch for the diploma shows that in the canton of the flag borne by the man in armor, there are *stars* clearly depicted. This is an early example of the use of stars in the canton of the national flag. It has sometimes been asserted that these figures are not stars but small *fleurs-de-lys*, the inference being based on impressions from the plate after it had become worn.

The late Ambassador Jusserand of France, an enthusiastic member of the Society of the Cincinnati, once whimsically remarked that he was not sure that a representation of a knight in full armor driving a defenseless woman into the sea was in keeping with the chivalrous ideals of the Cincinnati! He might, too, have criticized the lion, which is of a somewhat canine appearance except for a rather human face.

Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, designer of the Eagle and diploma of the Society of the Cincinnati, is one of the most interesting figures of the Revolution. Born in Paris on August 2, 1754, he was the son of Pierre L'Enfant, "Painter in ordinary to the King in his manufacture of the Gobelins." The painter had for his specialty battle scenes, six of which, representing as many French victories, are at Versailles. He was elected an Academician in 1742.

Young L'Enfant grew up amid artistic surroundings, receiving instruction as an architect and engineer. He was one of the earliest enthusiasts for the cause of American independence. In 1777, being twenty-three years of age and holding the King's commission as Lieutenant in the French colonial troops, he sailed for America in one of those ships belonging to Beaumarchais' mythical firm of "Hortalez and Company," a firm whose cargoes consisted of supplies and ammu-

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

dition for the American rebels, and which was as much a product of the dramatist's brain as Figaro himself.

L'Enfant reached America before LaFayette, and served at first as a volunteer at his own expense. Congress commissioned him Captain of Engineers. He fought at Savannah, and when the French and Americans were repulsed, managed to escape to Charleston, though like d'Estaing, later to be the first President of the Cincinnati in France, he was grievously wounded. Although still on crutches, he was able to assist in the work of fortifying Charleston, and when that city also fell into British hands, he was made prisoner. Rochambeau negotiated his exchange in January, 1782, for Captain von Heyden, a Hessian officer.

"Your zeal and active services," wrote Washington to L'Enfant, "are such as to reflect the highest honor on yourself and are extremely pleasing to me, and I have no doubt they will have their due weight with Congress in any future promotion in your Corps." They had, in fact, in the following year, when the Continental Congress promoted L'Enfant a Major of Engineers, 1783.

When the war was over, L'Enfant returned to France. He had been away for five years and wanted to see his old father, whose end was nigh. A royal brevet of June 13, 1783, had conferred on the young officer a small pension—three hundred *livres* a year, "in consideration of the usefulness of his services, and of the wounds received by him during the American war." He arrived in Havre on December 8, 1783. Between that date and the following April, he found time to assist in the organization of the French branch of the Society of the Cincinnati, and wrote Washington glowing accounts of the way that the new order had been welcomed, and of the privilege given its members of wearing the Eagle, though at that time foreign orders were not permitted in the Kingdom.

After L'Enfant's return to America in 1784 he continued to play an important rôle as an engineer. In New York his chief undertaking was remodeling of the old (but not the oldest) City Hall. The matter was of importance, for Congress had left Philadelphia with a grudge toward that city. L'Enfant so pleased the people of New York, who hoped by means of the attractive building to secure the Federal capital, that they gave him the freedom of the city by "special honorifick patent," and ten acres of land near Provost Lane, "which latter he politely declined."

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Large crowds came to inspect what was acclaimed the most beautiful building in the country. But *Federal Hall* suffered a sad fate, for in 1812 it was pulled down and sold at auction for four hundred and twenty-five dollars. A piece of the railing on which Washington must have leaned when he took the oath as first President of the United States, is preserved in the New York Historical Society's museum. A replica of the building was erected in 1932, in a New York City park, in honor of the bicentennial of Washington's birth, but it, too, has passed into history.

Now came L'Enfant's great opportunity—the founding of the Federal City. He wrote to Washington on September 11, 1789, offering his services, which were accepted, and the Major arrived in Georgetown shortly thereafter to begin his great work. We must be forever thankful for L'Enfant's tendency to see things *en grand*, for he designed a capital city not for the three millions of Americans of his day, but for the hundred and forty millions of ours, and for those yet unborn. "By the amplitude of its scope, the logic of its arrangements, the breadth of the streets and avenues, the beauty of the prospects cleverly taken into account, the quantity of ground set apart for gardens and parks, and the display of waters, the plan was unique."

On leaving his work in Washington, he was asked to draw the plans for the first manufacturing city, devised as such, in the United States. That city is Paterson, New Jersey. In the same year he worked on the construction of the fortifications at Fort Mifflin on the Delaware, and built for Robert Morris, the richest man in America, a magnificent mansion in Philadelphia.

In 1812 he was appointed "Professor of the Art of Military Engineering in the Military Academy of the United States," but declined in spite of the entreaties of Colonel James Monroe, a fellow member of the Society of the Cincinnati, then Secretary of State and soon to become President of the United States.

Having become an American citizen, he ended his days the permanent guest of the Diggs family in their home in Prince Georges County, Maryland, near Washington, in 1825, and was buried on their property "at the foot of a tree." An inventory of his "personal goods and chattels" showed that they consisted of "three watches, three compasses, some books, maps and surveying instruments, the whole being valued at forty-six dollars." His many creditors had done their work well.

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CININNATI

But his day came at last, though more than three-quarters of a century after his death. His remains were brought to what had been "Jackson Hill," and placed under the great dome of the Capitol. In the presence of President Taft, member of the Society of the Cincinnati, representatives of the Congress, Supreme Court, the diplomatic corps, headed by their dean, Ambassador Jusserand, likewise a member of the Cincinnati, and an official delegation of the Society itself, orations were delivered in his honor. And then, on April 28, 1909, a hearse draped in the three colors of America, France and the Cincinnati, bore his ashes down from Capitol Hill, across the Potomac, and up to Arlington, where they rest. From his grave you may look over the river to the great city that was the child of his mind and heart. (Cf. Jusserand: "With Americans of Past and Present Days.")

Under L'Enfant's direction in Paris, the Eagles of the Cincinnati were made. As with his other work, he performed the task well. This emblem is considered one of the most beautiful decorations in the world, as well as one of the oldest—for revolutions and political changes have done away with most of the orders in Europe that were older. He likewise had the copper plate for the diploma engraved from his water-color design.

While the design of the diploma was entirely his own, he sought to have a finished drawing of it made by a well-known artist so that an accurate engraving could be prepared. For this purpose he turned to Augustin-Louis La Belle (1757-1841).

La Belle was a member of a celebrated family of artists. His great-grandfather, Jean Belle, who died in 1703, was a painter. His grandfather, Alexis-Simon Belle (1674-1734) was a favorite painter of portraits at the French, British and Polish courts. His grandmother, Marie-Nicolle Horthemels, was likewise a painter. His father, Clément-Louis-Marie-Anne Belle (1722-1806), a pupil of François Lemoine, was a member of the French Academy of Arts (1761), later professor (1765) and rector (1790) of the same, and after 1755 was superintendent of the Gobelins manufacture in Paris. Possibly it was here that young L'Enfant came to know him.

La Belle was first instructed by his father, but while still a young man, went to Rome, where his work won him the second *Grand Prix* in 1782—just a year before he drew the Cincinnati diploma. He

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

would probably have remained longer in Rome but for an unfortunate love affair.

Returned to France he continued to paint subjects from the Old Testament and from Greco-Roman mythology, and his works were often exhibited in the art salons of the French capital. He succeeded to the superintendence of the Gobelin manufacture at his father's death in 1806 and continued in this office to the end of his life, January 12, 1841.

La Belle's best known works are "Tobias Blessed By His Father," one of the fruits of his studies in Rome (1788), "Marriage of Ruth and Boaz" (1791), "Mars Crowned By Venus" (1801), "Allegory of Peace" (1817), now in the museum at Rouen, and "Hagar in the Desert," now in the museum at Tours.

L'Enfant was not content with having his sketch drawn by one of the foremost artists of the day. He likewise decided that the plate should be engraved by a master. For this purpose he selected Jean-Jacques-André Le Veau (1729-86), perhaps the greatest contemporary engraver.

Le Veau was born in Rouen on January 9, 1729, the son of Jean-Jacques Le Veau, a poor shoemaker. As a child he was always weak and suffered from a chronic lameness. But his talents early manifested themselves. When but five years of age he made a copy of a painting of the Passion of Christ, and during his many stays in the hospital, he copied other religious pictures, so that the nuns showed his work to Jean-Baptiste Descamps, professor of the Art School of Rouen. Descamps recognized the child's genius and began to teach him drawing, and interested people in Rouen in his training, so that they contributed a fund for the further education of the boy.

In 1748 he began his apprenticeship in engraving at the atelier of Couvel in Rouen, where he learned how to wield engraver's tools. At this time he made some vignettes and book-plates that were much admired. In 1750 at its public seance, the Academy of Rouen awarded him the *Prix Mérité*, for being the best copyist of his school. Descamps, greatly delighted, went to Parish to show copies of his protégé's work to Le Bas, the most celebrated engraver of his time. Le Bas's opinion was such that he received young Le Veau as one of his pupils, and took him to live with him in his house. Here he spent four profitable years, 1750 to 1754, after which Le Bas gave him a

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

permanent position in his atelier with a salary of 600 *livres* a year. Le Veau made a number of engravings at this time, but they were all signed with his master's name. He returned to Rouen, where he made engravings for himself, and they were so well received in Paris that he went to the capital to live, opening his own atelier in the rue Saint-Jacques, in this home of his friend Le Mire, who gave him a number of commissions.

He now had pupils of his own and some of them became well known. He died in Paris in April, 1786.

Le Veau left a large number of vignettes, book-plates, and book illustrations. He is best known for his illustrations of the works of LaFontaine, Voltaire, Rousseau, Ovid, Boccaccio and others. In 1788 there was published, with his illustrations, a volume of the *Memoirs of the Surgical Academy of Paris*. His *Almanach Iconologique* is famous.

Certainly, when three such men as L'Enfant, La Belle and Le Veau combined their gifts, there must needs have resulted a most artistic diploma for the Order of the Cincinnati. Doubtless L'Enfant felt this when he presented it to his fellow-members of the Cincinnati in Philadelphia in May, 1784.

He wisely refrained from having the actual wording engraved on the plate. Not only had the Society not yet decided on the text to be used, but L'Enfant realized that his English was none of the best. He would let the Society have the text entered on the plate in America, where doubtless a sufficiently skillful workman could be found even though no American artist could have been found to equal the work of La Belle and Le Veau.

The Society of the Cincinnati met, upon the call of Washington, for its first General Meeting, in Philadelphia in 1784. There were many things to be considered and the meeting lasted for more than a fortnight. L'Enfant reached Philadelphia in time for the meeting, and delivered the Eagles and diploma plate. On Monday, May 17, 1784, the matter of the diploma came up for consideration.

Winthrop Sargent, one of the five delegates from the Massachusetts State Society, had served in the Revolution as Major in Knox's Artillery. From his intimacy with General Knox, Captain Shaw and others who helped to frame the Institution, he was thoroughly familiar with the purposes of the Society. His journal of the first

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

triennial meeting of the Society gives much information not included in the formal minutes of the meeting. (Mems. Pa. Hist. Soc., 1858, VI, 57-115.)

His statement regarding the Society's diploma is:

The Committee for preparing the form of a diploma, reported and lay on the table the draft of a form, which being read and considered, was approved, and is as follows:

Be it known that.....is a Member of the Society of the Cincinnati; instituted by the Officers of the American Army, at the Period of its dissolution, as well to commemorate the great Event which gave Independence to North America, as for the laudable Purpose of inculcating the Duty of laying down in Peace Arms assumed for public Defense, and of uniting in Acts of brotherly Affection, and Bonds of perpetual Friendship the Members constituting the same.

In Testimony whereof I, the President of the said Society, have hereunto set my hand at....., in the State of, this.....day of....., in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and.....and in the.....Year of the Independence of the United States.

By order,

[H. KNOX]

.....Secretary.

[G^o. WASHINGTON]

.....President.

Major L'Enfant having produced his accompt for his Agency in France;—Ordered, that a draft be made on Gen. M'Dougal, Treasurer of this Society, for the sum of six hundred and thirty dollars, to be paid to Major L'Enfant as the balance of his accompt.

This sum was due Major L'Enfant for his expenditures in France in the preparation of the Eagles as well as for the plate for the Society's diploma.

Major Sargent continues:

“On motion, resolved;—That Major Turner [George Turner, delegate from South Carolina] and Captain Claypole [Abraham George Claypole, delegate from Pennsylvania] be a committee to superintend and procure the engraving on the Copper Plate brought

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

by Major L'Enfant from France, the written form of the diploma, as approved by the Meeting.

"Ordered that the Committee for procuring the written form of the Diploma to be engraved on the Plate do, when the same is executed, deliver the Copper Plate into the hands of the Secretary or his Assistant, to be placed in the Archives of the Society.

"On motion, resolved;—That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to Major L'Enfant for his great care and attention in the execution of the business of this Society committed to him to be transacted in France."

There can be but little doubt "that all the ornamental designs of the diploma were engraved upon the copper-plate in France, and that nothing but the words were inserted here," says Winthrop Sargent, son of Major Winthrop Sargent, who, in 1858, published his father's journal of the meeting. He adds that impressions on vellum of the plate in either condition were before him at that time.

There are in existence prints from the diploma plate just as it was received from Paris before any text was added.

But the Society had decided to have the text engraved directly on the plate, and so for the work turned to Robert Scot, one of the best workmen in Philadelphia.

Robert Scot was born in Scotland in the second half of the eighteenth century, but not much is known of his early life or the time of his immigration to America. We find his name first in connection with the activities of Benjamin Dudley, employed in 1781 by Robert Morris, superintendent of finance, to coin copper money. Dudley also supervised the printing of watermarked paper currency. The currency was printed by Hall and Nathan Sellers of Philadelphia from plates engraved by Robert Scot. Scot also engraved the office seals and bills for Morris.

Scot engraved the text on the copper plate from the diploma of the Cincinnati, using the script then popular, with important words in Gothic letters with many flourishes.

In 1786 Congress passed an Act establishing the mint in Philadelphia. Mr. Jefferson was then in Paris and tried to engage Drost, a Swiss engraver, for work at the new mint. But Drost preferred to accept employment with the Honourable East India Company. Meanwhile the mint was built in Philadelphia, and under the directorship

This certifies that Caspar Schaffner Cornet
in the First Veteran Legion, being, in Virtue of
his Services in the American Army, Entitled to
become a Member of the Cincinnati, and having
Signed and complied with the Regulations therein
Specified, is accordingly admitted a Member, and
is Entitled to all the rights and Privileges of the
Said Society of the Cincinnati

Given under my hand
and Seal at Philadelphia
this 29th day of December 1783
G. Washington

Attest

PROVISIONAL CERTIFICATE OF THE SOCIETY OF THE
CINCINNATI ISSUED TO CORNET SCHAFFNER

This is the oldest known certificate of the Cincinnati signed
by General Washington. It was issued before the diplomas
designed by Major L'Enfant were ready

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

of David Rittenhouse began to coin "dismes" and "half dismes," the engraving being done by Mr. Wright. Wright died in 1792 and Robert Scot was, on November 23, 1793, appointed in his stead and so served until November 1, 1823. His work was not too well received.

There seems to have been impatience on the part of some of the original members of the Cincinnati to have diplomas attesting their membership. This was particularly true of certain foreign officers who were returning to Europe and wanted written evidence of their connection with the new American order. For this reason the Society decided to issue, upon request, a provisional certificate of membership. The text, as shown by a copy in the Society's archives, was to be:

This is to certify that.....in the Service of the United States of America, has subscribed the institution of the Society of the Cincinnati, and is entitled to all the rights, privileges and honors of the said Society.

Given under my hand and seal of the President General at
.....

Attest

Acting Secretary General.

There is no certificate known with just this wording. The oldest provisional certificate that has come down to us is one in the archives of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia in favor of Cornet Caspar Schaffner, an officer of the First Partizan Legion. He signed the roll of the Pennsylvania State Society but transferred his membership to the Society of Virginia. This certificate bears the signature of Washington, but not that of the Acting Secretary General or the Secretary General. There is a wax seal which is so damaged as to be illegible, but may have been the personal arms of General Washington. The certificate reads:

This Certifies that Caspar Schaffner, Cornet in the First Partizan Legion, being in Virtue of his Services in the American Army, Entitled to become a Member of the Cincinnati, and having signed and complied with the Regulations therein specified, is accordingly admitted a Member, and is Entitled to all the rights and Privileges of the said Society of the Cincinnati.

Given under my hand and Seal at Philadelphia this.....
Day of December 1783.

G. WASHINGTON.

Attest.

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

The oldest of these provisional certificates that is signed by both the President General, General Washington, and the Secretary General, General Knox, is in favor of a French officer in the American service. The document was purchased many years ago by the late Mr. John Cropper, President of the Virginia Cincinnati and Assistant Secretary General. It was recently presented by Mrs. Cropper to the Society of the Cincinnati and has been placed among its archives. It sets forth:

{ Seal in wax }
{ Arms of }
{ Washington }

This certifies that Captain Claude Antoine Villet de Marcellin of the Pennsylvania Line, being in virtue of his services in the American Army entitled to become a Member of the Cincinnati, and having signed the Institution and complied with the Regulations therein specified, is accordingly admitted a Member, and is entitled to all the Rights and Privileges of the said Society of the Cincinnati.

Given under my hand and Seal at Mount Vernon this Thirtieth day of March 1784.

G^O. WASHINGTON.

H. KNOX, actg Secy general.

Impressions from the diploma plate were as a rule signed by Generals Washington and Knox in blank and sent by the latter to the several State Secretaries who filled in the names of the recipients. Some of the signed blank diplomas have been preserved and others bear only one signature. The documents were variously dated. In some states the date seems to have been that of the delivery to the member. In others it is not clear just why a date was selected. In Virginia, and possible other States, the Society voted to adopt a certain date for all diplomas. The names of the recipients are on some diplomas carefully lettered in Gothic or black letters. On others they were merely written in ordinary hand by the State Secretaries.

General Washington, in his diary, frequently mentions signing diplomas of membership of the Society of the Cincinnati, in his capacity as President General. For example:

February 7, 1785—Employed myself (as there could be no stirring without) in writing letters by the Post and in signing 83 Diplomas for the members of the Society of the Cincinnati, and sent them to the care of Colo. Fitzgerald in Alexandria, to be forwarded to General Williams of Baltimore, the Assistant Secretary of the Society.

St. Fortifies, that Captain Charles Antoine
Villed de Marcelin of the Pennsylvania Line being in virtue
of his services in the American Army, entitled to become a
Member of the Cincinnati and having signed the Constitution
and complied with the Regulations thereon specified, is accordingly
admitted a Member and is entitled to all the Rights and
Privileges of the said Society of the Cincinnati.

Given under my hand, and
Seal at Washington - this

1. Knox atty genl. Twelfth day of March 1784
D. Washington

PROVISIONAL CERTIFICATE OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI, ISSUED TO CAPTAIN DE MARCELLIN
This is the oldest known certificate of the Cincinnati signed both by General Washington and General Knox. Issued before the diplomas
designed by Major L'Enfant were ready

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CININNATI

October 31, 1785—A Captn. Fullerton came here to Dinner on business of the Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania; for whom I signed 250 Diplomas as President. Went away after.

December 12, 1785—Majr. Farlie went away before breakfast, with 251 Diplomas which I had signed for the Members of the Cincinnati of the State of New York, at the request of General McDougall, President of that Society.

April 27, 1787—A Captn. McCannon [Capt. William McCannon of the Delaware Regiment] came here this evening and got 40 Diplomas signed for the Delaware line.

(Fitzpatrick's "Diaries of George Washington," II, 339, 430, 455; III, 205.)

Colonel Asa Bird Gardiner, then Secretary General of the Society of the Cincinnati, in his report to the triennial meeting of the Society in Baltimore in 1890, stated that the copper plate for the diploma had not been discovered among the archives of the Society when he had received them on assuming office. After a careful search it was found, but in a very bad state of repair. It was so badly corroded that several good engravers refused to undertake its restoration and declared it to be totally ruined. Through the interest, however, of Mr. Henry Thayer Drowne of the Rhode Island Cincinnati, the services of his friend, Mr. John Chester Buttre, the eminent bank note and portrait engraver, were enlisted. From motives of patriotism and personal friendship, Mr. Buttre devoted many days to the restoration of the plate, and to the surprise of those understanding the difficulties of such an undertaking, he succeeded perfectly. Thanks to his great mechanical skill and talent the plate was restored so that it could again be used. His charges for this work were merely nominal for necessary disbursements. The Society, by a unanimous vote, instructed the Secretary General "to convey to Mr. John Chester Buttre the sincere thanks of the General Society for his valued services in restoring the original diploma plate of the Society," and reimbursed him for his expenses incurred in the work. Mr. Henry Russell Drowne, son of Mr. Henry Thayer Drowne, inherited his father's splendid collection of Cincinnatiana and on November 10, 1934, showed the writer a most interesting set of a dozen proofs made from the diploma plate at various stages of its reparation, beginning with the almost illegible state in which Mr. Drowne had found it, and ending with such an excellent piece of restoration that impressions from

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

it can hardly be told from those made when the plate was new. When Mr. Drowne's home was destroyed by fire on November 15, 1934, his priceless collection, including these proofs, was lost, and Mr. Drowne and all the members of his household perished!

The plate now being restored, the Society adopted the following

ORDINANCE

Be it Ordained by the General Society of the Cincinnati, That a Diploma or Certificate of membership in the Society of the Cincinnati shall be issued to any member of the Society who may apply therefor, upon filing with the Secretary General a certificate signed by the president and secretary of the State Society wherein such member may be enrolled, certifying that such member has been duly and regularly admitted to membership in that State Society.

Such Diploma shall be in the form prescribed by the ordinance of May 17th, 1784, and duly authenticated by the President General and Secretary General, and shall, after the member's name, recite whom he represents, unless the member be admitted to honorary membership, in which case, in place of such recital, there shall be endorsed on the margin of such Diploma the word "*Honorary Member*."

Such Diploma shall be furnished by the Secretary General at a uniform price as near as may be, the average cost of preparation and transmission of the same. [Minutes of 1890].

The diploma plate was kept in the archives of the General Society in the Lincoln Trust Company in New York from this time until 1929, when the triennial meeting in Boston voted to deposit the whole of the Society's muniments on loan in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. The plate contained in a cherry box together with Major L'Enfant's original drawing, is now in that institution.

In the process of restoration it is greatly to be regretted that the then Secretary General had the word "General" cut into the plate after the words "President" and "Secretary," so that the titles of the two officers who sign the diplomas now read "President-General" and "Secretary-General." Fortunately in having diplomas struck from the plate it is possible to omit these attempts to gild the lily.

In the years intervening between the days when impressions from the diploma plate were used for diplomas of the original members, and early hereditary members, most of the State Societies adopted special diplomas of their own. They, as a rule, followed the design of the original, though most of them altered the wording somewhat.

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Information is not available as to the action of all the State Societies, the following notes, however, showing the forms known to have been used. The societies are listed, as in all Cincinnati publications, in geographical sequence, north to south, this having been the order in which the roll of States was called in the Continental Congress.

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

The New Hampshire Society was dormant from 1823 to 1893. It was readmitted to full standing by the General Society in 1902.

The New Hampshire diploma is of the same size and design as that of the original diploma of the General Society. It is a lithographic reproduction on parchment, somewhat coarsely engraved. The wording, essentially following that of the General Society's diploma, is slightly modified to suit State use. The seal of the New Hampshire Society impressed on a hexagonal white wafer is affixed by means of a section of the Cincinnati ribbon to the upper left corner. The diploma reads:

De it known that.....Member of the Society of the CINCINNATI, instituted by the Officers of the American Army at the period of its Dissolution, as well to commemorate the great Event which gave Independence to NORTH AMERICA, as for the laudable Purpose of inculcating the Duty of laying down in Peace Arms assumed for public Defense, and of uniting in Acts of brotherly Affection and Bonds of Perpetual Friendship the Members constituting the same.

In Testimony whereof I, the President of the New Hampshire Society of the Cincinnati, have hereunto set my Hand and/the Seal of the said Society at Exeter in the State of New Hampshire this fourth day of July in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and.....and in the One Hundred and.....Year of the Independence of the United States.

By Order
..... Secretary. President.

The diploma was engraved by A. Hoen & Co., of Baltimore, in 1911.

THE MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

The Massachusetts Society has had a continuous existence. On February 5, 1812, the Standing Committee having appointed a committee "to procure a plate for the impression of diplomas," a copper

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

plate was engraved for the purpose. It is not known who made the plate, which has been in use by the Massachusetts Society since that time. For many years the impressions were made by the Suffolk Engraving Company of Boston, and now by their successors, the Suffolk Diploma and Plate Printing Company of Boston. The engraving is beautifully executed and the design follows that of the original more closely than that of any other State. The Seal of the Society is impressed on a red wafer below the Secretary's signature.

The wording is:

Be it Known that..... is a Member of the Society of the CINCINNATI, instituted by the Officers of the American Army at the Period of its Dissolution, as well to commemorate the great Event which gave Independence to NORTH AMERICA as for the laudable Purpose of inculcating the Duty of laying down in Peace Arms assumed for public Defense and of uniting in Acts of brotherly Affection and Bonds of perpetual Friendship the Members constituting the same.

In Testimony whereof I the President of the Society of Massachusetts have hereunto set my Hand and the seal of said Society at Boston in the State of Massachusetts this..... Day of..... Year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and..... and in the..... Year of the Independence of the United States.

By Order

.....
Secretary.

.....
President.

There has several times been reproduced in books the diploma of Major Winthrop Sargent of the Massachusetts Society, showing drawings of the Eagle in the upper right and left corners. These drawings form no part of the original and were added when the engraving for the book was made.

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS

The Rhode Island Society was dormant from 1835 until 1877. It was readmitted to full standing by the General Society in 1881.

This Society has never issued a diploma. Many of the members have obtained diplomas from the original plate of the General Society since it was repaired and restored. The late Mr. Henry Russell Drowne, one of the best students of Cincinnati history and collector of its publications, inherited the diploma of his father, Mr. Henry

BE IT REMEMBERED
THAT

has been duly admitted a member of the
Society of the Cincinnati,
in right of descent from original member.
In Testimony Whereof, we have this day set our hands
and seals.
Dated, New-Haven, Connecticut, 10th day of October, in the
year of our Lord, One thousand eight hundred and ninety-three.

*President of the Society in
the State of Connecticut.*

*Secretary of the Society in
the State of Connecticut.*

PROVISIONAL DIPLOMA OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN THE STATE
OF CONNECTICUT



MAJOR L'ENFANT'S WATER-COLOR SKETCH OF THE DESIGN FOR THE DIPLOMA OF
THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Original drawing in the archives of the Society of the Cincinnati

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Thayer Drowne, of the Rhode Island Cincinnati, dated July 4, 1878. It was apparently an old blank copy from the original plate, made at an early date. It had been filled in in a later hand and above the Eagle at the top were the words *State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* lettered in in characters resembling those of the words *Society of the Cincinnati*. This document was destroyed when his home in New York was burned on November 15, 1934.

There was another diploma of the Rhode Island Cincinnati in Mr. Drowne's possession, dated October 13, 1893, and signed by the Vice-President General, Acting President General, Mr. Robert Miligan McLane, and the Secretary General, Colonel Asa Bird Gardiner. At that time the Hon. Hamilton Fish, President General, had died, and his successor, the Hon. William Wayne, had not yet been elected President General. The author saw both of these documents a few days before Mr. Drowne's tragic death.

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut Society was dormant from 1804 to 1888, being readmitted to full standing by the General Society in 1896. About 1893 a provisional diploma was adopted (see illustration), which reads as follows:

Be it Remembered
That

.....
has been duly admitted a member of the
SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI
in right of descent from....., original member.
In Testimony Whereof, we have this day set our hands and seals.
Dated, New Haven, Connecticut,Day of.....,
in the year of our Lord, One thousand eight hundred and ninety-....
.....
President of the Society in
..... the State of Connecticut.
.....
Secretary of the Society in
the State of Connecticut.

The document is printed on light cardboard and measures 12½ inches in width by 10¾ inches in height.

Soon after its readmission as a State Society by the General Society, the Connecticut Cincinnati adopted a regular diploma which is still in use. It is manufactured by Ames and Rollinson of New

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

York City. It does not bear the Society's seal. The document is purchased, if desired, by any member of the Society. It is printed on parchment and reads:

Be it known that.....is a Member of the Society of the Cincinnati, instituted by the Officers of the American Army, at the Period of its Dissolution, as well to commemorate the great Event which gave Independence to NORTH AMERICA, as for the laudable purposes of inculcating the Duty of laying down in Peace Arms assumed for public Defense, and of uniting in Acts of brotherly Affection, and Bonds of perpetual Friendship the Members constituting the same.

IN TESTIMONY whereof I, the President of the said Society in the State of Connecticut have hereunto set my Hand at..... in the State of.....this.....Day of..... in the Year of our Lord One Thousand.....and in the One Hundred.....Year of the Independence of the United States.

By order.

.....
President of the Society in
the State of Connecticut.

.....
Secretary of the Society in
the State of Connecticut.

THE NEW YORK STATE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

This Society has had a continuous existence.

At the meeting of the Society on March 1, 1790, it was

Resolved—That the President be requested to have a sufficient number of Certificates printed in the form following viz:

"I hereby certify that.....is a member of the society of the State of New York".....which said certificate shall be signed by the President, with his privy seal annexed and Countersigned by the Secretary, who shall deliver one to each Member of said Society who shall have signed the general institution now in the Archives of the Society and have actually paid his month's pay, which Certificate the Secretary shall enter in a register to be kept for that purpose.

Apparently there was contemplated both a diploma and a certificate of membership. Impressions from the original diploma plate of Major L'Enfant were used for new members as late at 1813, in which year such a document was issued to Commodore Bainbridge, an honorary member.

On July 4, 1793, it was resolved

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

That every member from other State Societies now residing or who may hereafter reside within this State, before he be admitted to vote or take part in the debates of this Society, shall produce his diploma or a certificate signed by the President, or Secretary of the Society of the State from which he removed, of his having been regularly admitted, and continuing to be a member thereof, to the time of his removal to this State.

The Society, on July 4, 1806, adopted a form of indorsement "to be entered upon the back of the original diploma in cases where an hereditary member was admitted by right of representation of the original member." One of the original diplomas with this indorsement is in the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum.

On July 4, 1846, it was resolved

That the Secretary be authorized to have a form of certificate of Membership printed in sufficient numbers to supply each of the members of this Society & that the same be signed by the President & Secretary & given to the Members.

On July 4, 1857, the Society adopted a set of rules and regulations regarding the admission to membership, the tenth rule being:

The diploma or certificate of membership which Members are entitled by virtue of the XIV By-law (adopted in May 1851), to receive upon their admission, shall be in the following form:

State of New-York SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Be it Known, That A. B., the lineal successor of (or a descendant of C. D.), who was a.....in the.....Regiment of New York Infantry, (setting forth the rank of the officer as subscribed to the Rolls of the Society), and an Original Member of the.....State Society of the Cincinnati, is (by virtue of a resolution of the New-York State Society of the Cincinnati, passed on the.....day of.....185..) a Member of the Society of the Cincinnati instituted by the Officers of the American Army of the Revolution at the period of its dissolution in 1783, as well to commemorate the great event which gave Independence to the United States of America, as for the purpose of inculcating the duty of laying down in peace, arms assumed in the public defense, and of uniting in acts of brotherly affection and bonds of perpetual friendship, the Members constituting the same.

In Witness Whereof, the New-York State Society of the Cincinnati have caused these presents to be signed by their President and countersigned by their Secretary the.....day of

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

.....in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and....., and of the Independence of the United States of America the.....

.....President.

.....Secretary.

On July 4, 1865, the matter of diplomas was "referred to the Secretary with power to obtain new diplomas to be presented in the place of those at present on hand, which are utterly unsuited to that purpose." This matter of the new diplomas for the New York Society is frequently mentioned in the minutes and seems to have occupied the thoughts of the members over a period of many years.

On May 3, 1866, it was

Resolved, that it be referred to Dr. Torrey and the Secretary, with power, to cause to be engraved or photographed, a sufficient number of Certificates of Membership, and a sum not exceeding two hundred dollars be appropriated for that purpose.

On July 5, 1869, the committee reported that \$200 was not sufficient for the engraving of a proper copper plate, and asked to be discharged. "After a considerable debate and a statement by Mr. Graham that the Massachusetts Society had a lithograph which resembled the original certificate so closely that it was almost impossible to distinguish them," the committee withdrew their request to be discharged and agreed to make further investigation of the matter.

On May 29, 1871,

Dr. Torrey on the committee for procuring a new plate for the Diploma, reported that on account of the vast amount of engraving done of late for the Government the cost of engraving had been doubled, and advised that the matter be deferred until he could communicate with the Secretaries of the other States Societies and ascertain whether they would be willing to join us in procuring a plate which could be used in common, and which would meet the approbation of all: that he would ascertain and report at the next meeting the lowest rates at which a proper engraving could be furnished.

Dr. Torrey, on July 4 of the same year, reported that he would correspond with engravers in Europe about the work of making a plate.

Though the new diploma had not yet been made, the Society on June 11, 1872, ordered a committee "to destroy the old diplomas in the Archives of the Society."

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

On July 4, 1872, Dr. Torrey reported that a new plate would cost \$750, and the Society voted to solicit individual subscriptions from members to make up the difference between the \$200 allowed at the meeting of 1858 and the amount of \$750 for a plate of steel or copper. The circulars were sent out on August 8, 1872, and at the meeting of February 22, 1873, the committee reported that work was in progress on the plate, and on June 4 of that year the new engraving was "presented to the members for their inspection & the committee unanimously desired to adhere to the old plate as far as possible."

On November 22, 1873, John J. Wilson presented a bill for \$1,100 for the cost of the new plate of which \$350 was due to alterations made necessary by the Society's order, received after the work had been nearly completed, to "have it correspond with the original." The Society resolved to pay the bill and "look to future subscriptions to make up the balance of \$900."

On July 4, 1874, the Society voted to charge a fee of ten dollars for the diplomas, but the amount was, on January 4, 1899, reduced to five dollars. The price of the diploma had been fixed at twenty-four shillings in 1786.

On February 22, 1878, the Secretary reported that he had received the diploma plate from the widow of the engraver.

Article XIV of the New York Cincinnati By-Laws, adopted first in 1851 and continued in the revision of 1880, states:

Every member, upon his admission, shall be entitled to receive a Diploma of Certificate of Membership, to be signed by the President of the State Society and countersigned by the Secretary, for which Diploma he shall pay the Treasurer, before signing the roll of the Society, the sum of ten dollars. . . .

The diploma of the New York Cincinnati, which as we have seen, was procured with no small difficulty and at large expense, thanks to the "vast amount of engraving done of late for the Government" which had "doubled the cost"—doubtless referring to the issue of greenbacks—follows in general the design of Major L'Enfant. There are, however, certain important differences in the wording. At the top of the diploma, in the clouds about the Eagle, there are the words in large letters: *New York State Society of the Cincinnati*. The text is:

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

NEW YORK STATE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Be it known that.....is by virtue of a resolution of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati passed Member of the Society of the Cincinnati instituted by the Officers of the American Army of the Revolution at the period of its dissolution in 1783, as well to commemorate the great event which gave Independence to the United States of America, as for the purpose of inculcating the duty of laying down in peace, arms assumed for public defense, and of uniting in acts of brotherly affection and bonds of perpetual friendship the Members constituting the same.

In Witness whereof the New York State Society of the Cincinnati have caused these presents to be signed by their President and countersigned by their Secretary, the.....day ofin the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and.....and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and.....
.....President.
.....Secretary.

The document is from a finely engraved copper plate by James J. Wilson, Engraver & Printer, N. Y., which name appears at the bottom of the diploma (see illustration).

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

This Society has had a continuous existence. At least four types of membership certificates or diplomas are known to have been used by the New Jersey Cincinnati. The earliest was a printed form, adopted as early as 1808, and illustrated in the Society's history which was published in that year. It reads:

STATE OF NEW JERSEY.

BE IT KNOWN, That....., Who has written his name in the margin.....in the Army of the UNITED STATES, is a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, instituted by the Officers of the AMERICAN Army, at the period of its dissolution, as well to commemorate the great event which gave INDEPENDENCE to the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, as for the laudable purpose of inculcating the duty of laying down in Peace, arms assumed for public defence, and of uniting in acts of brotherly affection, and bonds of perpetual friendship, the members constituting the same.

IN TESTIMONY whereof, the seal of the State Society of CINCINNATI OF NEW JERSEY, is hereunto affixed, and the hand of the President, the.....day of.....in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and.....

By Order,President.
.....Secretary.

STATE OF NEW-JERSEY.

Be it Known, That

Who has written his name in the margin

in the Army of the United States,
is a Member of the Society of the **Cincinnati**, instituted by the Officers
of the American Army, at the period of its dissolution, as well to commemorate
the great event which gave **Independence** to the United States of
America, as for the laudable purpose of inculcating the duty of laying down
in Peace, arms assumed for public defence, and of uniting in acts of brotherly
affection, and bonds of perpetual friendship, the members constituting the same.

In Testimony whereof, the seal of the State
Society of Cincinnati of New-Jersey, is
hereunto affixed, and the hand of the President,
the day of
in the year of our Lord one thousand eight
hundred and

By Order,

President.

Secretary.

DIPLOMA OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY
From the Society's history, published in 1808. The diploma is printed on paper water-
marked 1801

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

It is not known just when the other forms were adopted, but the dates on known copies help to fix their sequence. The first of them is the following:

STATE OF NEW JERSEY
(Eagle)

Be it known, That.....was on the.....day
of.....A. D. 18.., admitted an.....Member of the

SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI
instituted by the Officers of the American Army, at the period of its
dissolution, as well to commemorate the great event which gave *Inde-*
pendence to the *United States of America*, as for the laudable pur-
pose of inculcating the duty of laying down in Peace, arms assumed
for public defense, and of uniting in acts of brotherly affection, and
bonds of perpetual friendship, the members constituting the same.

In Testimony Whereof, the seal of the State Society of CINCIN-
NATI OF NEW JERSEY, is hereunto affixed, and the hand of
the President, the.....day of.....in the year of
our Lord one thousand eight hundred and.....and in
the.....year of the independence of the United States.

.....
Secretary. President.

[SEAL]

This document is on ordinary paper and measures 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches in
length by 10 inches width. There is no design other than the Eagle
at the top. The copy here illustrated is the one issued on July 4,
1885, to David Provoost Thomas, and bears the signature of Clif-
ford Stanley Sims, President and Fras. Barber Ogden, Secretary.

The next diploma was engraved from the design of L'Enfant and
was in use during the latter half of the nineteenth century. It sets
forth:

Be it known that

.....
is a Member of the Society of the CINCINNATI, U. S. A., instituted
by the Officers of the American Army at the period of its dissolution,
as well to commemorate the great event which gave independence to
their beloved country, as for the laudable purpose of inculcating the
duty of laying down in peace, arms assumed for public defense, and of
uniting in acts of brotherly affection and bonds of perpetual friend-
ship the members constituting the same.

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

In Testimony whereof I,President of the
New Jersey State Society have hereunto subscribed my name
and caused the Seal of the Society to be affixed at.....,
in the State of New Jersey in the year of our Lord One Thou-
sand Eight Hundred and.....and in the.....
year of the Independence of the United States.

By Order

.....President.

.....Secretary.

This diploma is on cream colored paper, and below the design is marked: "Alph. Bigot. Del." and "T. Sinclair's lith. Phil^a." The work of engraving the design is carefully and beautifully executed.

The certificate at present authorized is also from the design of L'Enfant, though executed by a different hand. It is not so attractive as the former. It is printed on heavy white bond paper. The text is:

Be it known that.....is an.....Member of
the Society of the CINCINNATI, instituted by the Officers of the Ameri-
can Army, at the Period of its Dissolution, as well to commemorate
the great Event which gave Independence to NORTH AMERICA, as
for the laudable Purpose of inculcating the Duty of laying down in
Peace Arms assumed for public Defense, and of uniting in Acts of
brotherly Affection, and Bonds of perpetual Friendship, the Members
constituting the same.

IN TESTIMONY whereof I, the President of the said Society, in the
State of New Jersey, have hereunto set my Hand this.....
Day of July in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Nine
Hundred and.....and in the One Hundred and.....
Year of the Independence of the United States.

Attest.

.....President.

.....Secretary.

Unfortunately the plate from which this diploma was made has been lost. It was in the possession of some firm in Delaware which has ceased to exist. At present diplomas are therefore not being issued to new members of the New Jersey Society, pending a possible decision to have only impressions from the original L'Enfant plate used in future.

In addition to these diplomas, the New Jersey Society formerly used a small membership card engraved in black. The card measures

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

3x5 inches and bears the light blue and white rosette of the Cincinnati in the upper left corner with the words:

.....
is a member of
THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI
IN THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY
.....
President.
.....
Secretary. 308700

There is an interesting reference to the Cincinnati diplomas in the minutes of the New Jersey Cincinnati for July 4, 1814. General Ogden was asked to collect the original diplomas of members of the Society and to place them with the Secretary to be preserved to the further order of the Society. General Ogden collected a total of sixty-one diplomas, twenty-seven signed, thirty-one unsigned and three not filled in. These documents are now among the papers of the New Jersey Society.

THE STATE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI OF PENNSYLVANIA

This Society has had a continuous existence.

It would seem from the indorsement to the application for a transfer of a member of the Maryland Society to that of Pennsylvania in 1853 (see Maryland, below), that up to that time the Pennsylvania Society did not use a form of membership certificate of its own. There are, however, references to the matter of diplomas in the Pennsylvania Society's records.

At the meeting of the Standing Committee of the Pennsylvania Cincinnati on June 3, 1808:

The Secretary paid to the Treasurer Six dollars, being fees received for diplomas to William Rice, John Strickler and Isaac Craig.

The Treasurer's account has the following entry:

1808, June 3. To cash from the Secretary for
three diplomas \$6.

There is no record of a provisional diploma ever having been used in Pennsylvania. The diploma now used was made by T. Sin-

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

clair, of Philadelphia, from the drawing of Alph. Bigot, at a date not known. It follows Major L'Enfant's design, though the wording has been altered to make it suitable for hereditary members. The Pennsylvania Cincinnati admits only descendants of original members or of officers who died in service during the Revolution. The seal of the Society is affixed at the bottom of the diploma, upon a gilt wafer. Each member receives a diploma on admission. The document reads:

Be it Known that.....as successor to and in right of.....an Original Member of the Society of the CINCINNATI, instituted by the Officers of the American Army at the Period of its Dissolution, as well to commemorate the great Event which gave Independence to North America, as for the laudable Purpose of inculcating the Duty of laying down in Peace Arms assumed for public Defense, and of uniting in Acts of brotherly Affection, and Bonds of perpetual Friendship the Members constituting the same, has been duly elected and admitted into the State Society of the CINCINNATI OF PENNSYLVANIA, and is entitled to all the rights and privileges of the Institution.

IN TESTIMONY whereof I the President of the said Society have hereunto set my Hand at the City of Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania, this.....Day of.....in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and.....and in the.....Year of the Independence of the United States.

By Order

.....President.

.....Secretary.

DELAWARE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

The Delaware Society was dormant from 1800 until reorganized in 1895. It was readmitted as a State Society by the General Society in 1902.

There is no record of any provisional diploma ever having been used. About 1895, the time of the reorganization, the Society adopted an engraved diploma, patterned closely after the original design of Major L'Enfant, though with altered wording. The plate was made by Pfeiffer Brothers, of Philadelphia, and the impressions are made by the same firm. The seal of the Society on a gold or a light blue wafer is affixed at the bottom of the diploma.

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

The wording is :

Be it known that.....who was a.....in the
.....Continental Establishment is by virtue of a resolution of
the Delaware State Society of the Cincinnati passed on the.....
day of.....I....., hereby declared to be a Member of the
Society of the CINCINNATI instituted by the Officers of the American
Army of the Revolution at the Period of its Dissolution in 1783 as
well to commemorate the great Event which gave Independence to
the United States of America as for the laudable Purpose of incul-
cating the Duty of laying down in Peace Arms assumed for the public
Defense and of uniting in Acts of brotherly Affection and Bonds of
perpetual Friendship the Members constituting the same.

IN TESTIMONY whereof the Delaware State Society of the Cincin-
nati has caused these Presents to be signed by the President,
countersigned by the Secretary and the Seal of the Society to
be affixed at.....in the State of Delaware this.....
day of.....in the Year of our Lord One Thousand
.....Hundred and.....and of the Independ-
ence of the United States of America the One Hundred
and.....

By OrderPresident.

.....Secretary.

The Delaware diploma is the best engraved of any of the State
diplomas of the Cincinnati.

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI OF MARYLAND

This Society has had a continuous existence.

At the meeting of the Maryland Cincinnati on July 4, 1808, it
was

Ordered, that Colonel John Eager Howard, Colonel Josias Car-
vel Hall and Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay be, and they are hereby
appointed, a Committee on behalf of this Society, to prepare and
report to this Society, at their next meeting, a form for a Certificate,
to be given to those gentlemen who have been, and those who may
be, elected members of the Society of the Cincinnati, and that a copy
of said Certificate be recorded on their proceedings.

At the meeting on July 4, 1810,

A form of Certificate to be granted to the members who have
been, or may be elected as members, was laid before the Society and
agreed to, in the following form:—

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

BE IT KNOWN that....., Esquire, son of , an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati, has been duly elected and admitted into the Society of the Cincinnati of the State of Maryland, and that he is entitled to all the rights and privileges of the Institution.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, we, the President and Vice-President of said Society, have hereunto set our hands at the..... this.....day of.....in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and....., and in the..... year of the Independence of the United States.

By order,President.
.....Vice-President.
.....Secretary.

Further information anent the membership certificate used by the Maryland Cincinnati is found in the minutes of the Standing Committee of the Pennsylvania Cincinnati of April 27, 1853. The application of George W. Harris, a member of the Maryland Society, for transfer to the Pennsylvania Society, he being now a resident of Philadelphia, is endorsed:

Mr. Harris produced a regular certificate from the Maryland Society of the Cincinnati, signed by the Officers thereof in due form, being an exact copy of the original certificates, and just such an one as our own Society should possess. James Glentworth, Secy. State Soc. Cin. of Penna. March 26, 1853.

There is no record of any provisional diploma ever having been used by the Maryland Society. In 1900 A. Hoen & Company, of Baltimore, made a lithographic stone for the Maryland Society and impressions from it on parchment have been used ever since. The Society's seal is not affixed. A fee of seven dollars is charged each new member for the diploma. The document reads:

Be it known that..... is a Member of the Society of the CINCINNATI, instituted by the Officers of the American Army, at the Period of its Dissolution, as well to commemorate the great Event which gave Independence to NORTH AMERICA, as for the laudable Purpose of inculcating the Duty of laying down in Peace Arms assumed for public Defense, and of uniting in Acts of brotherly Affection, and Bonds of perpetual Friendship the Members constituting the same.

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

IN TESTIMONY whereof I, the President of the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, have hereunto set my Hand and the Seal of the said Society at Baltimore in the State of Maryland this Twenty-Second Day of February in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and.....and in the One Hundred and.....Year of the Independence of the United States.

By Order
.....President.
.....Secretary.

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

The Virginia Society was dormant from 1824 until 1886, being readmitted to full standing by the General Society in 1899.

The Society's archives include what is thought to be the oldest Cincinnati certificate in existence. It is the provisional certificate of Cornet Caspar Schaffner (see above), an officer who signed the original roll in Pennsylvania, but was transferred at a date not known, to the Virginia Society. That certificate is dated December, 1783, before, of course, L'Enfant returned from France with the diploma plate.

At the meeting of the Virginia Society on April 24, 1787, it was:

Ordered, That the Secretary cause the blanks in the Diplomas, that were lodged with him by order of the Committee, to be filled up in the following manner:

- 1st Blank—with the name of the member applying for the Diploma, and the words "Esquire of the Commonwealth of Virginia."
- 2nd Blank—with the words "Mount Vernon."
- 3rd Blank—with the word "Virginia" in a hand similar to that in which the words "North America," in the 3rd line are wrote.
- 4th Blank—with the word "first."
- 5th Blank—with the word "March."
- 6th Blank—with the words "Eighty-seven."
- 7th Blank—with the word "Eleventh."

Ordered That the Secretary do not deliver a Diploma to any member who may be in arrears to the Society until He shall discharge such arrears, and pay a Dollar as the price of the Diploma.

Reference to the wording of the diploma as adopted on May 14, 1784, shows what is meant by the seven blanks. This resolution of the Virginia Cincinnati had the effect of causing diplomas of original

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Virginia members to bear the same date, March 1, 1787. This is somewhat confusing for of course not all were issued at the same time. Only one diploma of an original Virginia member bears a different date and place. It is the diploma of Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Clough Anderson, now in the possession of his descendant and representative, Mr. Larz Anderson. The diploma is made out to:

RICHARD CLOUGH ANDERSON ESQ^R. *Lieut Colonel*

and is dated in Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania on the eighth day of (month not given), 1784. A number of diplomas of original members of other States are thus dated, and it is probable that Colonel Anderson's diploma was issued before the Virginia Society decided that all their diplomas would bear the same date and that military titles would be omitted thereon. The Anderson diploma is particularly interesting for a lock of General Washington's hair is fastened to the document just below his signature. (Diploma reproduced in E. A. Anderson's "Soldier and Pioneer: A Biographical Sketch of Lt. Col. Richard C. Anderson.")

In 1906 the Virginia Society had a lithograph stone prepared by Alva Nelson, of New York, for the printing of diplomas of membership. A sufficiently large number of impressions on parchment were purchased at that time to last for many years, and it was only in 1931 that it was found that the stone had been lost.

The design, which is finely cut, follows as nearly as possible that of the original L'Enfant diploma, and the wording is the same, except for the use of the words "Virginia" and "Richmond." The document states:

Be it known that.....is a Member of the Society of the CINCINNATI, instituted by the Officers of the American Army at the Period of its Dissolution as well to commemorate the great Event which gave Independence to NORTH AMERICA, as for the laudable Purpose of inculcating the Duty of laying down in Peace Arms assumed for public Defense, and of uniting in Acts of brotherly Affection and Bonds of perpetual Friendship the Members constituting the same.

IN TESTIMONY whereof I, the President of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia, have hereunto set my Hand and the seal of said Society at Richmond this..... day of.....in the Year of our Lord One Thousand

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Nine Hundred and....., and in the one hundred and
.....Year of the Independence of the United States.
By Order
.....Secretary.
.....President.

As a rule the seal of the Virginia Society has not been affixed to the diploma, though in a few instances it has. When affixed the seal is impressed on a wafer of light blue edged with white. Diplomas are purchased, if desired, by members.

When, in 1931, it was found that the lithographic stone for the Virginia diplomas had been lost, the Society voted not to have another prepared for the present, but to suggest that members either apply for the diploma of the General Society, in manner provided (see above), or if a State diploma were preferred, that the kind offer of the Massachusetts Society for the use of their plate would be accepted. Since the Massachusetts diploma is similar to that used in Virginia, except for the words "Massachusetts" and "Boston," these words can be omitted when the impressions are taken from the Massachusetts copper plate and the words "Virginia" and "Richmond" lettered in by hand at the time that the blank diploma is engrossed for a Virginia member. Since this action by the Virginia Society, some ninety blank Virginia diplomas were found in the Society's records and are now being used for new members.

NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

The North Carolina Society became dormant in 1791, was reorganized in 1896 and admitted to full standing as a State Society by the General Society in 1902.

In 1898 the firm of A. Hoen & Company, of Baltimore, made a lithographic stone for the North Carolina Society and from it diplomas have been printed ever since. This was the first of the State diplomas made by this firm which now also makes diplomas for the New Hampshire, Maryland, and Georgia Societies. The impressions are on parchment with the design and almost the wording of the original diplomas of L'Enfant. The seal of the Society on a gold wafer is affixed. The text is:

Be it known that.....is a Member of the Society of the CINCINNATI, instituted by the Officers of the American Army, at the Period of its Dissolution, as well to commemorate the great

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Event which gave Independence to NORTH AMERICA, as for the laudable Purpose of inculcating the Duty of laying down in Peace Arms assumed for public Defense, and of uniting in Acts of brotherly Affection, and Bonds of perpetual Friendship the Members constituting the same.

IN TESTIMONY whereof I, the President of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, have hereunto set my Hand and the Seal of said Society at Raleigh, in the State of North Carolina, this.....Day of.....in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and.....and in the One Hundred and.....Year of the Independence of the United States.

By OrderPresident.
.....Secretary.

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

The South Carolina Cincinnati has had a continuous existence. Its diploma has long been in use, probably from the time that the first hereditary members were admitted. The diploma is lithographed and printed on cream colored paper of fairly rough texture. The Society's seal is not affixed. Each member is entitled to a diploma on being admitted to the Society.

The design of the document, which was engraved by W. Keenan, is essentially that of Major L'Enfant, though the wording has been changed to suit it to hereditary members. It reads:

Be it known that.....a.....descendant of
.....a.....in the REVOLUTIONARY ARMY is a
Member of the STATE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI being a branch
of the GENERAL SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI instituted by the Officers of American Army at the period of its dissolution as well to commemorate the great Event which gave *Independence* to NORTH AMERICA as for the laudable purpose of inculcating the duty of laying down in Peace Arms assumed for public defense and of uniting in Acts of Brotherly Affection and Bonds of perpetual Friendship the Members constituting the same.

In testimony whereof, I the President of the said State Society have hereunto set my hand at Charleston in the State of South Carolina this.....day of.....in the year of the Independence of the United States.

By orderPresident.
.....Secretary.

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN THE STATE OF GEORGIA

The Georgia Society of the Cincinnati became dormant after 1822, the exact date being unknown. It was revived by descendants of original members in 1899, and was readmitted as a State Society by the General Society in 1902. In that year A. Hoen & Company, of Baltimore, made a lithographic stone for the Georgia diplomas and they have been made from it since that time. The diploma is on parchment. At first there was no seal affixed, but since the incorporation of the Georgia Society in 1926 the seal has been impressed, without wafer, on the document near the signature of the Secretary. Diplomas are furnished to members upon payment of a fee of five dollars.

The document is:

Be it known that.....is a Member of the Society of the CINCINNATI, instituted by Officers of the American Army, at the Period of its Dissolution, as well to commemorate the great Event which gave Independence to NORTH AMERICA, as for the laudable Purpose of inculcating the Duty of laying down in Peace Arms assumed for public Defense, and of uniting in Acts of brotherly Affection, and Bonds of perpetual Friendship the Members constituting the same.

IN TESTIMONY whereof I, the President of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Georgia have hereunto set my Hand and the Seal of the said Society at Savannah, Georgia this Twenty-Second Day of February in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and.....and in the One Hundred and.....Year of the Independence of the United States.

By OrderPresident.
.....Secretary.

This diploma is of the same form and design as those of the Societies of North Carolina, Maryland and New Hampshire, which are made by the same firm.

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES CINCINNATI DE FRANCE

The Society of the Cincinnati in France was provisionally organized at Paris on January 7, 1784, as a State Society, by officers of the French Land and Sea Forces who were qualified under the Institution, and duly admitted by the King upon recommendations of the Ministers of War or Marine. It had been formally sanctioned by His Majesty,

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Louis XVI, in Council at Versailles, in December, 1783, with the King as Patron of the Order in France. A permanent organization was effected on July 4, 1784, with the Count d'Estaing as President and the Count de Rochambeau as Vice-President. The *Ordre de Cincinnati*, as it was then known in France, was rendered dormant and its members dispersed by the Reign of Terror, August 10, 1792. From this time forth hereditary members, in right of French officers, were admitted to the several American State Societies, until August 3, 1922, when the French Society was provisionally reorganized in Paris. It was accepted as a State Society by the Standing Committee, under authority of the General Society, on December 31, 1925, and is now one of the largest branches of the Cincinnati.

The Society in France has not adopted a special diploma, though it is understood that they contemplate a replica of the original diploma for the use of the hereditary members of today.

While diplomas signed by Generals Washington and Knox were delivered to most of the French officers who were original members of the Cincinnati, there remained thirty-three of them undelivered. They were kept in the Society's archives until the triennial meeting of the Society in Boston in 1929, the first at which French delegates had been present since the early days of the Society. On this occasion it was

Resolved, That the General Society transfer the thirty-three certificates of membership signed by General Washington only, in favor of original French members, to the Society in France, and that a list of them be printed in the Proceedings of this Meeting.

The following is the list of these certificates signed by General Washington, at New York, 7th August, 1790. They are not signed by General Knox, the Secretary General:

De Moriset	Capitaine de Vaisseau
Baron de Beaumont.....	Capitaine de Vaisseau
M. de Repentigny	Lieutenant de Vaisseau
M. de Barras	Lieutenant de Vaisseau
Le Chevalier Joseph de l'Epine.....	Lieutenant de Vaisseau
M. de Joannis.....	Capitaine de Vaisseau
Charles Louis Theobald de Taillevis, Chevalier de Perigny.....	Lieutenant de Vaisseau
Le Vicomte de Cambis.....	Major de Vaisseau
Le Chevalier de Sambury.....	Lieutenant de Vaisseau

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Le Marquis de Camus.....	Lieutenant de Vaisseau
Pierre Victor Laurent.....	Lieutenant de Vaisseau
Chevalier de Chadirac.....	Lieutenant de Vaisseau
M. Arragonez d'Orcet	Lieutenant de Vaisseau
M. de Grasse Limermont.....	Lieutenant de Vaisseau
M. Guyon de Vaoronault.....	Major de Vaisseau
Jean Barthelemy Broves.....	Major de Vaisseau
Comte de Talelis.....	Major de Vaisseau
Le Comte Chastenet de Puysegur.....	Major de Vaisseau
Le Chevalier Colbert de Maulevrier.....	Lieutenant de Vaisseau
M. Isnard de Cancelad.....	Major de Vaisseau
Antoine Robert, Chevalier de Cluzel.....	Major de Vaisseau
Le Comte de Cambis.....	Major de Vaisseau
M. Saint Marc de Fauris.....	Major de Vaisseau
M. Greslier de Concize.....	Major de Vaisseau
M. de Chausse Gros.....	Capitaine de Vaisseau
M. Baupoil Saint Aulaire.....	Major de Vaisseau
Charles, Chevalier de Lomenie.....	Major de Vaisseau
Le Chevalier de Vallonge.....	Capitaine de Vaisseau
François Jean Baptiste Sextius Chevalier	
Darnaud	Capitaine de Vaisseau
M. D'Autier de Sigan.....	Capitaine de Vaisseau
Robert François Louis Harmois de Blanques.	Capitaine de Vaisseau
Louis Bernier, Marquis de Pierrevert.....	Major de Vaisseau
Le Marquis D'Antine de Sainte See.....	Capitaine de Vaisseau
Jean Guillaume Michel de Gougillon.....	Capitaine de Vaisseau
M. de la Bouchetiere.....	Capitaine de Vaisseau

It will be recognized that some of these names are misspelled and others incomplete, but they are given as on the diplomas.

There is in the New York City Museum a most interesting diploma of the New York German Society, or *Teutsche Gesellschaft*, of which General Steuben was president. It is copied so closely after the diploma of the Society of the Cincinnati as to merit a description here. It is of the size of the Cincinnati diploma and bears the following wording:

Dieses beurkundet dass.....Zu einem.....
Mitglied der *Teutschen Gesellschaft* in dem Staat von NEW-YORK
auf und angenehmen worden. Gegeben unter meiner Hand und dem
Siegel der Gesellschaft in New York den.....

F. W: d: HRR frhr v: Steuben *Presid'*.

WM. WILMERDING *Secr'*.

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CININNATI

The design includes a knight in armor at the left, an Indian at the right, and above, in a circle of clouds the double-headed eagle of the Society. In the distance are ships, the resemblance to the Cincinnati diploma being evident.

The New York City Directory of 1790 lists the German Society with Baron Steuben as President and Henry Will as Vice-president, and there are other contemporary references to it. For example, on January 6, 1791, the members of the German Society of the State of New York celebrated their anniversary festival. They met "at their Hall in King George Street," and proceeded to the Lutheran Church, where an oration was delivered by William Wilmerding in German and one by Jacob Morton in English (*N. Y. Magazine*). Jacob Morton was an honorary member of the Society of the Cincinnati. One wonders if it might have been he who suggested the form of the diploma. On May 21, 1794, at a meeting presided over by the Baron Frederick William von Steuben, the German Society of New York adopted a resolution that "all its members and all the German inhabitants of New York in general, if it were desired, should work for a day at the forts which have been commenced on Governor's Island." On July 5, in the same year, the German Society assembled in the morning "at the Lutheran Schoolhouse, In Nassau Street, and, led by their president, proceeds with flying colors and music through Broadway . . . to Governor's Island." Here the mayor allotted places to them and they worked until sunset. (*Kapp's Life of Steuben*.)

There are at least two Society of the Cincinnati punch bowls in existence which bear on the outside the whole diploma of the Cincinnati. The name given on one is "Richard Varick Esqr. a Lieutenant Colonel in the late Armies of the United States." The diploma, as here depicted, is dated at Mount Vernon in the State of Virginia on the first day of January, 1784. The signatures of Washington and Knox are reproduced. One of these bowls is in the possession of the Washington Association of Morristown, New Jersey, and the other is the property of Mr. Edward E. Spafford, of New York City. The bowls, like other pieces of the Chinese Lowestoft bearing emblems of the Society of the Cincinnati, were made in Canton in the late eighteenth century. Captain Samuel Shaw, the member of the Cincinnati who served as secretary of the meeting at which the Society

DIPLOMAS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI


was formed, and at which General Steuben presided, was supercargo on the "Empress of China," one of the first vessels to bring oriental products to the United States. He is said to have designed the Cincinnati china, now among the rarest bits of early American porcelain and much prized by collectors. A complete set of it was presented to General Washington.

This, then, is the history of the diploma of the Society of the Cincinnati, perhaps the oldest form of diploma in the country that is still in use.



George Washington, Fielding and Betty Lewis

BY ALICE DINSMOOR, "BERNMOOR," WESTWOOD, NEW JERSEY

N a recent visit to the historic town of Fredericksburg, Virginia, deep interest was engendered in Fielding and Betty Washington Lewis, not only on account of their relationship to the Father of His Country, but also because of their own individual lives.

Diligent search in the Library of Congress has yielded material, here and there a fragment, which brought together gives a more complete account of the self-denying, patriotic services of Fielding Lewis and the many-sided life of his wife than has been found in print. So closely were they associated with Betty's illustrious brother that all their names form the title of this story.

Wakefield, the home of the first family bearing the name of Washington in America, has been given a rather new look by the house just built on the foundation of the one where our first President and his sister Betty were born. Pope's Creek on one side of the neck of land, and Bridge's Creek on the other, help to make it a lonely though beautiful spot, as it must have been when Augustine Washington brought his second bride to what had once been his grandfather's home, now his own by inheritance.

This young bride, Mary Ball, of Epping Forest, Virginia, had been an orphan for some years, and under the kindly guardianship of the influential lawyer and planter, George Eskridge. And so when her first son was born it was probably her wish that he be called George—a name quite new in the Washington family.

Sixteen months later her first daughter came, and was baptized Elizabeth, but seems always to have been called Betty. As they grew up she resembled her brother so strongly both in face and form that we read, dressed in his uniform and hat, she might easily have been mistaken for him.

After the fire at Wakefield, and a stay of perhaps four years at the estate now known as Mount Vernon, Augustine Washington settled his family quite near the village of Falmouth, on what is now

GEORGE WASHINGTON, FIELDING AND BETTY LEWIS

known as the Ferry farm, destined to be Mary Washington's home long after all her children had left her to establish homes of their own.

Here George and Betty had a rather mysterious teacher named William Grove, but familiarly known as "Hobby." He is spoken of as a "convict," and as a "servant," and is known to have been brought to this country by Augustine Washington on one of his trips to England. It is at least possible that he was a political exile of education, who was only too glad to find refuge in the colony of Virginia with a wealthy planter, the father of a growing family.

The Ferry farm was near the banks of the Rappahannock River, important shipping port. It is said that so many vessels were sometimes lying together in the harbor that a man could cross the river by jumping from one deck to another.

It was somewhere along here that Washington is said to have then so deep that the opposite busy town of Fredericksburg was an throw across the silver coin. Deponents do not say that the proud little sister was standing by to see the feat, but they do say that the two children crossed the river together by a ferry, to school. George became a pupil in the school for boys established by the Reverend James Marye, rector of St. George's Church in Fredericksburg, which the Washington family attended. He was a French Huguenot turned Episcopalian, a man of learning and culture, as well as piety. Under his instruction George added to the more elementary lessons learned from "Hobby," and got the preparation in mathematics he needed for his work as surveyor. Meanwhile Betty was in a dame's school, "learning English, French, globes and embroidery." It was while George was a pupil at Mr. Marye's school that he compiled the remarkable one hundred and ten rules for "Behavior." Their source has been ascribed to a translation into English from the writings of a Jesuit priest, and to the learned Erasmus. But authorities agree that George compiled the rules himself, some of them very likely acquired from these ancient sources, others from his own observations in the home of the family friend, Sir William Fairfax, where as a boy he was sometimes a guest, or more probably still, from his master, Mr. Marye.

Whatever the sources of the rules, we may, at this distance, surmise that sometimes when George and Betty were on their way home from school, or were not too busy with other matters, George told

GEORGE WASHINGTON, FIELDING AND BETTY LEWIS

her some of those which were just as important for a girl as for a boy. This, for instance:

Make no show of taking great delight in your victuals; cut your bread with a knife; lean not on the table, neither find fault with what you eat.

And this:

Think before you speak; pronounce not imperfectly, nor bring out your words too hastily.

And this:

Let your countenance be pleasant, but in serious matters, grave.

And this:

Play not the peacock, looking everywhere about you to see if you be well decked, if your shoes fit well, if your stockings fit neatly, and clothes handsomely.

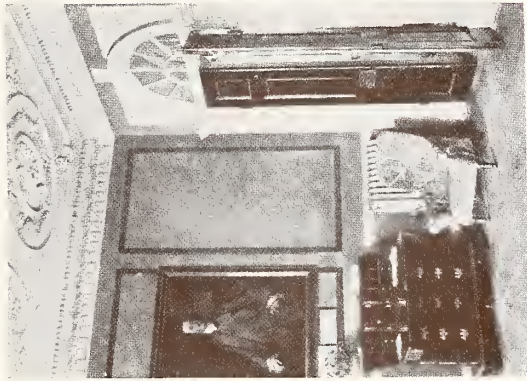
In those days life had become very serious for the family, for George was only eleven when his father died. Augustine Washington made ample provision for all his six sons. To George he left the Ferry farm, some other land and ten negro slaves. To Betty he bequeathed two negro children and (400) four hundred pounds to be paid her in due time by his eldest son, Lawrence.

Mrs. Washington was also left a sufficient life interest in her husband's estate. Her family cares would have been almost overwhelming for a woman of less character. Fortunately, her two stepsons were approaching manhood, so that they were able to be of some assistance in the bringing up of her own five young children, and the management of her plantations. She had two books of guidance, and writers about her agree that they were carefully studied—the Bible and Sir Matthew Hale's "Meditations."

Admitted to the department of the Library of Congress where rare books are specially guarded, the writer was allowed to make some extracts from the "Meditations and Contemplations" of Sir Matthew Hale, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, published in London in 1711. A copy of this book Mary Ball Washington found when she came to her new home at Wakefield, with the name of her predecessor, Jane Washington, written in it. She wrote under it "Mary Washington," and thus adopted it as her guide.



KENMORE—BUILT 1752
As it appears today



SALON AT KENMORE
Portrait Col. Fielding Lewis and Betty
Washington's own Fireside Chair
and Desk



BETTY WASHINGTON LEWIS
George Washington's only sister

GEORGE WASHINGTON, FIELDING AND BETTY LEWIS

The first subject treated in the book is entitled: "Of the consideration of our Latter End, and the Benefits of it." The second is: "Of Wisdom and the Fear of God." A single passage from this discourse says: "Though all men have ordinarily the privilege of reason; yet all men have not the Habit of Wisdom. . . . The generality of Mankind are in truth very Fools, and make it a great part of their Business to be so, and many that pretend to seek after wisdom do either mistake the thing or mistake the way to attain it."

To offset this discouraging thought comes this assurance: "Any man that sincerely and truly fears Almighty God, relies upon Him, calls upon Him for his Guidance and Direction, hath it as really as the Son hath the Counsel and Direction of his Father. And though the Voice be not audible nor the Direction always perceptible to Sense, yet it is equally as real as if a Man heard the Voice saying 'This is the way, walk in it.'"

"Of the knowledge of Christ Crucified"; "The Victory of Faith over the World"; "Of Humility"; "The Chief end of man"; "The Folly and Mischief of Sin" are among other subjects treated, and all are supported by copious references to the Scriptures.

The serious student of Washington's life cannot fail to recognize in many acts of his the principles of wisdom and justice thus received from the mother whom in his mature years he addressed in his letters as "Honored Madam."

The years of daily companionship between George and Betty Washington were soon passed. At nineteen George was well launched in his career as surveyor. At seventeen Betty became the second wife of Fielding Lewis. Her predecessor was her cousin, Catharine Whiting Washington, daughter of her Uncle John, so Mr. Lewis had known her probably from her childhood.

Of Welsh ancestry, the son of John and Frances (Fielding) Lewis, Fielding Lewis was born in Charles City County, Virginia, but early went to Fredericksburg to live. Authorities do not agree about the year of his birth, but in view of events in his life, 1725 seems a more probable date than a later year sometimes given. Search has been made in vain for facts about his early life. He is found mentioned as a prosperous merchant and property owner in 1750, when he married Betty Washington. No details of the wedding have been discovered, except that it occurred in St. George's Church.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, FIELDING AND BETTY LEWIS

From this time forward Fielding Lewis was a conspicuous citizen in Fredericksburg and in the colony at large. The beautiful home that he built for Betty was a notable one in the town, and one of the very few that escaped the ravages of time and war. This was the mansion house of the Lewis estate of over eight hundred acres in and around Fredericksburg, and is called by some writers "Millbank," by others "Millbrook." It is said that her brother George surveyed the land, and advised about the architectural details of the spacious, elegant brick house that was his sister's home almost to the end of her life. Records show that he had to do with the laying out of the grounds, planting of trees and shrubbery, even that he designed the ceiling of drawing and dining rooms, whose elaborate decorations visitors admire today. They were certainly executed by skilled craftsmen. Traditions differ about who they were: those designs drawn when Washington was a gentleman of comparative leisure may not have been made permanent on the ceilings until Hessian prisoners taken at Trenton were detailed to show their skill, or some French artist at work at Mount Vernon may have been sent over at an earlier date for their execution. In whatever manner the house may have been ornamented or furnished, Betty Lewis became from the first hour she was its mistress a very busy woman. Let us hope that the two negro children she inherited were by that time old enough to be of use. Her husband was the owner of a goodly number of negroes, and there was plenty of work indoors and out to occupy them.

Betty found three children to mother, when she married, and in rather rapid succession twelve others were added to the family. The care and conduct of all the household must have soon rested chiefly upon her shoulders. Public affairs as well as private business began to make large demands upon the head of the family.

On February 7, 1758, Fielding Lewis, Esq., took the oath of office as county lieutenant of Spotsylvania County. Whatever the duties were, to our present day ears, the title sounds impressive. Three years later he was made a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and was successively reelected and served until March, 1768. He was placed repeatedly on important committees. One of these was the committee on "Propositions and Grievances," and at the same session he was on the Committee of Trade. A duty that fell to the first of these committees, for example, was "to ascertain the

GEORGE WASHINGTON, FIELDING AND BETTY LEWIS

Price of sundry Goods belonging to the public, purchased by Mr. Israel Christian, to inspect the same, and to report their Opinion to the House." "The Petition of Sundry Merchants on the Rappahannock River, praying that a late act of Assembly for establishing the Rates of Pilotage which expired some time ago" was referred to the Committee of Trade. It was in 1765, during Lewis' service in the Assembly, that Patrick Henry delivered in the convention at Richmond his famous "Give me liberty or give me death" speech, and that in itself made the times exciting. In 1761, the first year Lewis served in the Assembly, he was made commander-in-chief of the militia of his county.

In a volume of "American Archives" relating to Virginia history, I found the record of a meeting of Fredericksburg citizens held in June, 1774, at which it was "resolved that it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting to concur in every proper measure that may be thought expedient by our sister colonies . . . respecting the hostile invasion of the rights and liberties of the town of Boston. Resolved that Messrs. Fielding Lewis, Charles Dick and eight others (names given) be appointed a Committee to correspond with neighboring towns and counties concerning their sentiments on this present interesting and alarming situation in America."

In Washington's diary on February 27, 1772, we find the entry "Got to Fredericksburg in the afternoon, and lodged at Colonel Lewis's" and on the next day, "Dined at Colonel Lewis's." It is easy to imagine how exciting the conversation at the table was.

Letters that are accessible show how intimate the business relations between the brothers-in-law were. One written in May, 1773, by Washington to Lewis in regard to the collection of money due him, and another in July of the same year from Lewis telling about his own crops and the poor chance of selling flour, read much as if they had been written in the years 1931 or 1932.

In 1775 Washington gained what we are told was a "reluctant" consent from his mother to leave the plantation which she had all these years since her husband's death been carrying on, and to live in Fredericksburg. There he bought for her a very modest cottage which he enlarged by a two-story addition. The grounds adjoined those of her daughter, and we are told that Mrs. Washington herself planted the box hedge bordering the walk between the two places.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, FIELDING AND BETTY LEWIS

The mother and daughter could easily slip back and forth unobserved. Tradition says that if a servant told Mrs. Lewis her mother was coming, she laid aside her book, if she happened to be reading, and turned to her work basket.

It was about the time that Mrs. Washington came to be in a way under the protection of Colonel Lewis, that he undertook his most important service for his country. The fire arms in use in Virginia, and in fact throughout the colonies, were the flint locks brought over from Europe, and so far used chiefly against wild game and Indians. There had been none made in this country. It was, therefore, a significant act of the Virginia Assembly, passed in 1775, appointing five commissioners to erect a suitable building and begin the manufacture of firearms. Colonel Lewis, quartermaster of the Virginia Militia, and Major Charles Dick were the only two of the appointees, we read, who served. They were both citizens of Fredericksburg, and found near the town a low piece of ground with a spring, which they bought, and there they put up what was known as the "Gunnery." Within a year it was in operation. It is recorded that they turned out "one hundred stand of arms a month," and also ammunition, throughout the Revolution. The iron came from mines in Virginia. The Assembly appropriated (£2,500) about twenty thousand dollars for the building, its equipment, and the manufacture of the output. When that was spent, Colonel Lewis used seven thousand pounds of his own ("all he had"), and when that was gone, he borrowed three or four thousand pounds more, for liberty was not yet gained. None of this money was ever repaid. Colonel Lewis wrote a letter to the Second Continental Congress in regard to this debt, closing as follows: "I should be greatly obliged to you to send me the money by Mr. James Maury who has the warrant. Can it be expected that the States can be well served when their best friends are used in the manner I have been treated? I am Your most obedient servant, Fielding Lewis."¹

The surrender at Yorktown we all know was the practical end of the struggle—for the Lewis family it was more. Dates do not agree, but either while the siege was going on, or on the very day of the surrender in 1781, Fielding Lewis died. He was broken in health and

1. This letter is found in Joseph Dillaway Sawyer's "Washington" as also other material in this article.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, FIELDING AND BETTY LEWIS

bankrupt at fifty-five years of age. He and three of his younger children lie buried under the steps of the present St. George's Church, of which he was a vestryman. Some men of less distinguished service have had lofty monuments erected in their memory.

Four of the Lewises' sons served in the Revolutionary army—Laurence was a member of his uncle's bodyguard. We read that once when the news from the field was especially saddening, and Mrs. Lewis gave a despairing cry, her mother said to her, "The sister of the Commanding General should be an example of fortitude and faith."

The experience of seeing the noble estate, with property that belonged thereto, sold at auction to pay taxes and debts must have cost her many a pang. It appears that the house known at Millbrook she continued for some years to occupy.

More than one historian, Woodrow Wilson among them, relates an incident connected with a visit Washington paid her soon after her husband's death. She had been out of the house for a time, and returning noticed a horse and groom near the entrance. Going up to her own room she found her brother lying asleep on her bed.

When four months after his inauguration as President, their mother passed way, he wrote a long letter (facsimile of which is given by Sawyer) to his sister, expressive of their common feelings, and giving directions about the will of which he had been made executor and chief legatee. In this will Mrs. Washington gave to her daughter, Betty Lewis, "her phaeton and bay horse." Her clothing she bequeathed to her three granddaughters, but with the provision her daughter Betty was to have any two or three articles she wished, before division was made.

No record of it has been found in print, but Fredericksburg people whose ancestors were contemporaries of Mrs. Lewis, say that while she was holding on at Millbank she had a school to eke out her income. It is known that her brother helped her financially, but doubtless she did not wish to be wholly dependent upon him, and he too had made large monetary sacrifices in the national struggle.

Then came the year 1794, and Mrs. Lewis sold what was left of Millbank and went to live with her daughter Betty, married to Charles Carter, in her home in Culpeper, Virginia. There she died in 1797, and there was buried.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, FIELDING AND BETTY LEWIS

Beautiful Millbank, or Millbrook, was bought by a Mr. Gordon, and the name was changed to Kenmore, by which it is now well known. A Gordon family owned it for fifty years. After that it changed hands several times, until it became the property of a man who was preparing to cut it up into town lots, and to turn the mansion into an apartment house. Then it was that Fredericksburg and other women formed the Kenmore Association, and thus saved as a national shrine the most sacred one we have next to Mount Vernon, connected with the Washington family.

Various objects of interest have been gathered there—nothing surely of quite so much value as the portraits of the two original owners. Over the mantel in the dining room hangs the painting of Fielding Lewis—a sturdy looking form of perhaps forty years of age, with strong features, dark, bushy hair, long nose, a mouth a little one sided, or curved as if to smile.

A larger canvas is that of Betty Lewis, in the drawing room. It is a very speaking portrait—the dark hair is drawn back from the high, broad forehead, and is ornamented by what look like pearl beads. The dark eyes are wide apart, and the sunny expression leads one to feel it was painted in the happy years. The gown—a lovely shade of blue silk—is cut with a square neck. This beautiful portrait is owned by the Mount Vernon Association, and is loaned to this home, where it so fittingly hangs.





HANGING STAIRS, RUSSELL HOUSE, 51 MEETING STREET,
CHARLESTON. SELF-SUPPORTED FOR THREE STORIES

Social Classes and Customs in South Carolina, 1830-60

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THOUGH the foibles, gifts and graces of South Carolina society have constantly appeared in our narrative, we may here bring together more systematically some features of social life. The homes of the wealthy were spacious and comfortable, designed with wide halls and due ventilation for the climate, but were rarely ornate. Generally even the finest houses that survive, like the Preston mansion in Columbia, were characterized by a stately dignity of the whole, restful though imposing, but not ornate. Millwood, the Sumter County mansion built by Governor John L. Manning in the 1850's at a cost, it is said, of \$96,000, not including slave labor, the finest country house in the State, if indeed equaled by anything in Charleston, was so exceptional as to earn the nickname "Manning's Folly." Designed with meticulous care for dignity, elegance, and propriety, with its parlor and drawing room thrown into one by almost concealed sliding doors and occupying an entire side of the ground floor with walls consisting of the finest plate glass mirrors from Paris, and with its semi-circular stair tower divided from the great hallway by a wall of glass, it is almost as much palace as home. As generally with the great houses, grounds designed with skillful landscape gardening heighten the effect.¹

The Georgetown rice planters, says Governor Hayward, had finer houses than those on the Combahee, for instead of maintaining a city

1. Tradition says that Millwood was designed by John Niernsee, the architect of the new State House, whose erection he was then supervising. It is in his style. Gen. Potter, who arrived just in time to prevent one of his negro soldiers in April, 1865, from killing Governor Manning, remarked, "This is a very fine structure." "Yes," replied the Governor, "It was built by a man from New England by the name of Potter, and I suppose a man by the name of Potter from New York will destroy it." "No, sir," replied Potter; his intention was to protect it. *Recollections of Potter's Raid*, No. XXIV, by Rev. Wm. M. Mood, in "Sumter Watchman and Southron" of December 21, 1886. Settlement of the question of the architect would be interesting.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

house for the malarial season (about May 10 to November 10) as the richer planters south of Charleston frequently did, they usually built cheap cottages on the beach of the style of the plain summer houses at the numerous pine-covered "highlands" farther inland.

Of Georgetown District, Richard Lathers wrote long afterwards, "The entire property of the average planter at the time I started in business was hardly equal to the annual income of the Northern millionaire of today; but on this relatively modest sum he dispensed a liberal and refined hospitality which challenged the admiration of all visitors to the South." A rice plantation of 200 negroes, worth \$150,000 to \$200,000, supported a family of five to ten persons in comparative luxury, supplying a town house, the country seat, and the homestead. I knew very few planters, he continues, whose annual expenditures exceeded \$15,000; it was generally under \$10,000. Spending a season in New York, Saratoga, or Newport was confined to the richer planters who lived on inherited investments.²

The Basis of the Ruling Class—South Carolina pre-Revolutionary aristocracy was essentially the spontaneous indigenous growth of natural talents pushing to the top. The emergence of contempt for trade shortly before the Revolution marked the hardening of the landed gentry into a superior class. The pre-Revolutionary distinguished families occupied the highest social level. The new men—Hamptons, Mannings, Kershaws, Richardsons, Pickenses, etc.—whose character and force won distinction in the Revolution came next. Lastly were added men of talent and character who rose after the Revolution—Calhoun, McDuffie, Cheves, Petigru, Hammond, and a host of others. For, though hardening with pride as its origin was forgotten, the aristocracy remained open to great talent accompanied by good manners and money to keep the pace; for a poor aristocracy is an impossibility except as a survival. James L. Petigru, the poor boy from Abbeville, illustrates this at its best. The son of the family in which he was tutor after graduation said to him there will always in any society be two aristocracies: an aristocracy of wealth, and an aristocracy of talent. I belong to one, and you to the other. Petigru was elected Solicitor by the Legislature through the influence of D. E. Huger and J. R. Pringle, who recognized his tal-

2. Richard Lathers, *Reminiscences* (1907), 4-5.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

ents and helped give him opportunity, professional, political and social.^{2a}

The Pickenses well illustrate the emergence of talent. The backwoods community leader, shrewdly amassing good lands, became the General of the Revolution, and passed fortune and ability to his son. His son Andrew Pickens was Governor from 1816 to '18. His grandson Francis W. Pickens, Governor from 1860 to '62, brilliant, bold, imposing, father of the dashing beauty, the darling (Douschka, darling) of the imperial family, born while he was Minister to Russia, was chosen to lead the State in the crisis of secession. When plain farmer Ben Tillman, who had hated the aristocracy, had become the dominator of South Carolina, his son married a Pickens granddaughter. If Tillman's sons had carried on the tradition of his power, they, or at all events their sons, would have been hated by new popular leaders as "aristocrats."

E. S. Thomas revisiting Charleston in 1838 noted the contempt for trade and the rise of new men. In 1795 the St. Cecilia, he says, was closed to all, or almost all, merchants.³ But, he says, in 1838, besides H. L. Pinckney, few of the distinguished men were of the old aristocracy. Aristocracy of family had yielded to aristocracy of mind which had written its own patents of nobility represented by such men as Calhoun, McDuffie, Hayne, Hamilton, Petigru, Duncan (Dunkin), Cheves, Legaré, Yeadon, and a host of others, forming an aggregate of talent not equaled, he thought, in any other State. Aristocracy, he continues, is carried to such an extent that it is hardly considered reputable to attend to business of any kind. "Even the learned professions were admitted into the *front* rank in society only to a limited extent."

DeBow in defending the South's openness to talent pointed out in 1861 that the sons of non-slave-holders had always been among the ruling spirits of the South, as McDuffie, Cheves, Jackson, A. Clay, Rust, Hammond, Yancey, Orr, Memminger, Benjamin, Simms, Porter, Magrath, Aiken, Maunsel White and a host of others.⁴

So much did J. H. Hammond, haughty son of a poor Massachusetts schoolmaster, enjoy his position as the husband of a wealthy

2a. Grayson, *Memoir of Petigru*, 75.

3. Thomas, *Rem.*, I, 34. The statement, though extreme, indicates correctly the tendency.

4. DeBow's *Review*, Jan., 1861. DeBow includes several, as Aiken and Yancey, whose fathers were slaveholders; perhaps others.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

South Carolina heiress that he wrote in 1848, "Planting in this country is the only independent and really honorable occupation. The planters here are essentially what the nobility are in other countries. They stand at the head of society and politics. Lawyers and professional politicians come next, then Doctors, Merchants, etc."⁵

The abolition of primogeniture in 1791 was a blow at a continuous aristocracy. The division of estates in the low country, where physical conditions demanded large scale operations, frequently ruined fine properties. Said Grayson, a dozen sons look forward to being planters on the small sub-divisions of an estate that their father alone drew the income from. "They are to be planters. But the fragment of the estate fails to support the inheritor. It is too late when he discovers this to betake himself to any other pursuit and he sinks into a class who live on memories of the past and rest their claims to consideration on the virtues of a name. . . . They become component parts of the only aristocracy in America. . . . the aristocracy described by General Foy as composed of men willing to live without working, to consume without producing, and to occupy all public offices without fitness for any of them."⁶ To this were often added the ruinous effects of excessive hospitality, expensive travel, and unbusinesslike management. John S. Preston's generosity and liberal living consumed a great fortune. A wealthy sea-island planter, honored with a directorship of the Bank of the State, borrowed, to follow the bad custom, a large sum, and grew indignant when required to pay interest on settlement, as he had not used the deposit. "The Factor was the factotum of our business life, our commission merchant, our banker, our bookkeeper, our adviser, our collector and disburser, who honored our checks and paid our bills. Many of the planters did not really always know what money they possessed. One year's accounts would overlap another's and sometimes years would pass before the accounts were balanced and settlement made."⁷

Notwithstanding the constant sinking into poverty among the old and the rise to distinction among the new, there remained a strong continuation of wealth or power among many families. Intellectual distinction and public service have marked several families from their early colonial arrival to the present. Others of great distinction for

5. Miss Merritt, Hammond, 43.

6. MS. Autobiography (typed), 80.

7. I. Jenkins Mikell, "Rumbling of the Chariot Wheels," 200.



HUGUENOT CHURCH

ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH, CHARLESTON
OLD PLANTERS HOTEL

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

generations have abided in poverty, unable to rebuild their ruined fortunes.

Mrs. Elizabeth Peyre Manning presents perhaps the most remarkable instance in American history of connection with Governors. Besides her relationship to many other public men, she was the niece of Governor James B. Richardson (1802-04), wife of Governor Richard I. Manning (1824-26), sister of Governor J. P. Richardson (1840-42), mother of Governor J. L. Manning (1852-54), aunt of Governor J. P. Richardson (1886-90), and grandmother of Governor R. I. Manning (1915-19). Without such a remarkable recurrence of the same names in the same office, the diffusion of identical blood through many offices was common. The marriage and blood relations of the old coast families, like the interlocking directorates of modern big business, are interminably complicated; as even are the inter-relations of the powerful Calhoun-Noble-Pickens-Butler connection, which was joined in one direction with the Haynes and in another with the Mannings and Richardsons. Public association naturally led to inter-marriage, and the equally natural helping of each other's relatives. The same human tendency is observed under Tillmanic and Bleasite democracy of families with a taste for public life and the skill and associations acquired by experience filling many offices.

The assumption, natural to every ruling class, down to the modern city boss, that "we are the state," with scant regard for the interests of other classes, strongly tintured the ante-bellum aristocracy; but it was accompanied by an idolatrous regard for the State and for the public interest as they conceived it. In political families, young men, reared in an atmosphere of government, looked forward to public position as a matter of course. Many regarded politics as a first-class diversion, and many as a solemn responsibility. It yet remains to be proved whether anywhere in the world continued good government is attainable without such a class.

South Carolina prided herself on possessing a stabilized civilization. Europeans found satisfaction in the recognition by every class of its proper place. Above the poor white, it was a civilization dominated by ideals of personal dignity. Every man maintained his own position with a high self-respect, but (ideally, at least) without envy of the more fortunate. Every man's pride was to be in his own

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

sphere a gentleman. The Southern man, living in plantation independence acquired the repose of character based on individual dignity and worth, wrote F. A. Porcher in "Russel's Magazine," May, 1857. The Northern man derived his virtues and his faults from the consciousness, in his close communal life, of representing a party and a cause. The South needs a metropolis for the expression of our intellectual ideals, instead of looking to New York and Boston as centers. "We cannot do ourselves justice so long as the drag of provincialism is clinging to our wheels."

The description though tinged with special pleading and mistaking the cause of the ailment, at least expresses an ideal of culture and character.

The somewhat idealized features of William H. Trescot's description of the South Carolina Legislature before the War of Secession, written in 1870, are so obvious that they may be discounted without sacrificing the great value of the passage:

"I am not, I think, given to exaggeration, and I have had sufficient experience of life on a wider scale to be cured of that extravagance of admiration for local habits and local reputations which is the weakness of all small and isolated communities. South Carolina is a very small and not a very important part of the civilized world, and it would be very ridiculous to compare its Legislature to that most august of deliberative assemblies the British House of Commons. But it is nevertheless true that in the Legislature of this State have been preserved with singular fidelity some of the most striking features of the Parliament of our ancestors. The reverence for the forms of parliamentary law, the influence belonging to that silent body of country gentlemen, the long continuance of individual representatives, the weight given to the precedents of former generations, the peculiar respect and dignity attached to the office of Speaker, the antiquated and stately costume of the presiding officers of both branches of the General Assembly, the unwritten and unbroken law of adjournment so that the parish representatives should be on their estates at Christmas, all were traditions of the habits and thoughts of our English blood. In every other State, even at the South, there was a general legislative uniformity and conformity to that worst of models, the United States House of Representatives. But here an unbroken line of Speakers from the colonial days of Jonathan Amory

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

to the Ordinance of Secession, presided over a political assembly which preserved more of the conservatism of the old world than any other institution on this continent, except, I ought to add, the common law as administered by the judiciary of the same State. Established in colonial times, when the parishes really represented all the wealth and all the population of the State, the parish system, with its intense respect for landed property, its deference to personal connection, its genuine love of culture and its sensitive obedience to the rules of good breeding, gave a character to the Legislature which it never entirely lost. The representation sprang from it. Session after session the same men, the natural leaders of the State, the men who represented broad acres and thousands of slaves, the men who had won power and honor by professional labor, the men who, in less conspicuous walks of life, had made for themselves names for industry, honesty and ability, met to make the laws of the State; and as years went on the boys from the college (as much a part of the State as the Legislature) who filled the galleries, and to whom the debates were as much a part of their education as their recitations, came down from the galleries to fill the seats in the House, and to renew and perpetuate hereditary friendships. A member's name was an indication of the district he represented, and the public life of the State was developed in full and fitting sympathy with the personal affections, the traditional associations, the local attachments that made its private life. The tone and temper of such an association of men could not but be elevated. There were among them men of different conditions, various degrees of culture, of very diverse habits of thought, keen politicians, and very strong and contrary ambitions. But above all they were gentlemen. And by that I mean men who, by the universal consent of the society in which they lived, had the right to respect and did respect themselves and each other. And they were bound together by that unity of the spirit which sprang from a simple but deep and unaffected devotion to the State whose honor and whose interests were entrusted to their keeping. Their sense of personal responsibility not only gave courtesy and dignity to their manners, but it secured that spirit of manliness and fair play which is the surest guarantee against the injustice of party; and I think I can say with truth that anything approaching fraud or falsehood, however it might serve the exigencies of party, anything like meanness or cowardice

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

would, with them, have destroyed, beyond hope of redemption, the most brilliant reputation.

"Intellectually they were not above the average of sensible men, but they represented too absolutely the property and sentiment of the State to make any grave mistake as to its interest. They possessed an unbounded admiration for intellectual superiority, and took a generous pride in the individual reputation of their colleagues. They were familiar with the discussion of many grave questions by very distinguished men; and although in the main, as all sensible men are, very tolerant of mediocrity, they were shrewd and cultivated critics when their admiration was challenged. They had trained and disciplined many men whose fame as orators and statesmen had become national, and with the exception of Mr. Calhoun, I do not know a great reputation in the State, the foundation of which was not laid broadly and solidly in the Legislature. It was in brief a body of whose judgment a young member might well feel apprehensive, of whose kind and generous sympathy he might be assured, and of whose deliberate approval he would have every reason to be proud."⁸

Leaving aside why parish members should be any more anxious to get home for Christmas than those from the districts, we may notice that Trescot seems to exaggerate the difference between the two sections as to the habit of sending back the same members year after year. This was indeed a strongly established custom in Charleston, whose able delegation thus acquired a familiarity with procedure and precedent and a State-wide acquaintance that were unrivaled. Long after 1860 an up country legislator, when asked what they were going to do about a certain measure, replied he did not know; we haven't been told by the Charleston delegation yet. An inconclusively scrappy inspection shows for a period when Charleston had from sixteen to twenty members, Spartanburg from four to five, and Greenville from three to four, in 1832, the city of Charleston sent back three of its representatives of 1830, Spartanburg two, and Greenville three, and the rest of the State thirty-seven. The 1834 House showed old members as follows: Charleston, eight; Spartanburg, two; Greenville, three; the rest of the "lower division," seven; rest of the "upper division," twenty-six. In 1836 Charleston's delegation contained four of its last delegation, Spartanburg's two; the

8. W. H. Trescot, "Memorial of J. J. Pettigrew," 29-33.



BOBO HOUSE, CEDAR SPRINGS ROAD, NEAR SPARTANTBURG (PIAZZAS ARE MODERN). HOUSE BUILT ABOUT 1812

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

rest of the "lower division" seven, and the rest of the "upper division" twenty. In 1846 members of the House who had been in the previous House were as follows: Charleston, ten; Spartanburg, three; Fairfield, two (according to its old habit); Greenville, two; Pendleton, three (carrying out its old habit); other portions of the "lower division," fifteen; other portions of the "upper division," twenty-four. There were sixty-five new members in this House, and the unusually large number of seventy in the House of 1848.⁹

The occupations of the members of the Lower House of the South Carolina Legislature in two Legislatures in the late 1850's or early '60's were as follows, those in parenthesis being of the later House: Planter 44 (44); farmer, 17 (16); lawyer, 41 (32); manufacturer, 1; physician and planter, 2 (6); planter and surveyor, 1; planter and farmer, 2; bookseller, 1; planter and lawyer, 2 (4); mechanic, 1 (1); merchant, 5 (6); physician, 7 (3); railroad superintendent, (1); editor, (1); professor of theology, (1); merchant and planter, (3); lawyer and manufacturer, (1); manufacturer and mechanic, (1); clergyman, (2); druggist, (1); bank president, (1).¹⁰

Senator Tillman, critical realist, said in 1897, "The aristocracy, be it said to its credit, gave the State as good government, so far as purity and honesty are concerned, as any country ever had. But a prouder, more arrogant, or hot-headed ruling class never existed."¹¹

Less complimentary to the ante-bellum Legislature than Trescott, looking back through the halo of time upon an irrevocably lost golden age, is "P," writing in the "Southern Quarterly Review" of November, 1850, of the actuality as he saw it: While the whole world is advancing, he writes, you lie down like a fat tabby cat purring an

9. Lists of members 1785-1850, in Thomas W. Glover box of MSS., Univ. S. C. Lib.

10. No. 8 in bound pamphlet 86.6 F, Vol. 4, Charleston Library Society.

11. Memorial address on Senator Joseph H. Earle, in U. S. Senate, 1898. The tendency of all ages to idealize the past appears in the following of Jan. 24, 1854, from F. W. Pickens to B. T. Watts on McDuffie (Watts MSS., 26):

"What a disinterested, pure man he was! Justice has never been done to his genius and his character. The noble outlines of his glorious intellect rise up before us like a polished shaft of pure Parian marble without a single flaw or blemish to mar its shining surface. . . . You are now the connecting link of the present generation to that old school in *manners & character* which once shed rich honor and elegance upon the social habits of South Carolinians. I remember the joyous laugh of my father, my uncles, and my elder relatives—and also their noble and disinterested friendship. And Oh God! is it now to pass off forever! Are we to be sunk in the low vices of political shuffling and management on one side, and mean devotion to money on the other? May God in his mercy avert it!!"

Watts served 1832-61 as secretary to every Governor from McDuffie to Pickens, under whom he resigned because of a fancied slight.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

undersong. "Seriously, then, gentlemen, there are quite too many among you who, by no means seek the seats of the legislator for the service they may do the country, but for the idle distinction that such an office confers upon themselves. This vain, poor-spirited class of persons, have but a single subject of solicitude, that is to be sure not to offend, and thus forfeit their prospects of reelection. They may find it more safe to do nothing, than to venture even upon good performances which may be misunderstood. They ask of themselves before they vote, 'how can this vote operate in the district? What will my constituents say to it? How can the rival candidates employ it against us? Will it not, in short, be convertible into a huge club, which, in hostile hands, shall drive us from our pleasant drowsing place before the council fire of the country?'

"This is very lamentable cowardice, and the strict consequences of that wretched habit among the people themselves, of employing the merest scrubs and pretenders, having vanity, but wanting the noble ambition to be useful, as law-givers and rulers of the country."

Standards of Honor—That a government by gentlemen would be characterized by personal honor was to be expected. Both State and local positions were served by the best element in the community to a much greater extent than today. In the departments of government determining policy, the slave-holding aristocracy held control and put their strongest men in office from their realization of the necessity of protecting a vast body of wealth and a social system constantly under attack from the outside world, and in danger of it at home.

Local government also was served by the upper class, who found in even such positions as road, school, or charity commissioners a source of pleasant and public-spirited activity. Says Richard Lathers, "The gentlemen of the Black, Pee Dee, Sampit, Waccamaw, and Santee rivers were gentlemen of culture, educated at Northern colleges or in Europe, who rarely sought the high and remunerative offices, but accepted without reluctance local appointments as school, charity, and road commissions, and were ready to represent their district in the state legislature." There were no nominating conventions or caucuses. Friends inserted cards in papers nominating leading men. Politics were ignored in the drawing room, not because ladies were supposed to be ignorant of them; for they rather cultivated a taste

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

for public affairs; but because social occasions were considered by Southern gallantry to be devoted to the diversions of polite society. "Although opposition to the public policy of certain leaders in the State was a bar to political advancement, still personal character was an essential to public employment, from the lowest to the highest offices, municipal, state, and federal—a conception of the civil service we need in these days at the North. I cannot recall a single official in Georgetown or in Charleston, during my residence in these places before the war, against whom an unworthy public or private act could be justly charged."¹²

Like many such accounts, Lathers' is distinctly idealized and conventionalized, but tells the truth so far as it goes. The idea that we always had good government before 1860 requires more careful examination. The glaring faults in the forty years following the Revolution have been rehearsed. The Attorney-General and Solicitors in 1838, by legislative order, reported on the whole system of local government. Their orders also directed the preparation of bills for coördinating offices. All this was sufficiently expressive of general dissatisfaction. These officials note in their report the universally admitted inefficiency of the free school system, highway administration, the condition of courthouses and jails, and the support of the poor. Multiplication of local boards, they say, cripples efforts for improvement, weakens responsibility, breeds carelessness, indecision, inactivity. Each board seems to work under the sense of enduring punishment instead of performing public service with willingness and pride. As a remedy we suggest a single board with additional authority and taxing power. Delay and inefficiency of ordinaries (probate judges) are a grievance. We offer elaborate remedies for the complaints against the inferior magistrates.¹³

The bulk of special and local legislation had become so great by 1825 that a uniform act was passed in that year providing for many local duties.

A number of acts of 1839 defined and tightened up the duties of some local officers; but the recommendation for coördinating or consolidating district (county) government was disregarded. The simplicity of all administration before 1860 is illustrated by the fact that

¹². Rems. of Richard Lathers, 1907, 5-7.

¹³. Abney Collection, *Omniad*, Vol. 2, Nos. 28 and 29.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

except during the legislative session, the Governor ordinarily did not live in Columbia. This was complained of, but unremedied.¹⁴

The complacency of Southern opinion is illustrated by Governor Pickens' contrast between Southern and Northern civilization in 1861: Where there are castes based on color and the slavery of the inferior you may exterminate, but you can never subjugate, the ruling class, he declared. The North has during the past thirty years perverted this government to what its founders never intended it to be. "This government of states was destroyed by the Northern people, who, without the conservative division of castes, which we have, endeavored to make the government a simple democracy of numbers. This ended, as all such governments must inevitably end, in corruption, usurpation and revolution. As far as the Northern states are concerned, their government is hopelessly gone."¹⁵

Trescot was keenly sensitive to the self-praise into which partisan passions had led South Carolina. In 1859 he said:

"But this strong State affection, although pure and earnest, although right even where it is unreasoning, is not enough. Indeed this very enthusiasm has betrayed us into more than one extravagance, and of late South Carolina has been wounded in the house of her friends. More than once has the calm self-respect of the old Carolina breeding been caricatured by the consequential insolence of a vulgar imitation. Forced, perhaps, by circumstances to think of ourselves more than was profitable, we have learned to talk about ourselves much more than was needful. We seem, somehow, to have become uncertain of our old position, and boast of our birthright in language which we never inherited from our fathers.

"The necessities of the long, bitter, unworthy struggle into which our political life has been forced; the angry and irritating controversy in the midst of which a whole generation has grown up; the constant, of necessity, egotistical vindication of ourselves, compelled perhaps by perpetual and ungenerous disparagement; all this has fretted the calm good temper, irritated that famous courtesy, and unbalanced that generous impartiality which once made our pride as it did our strength. And in the miserable crimination and recrimination of the present day, the boastful vindication and the base attack, I cannot help thinking of those days not so far removed, when South

14. *E. g.*, Gov. Henagan, Annual Mess., 1840.

15. Mess. No. 1, Nov., 1861.



DOORWAY OF OLD TUPPER HOUSE, 23 ANN STREET, CHARLESTON

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Carolina stood among her sister states with no defiance on her brow, no hatred in her heart—admired, honored, loved—and when, through the whole length and breadth of this vast Union, no hand could have been found to do her violence, no voice to offer her insult.”¹⁶

South Carolina indeed produced a wonderful group of political leaders, but at dreadful cost to other sides of her life. Think of a small State served in succession by Hayne, Petigru, and Legaré as Attorney-General, and by innumerable men of distinction in Congress. She assumed the leadership of the South because she was more mature in her subjection to slavery, in futile defense of which she spent such a wealth of talent. With all at stake, her best came to her defense as in war. She declined in leadership when she was no longer the distinctive representative of a cause.

The virtues of Southern aristocracy were not due to slavery (except as slavery made an aristocracy possible) as slavery apologists maintained; for they were the common virtues of an enlightened landed aristocracy anywhere. Nor is it true that all the virtues claimed were distinctly aristocratic; for religion or plain manly honesty produced in thousands of men as immovable a courage and as incorruptible an integrity. Where religion and the gentleman’s sense of honor (the only two basis of character) combined, the result was a William Lowndes, a Robert Barnwell Rhett, or a Robert E. Lee. Olmsted, of New York, in 1854 found that “there is less vulgar display, and more intrinsic elegance, and habitual mental refinement in the best society of South Carolina than in any distinct class anywhere among us.”¹⁷ To the Viscountess Avonmore, “the South Carolinians seemed almost a different race. . . . There is more dignity—more polish—about him than the Northerner.”¹⁸

Mr. W. H. Taft, while a guest in Charleston, remarked to an ancient lady of distinguished family that he believed that a member of her family had once been a candidate for the Presidency. The lady replied with precision, “He was *spoken of* for the Presidency. No *gentleman* at that time would have been a *candidate* for the Presidency.” When Major J. H. Hemphill, who was present, repeated the incident before Mr. Taft, who had since become President, the latter laughed heartily at the joke on himself. South Carolina has

16. W. H. Trescot, address before South Carolina Historical Society, 1859.

17. *Journey*, II, 138.

18. In Simkins and Woody’s *Reconstruction*, 341-42.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

always valued highly the military virtues of courage, loyalty, personal honor, and fidelity to duty. So long as the class to which these qualities especially appealed were in control, public character in all ranks of society was strongly colored by these ideals; for the ruling class was respected and admired.

The unsurpassed virtue of Southern women cannot be disputed. Chancellor Harper, in 1837, spoke of the one known instance of an unfaithful South Carolina wife of the upper class as almost unbelievable. Harriet Martineau, in 1836, spoke of this exceptional purity,¹⁹ and Olmsted, in 1854, found "the women of the South are unexcelled in the world for every quality which commands admiration, respect and love."²⁰

The common explanation that men's easy access to slave women protected the white even from temptation is doubtless true so far as it goes; but it must be supplemented by the chivalric regard for women fostered by Southern society, and the consciousness that transgressions were at the risk of the man's life and the woman's social ostracism rather than divorce or damage suits.

At least two first-class scandals in the highest South Carolina circles in the generation before 1860 might be cited; but the wives were Europeans. Cases could be cited of cruel attacks on female virtue and of infamous conduct toward wives by men of the highest social standing, apparently without loss of caste. That colored concubines were common among single men, and were occasionally kept under conditions of great depravity by married men, is only to call attention to the fact that the most universal human passions know no class. On the other hand, it is true that in some plantation communities marriages were so early and marriage fidelity so constant that to this day mulattoes are rare. Standards of private and public conduct were higher in the generation before 1860 than earlier in South Carolina. The frank grossness of the eighteenth century and the cynical degradation of the Regency disappeared before the invigorating of all the churches following the Wesleyan revival and the toning up of religion and morals by the Evangelical and Oxford Movements, etc., in England and America.²¹ Things were done by men of the

19. *Society in America*, II, 125 (3d ed.).

20. *Journey*, II, 146.

21. I am unable to find space for the considerable material collected on the history of the churches in the 19th century.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

generation before 1783 that would not be done by men of the same class of the generation before 1860.

Competition under post-bellum approximation towards equality of opportunity has proved the aristocratic stock to be composed of some first-class intellectual strains, but generally of an ability of no overwhelming superiority. The old régime rested on a moral rather than an intellectual foundation. Its basis was a state of mind as well as a state of property—the sense of personal, family, and social responsibility, and the confident aggressiveness of men in a favored position. Its removal from social and political leadership, where, being human, like all class government it served its own class interests with frequent disregard or sheer ignorance of the needs of the masses, has entailed a serious social loss as well as some gain. Its standards of personal and family honor and pure public service, powerfully permeating classes much wider than its own, are the priceless heritage of the old South, sadly neglected by the new. It and the type of government that it maintained are our most distinctive contribution to American history. Though their every shortcoming be magnified, the State must be proud of her ancient régime and of the men and women under it who gave the world an exalted conception of the word South Carolina.

Human Failings Under the Old Régime—But lest we be considered as idealizing, let us acknowledge that an inspection of all sides of the record reveals the fact that human nature manifested itself in more nearly the same manner as now than indicated by the conventional accounts that often pass current for descriptions of ante-bellum society and government. When he became a legislator, says William J. Grayson, he began to receive applications from candidates for his vote. When he was Congressman he was flooded with applications for appointments and all sorts of favors. Rich men wanted their sons educated at public expense at West Point, and if the father had been educated there, he seemed to think that an additional reason why his son should also have the privilege. When he was Collector of the Port of Charleston there were the same flood of applications for office, with imputations of unfairness from those whom he could not appoint.²²

22. MS. autobiography, typed, 334-36.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

The corruption of low-lying elements of an earlier and coarser day remained to the end. F. W. Pickens, in 1856, speaking of Calhoun's opposition to national nominating conventions, said, as an illustration his hearers would recognize, "And Mr. Calhoun's fertile genius, could also, no doubt, point out serious objections to the mode and manner of electing almost any deliberative assembly, if he chose to analyze it. Take for instance our own legislatures. He could easily prove that there has been corruption and even bribery at many of the election boxes—and there had been fraud and corrupt combinations in many of the Districts. And, even after the legislature was assembled, it could be proved that there was corrupt management and log-rolling, and unjust and unfair legislation."²³

This disagreeable subject may here be summarized for the whole period between 1800 and 1860. Charles Pinckney's charges of illegal voting in Charleston about the beginning of the century (in which his own Democrats were doubtless as deeply involved as the Federalists) reminds us that some political practices are of as ancient lineage as we have found our political principles. Rusticus Scriblererus protests against bribery and the handing to illiterates in Camden tickets containing names they had not intended to vote.²⁴ Edward Hooker, the Ninety-Six schoolmaster, describes the Congressional electioneering at Pickensville in 1806, with Alston treating his proselytes in the bar room, while Earle presided over his own whiskey bench in the middle of the street.²⁵

From 1816 to 1834, says Grayson, both sides bought votes at about equal prices in the bitter meaningless Charleston city politics.²⁶ Governor Henagan lamented to the Legislature, in 1840, that "it is not to be disguised that here, hundreds sell their votes for money and for whiskey." The "bull pen," which flourished in hot contests wherever a large low element existed, held venal voters in physical confinement and drunkenness until they were carried up to vote. In 1840 Ker Boyce, charged with buying votes and spending \$10,000 in the Charleston campaign, resigned his Senatorship and was reelected. Though proof was not established, so far as I have observed, the openness and boldness of the charge are significant of general politi-

23. Proceedings of the South Carolina Democratic Convention, 1856.

24. Gazette of the State of South Carolina, Jan. 3, 1785.

25. Amer. Hist. Asso. Rept. 1896, I, 900.

26. Wm. J. Grayson's James L. Petigru, 93-94; Grayson, Autobiography, typed copy of MS., 170.



HOME OF MRS. THOMAS WADLINGTON K EITT, SEVEN MILES EAST OF NEWBERRY

Built entirely with slave labor, by Thomas Bauskett Wadlington, 1859-60. Type of the best class of plantation house in the lower Piedmont, though such homes were built before 1860 all the way to the mountains

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

cal morals. Without accepting the specifications, the same may be said of a brilliantly written diatribe of 1835 by "The Spy in Columbia," entitled "The Mysteries of Government revealed," making charges of corruption, in his copy of which Rev. Whitefoord Smith, the eloquent minister who preached before the Legislature in the crisis of 1850-52, wrote, "Every one well acquainted about Columbia at the times referred to knows that there is much truth in these pages." Though not so close to the events as the eminent Doctor of Divinity, we may well believe that there was less of actual corruption and more of excited prejudice than he thought in charges made in that highly excited time. But so corrupt was the election in Richland in 1840 that the Legislature ordered a new election. It was reported that General John S. Preston and General John H. Adams spent \$35,000 and about \$17,000, respectively, in their famous Richland District race.²⁷

The decades immediately following the Revolution were disfigured with an unusual degree of intemperance, dishonesty, and violence, the natural fruits of war. For years frauds or losses by tax collectors were common. Not until the creation of the office of Comptroller, with large powers, in 1799, was order established. The first Comptroller, Paul Hamilton, paralleled, says Ramsay, the course of his Federal namesake and placed the finances in such flourishing condition that the State with ease took \$300,000 stock in the State Bank and established the South Carolina College.²⁸ Shortages of about a score of sheriffs and district tax collectors (treasurers) totaling \$47,283, many of long standing, were reported in 1842 and repeated in 1845.²⁹ Through 1812 impeachments of atrociously dishonest or criminally careless tax collectors, and occasionally sheriffs or ordinaries (probate judges) were not uncommon. One of the worst cases was that of a former treasurer of Charleston, charged with misappropriating \$10,000. He was unanimously convicted in 1807 on the first specification and by smaller votes on all the others, and was disqualified for office for five years.³⁰

27. Gov. Henagan's Annual Message, 1840; Camden "Jour.," Oct. 10, 1840; Repts. and Res. South Carolina, 1845, 191; Darlington "Flagg," in Yeadon scrap book, Univ. South Carolina, 202; J. A. Selby's Memorabilia, 74.

28. Ramsay, South Carolina, II, 192-94.

29. HJ, Dec. 19, 20, 1791; SJ, Dec. 10, 1792; *passim*; SJ, Dec. 5, 8, 10, 1794; Dec. 14, 19, 1796; Repts. and Res. 1808, 92; 1812, 101; 1811, 120; Car. Gazette, Dec. 11, 15, 25, 1813; Charleston "Courier," Dec. 20, 1810; Dec. 9, 1813; Comptroller's Report 1842, 1845.

30. Hooker's Diary, 909-11.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

The most notable impeachment of the period was that of Attorney-General Alexander Moultrie in 1792 and 1793. From 1785 great numbers of settlers were moving towards the Mississippi.³¹ A fever of land speculation swept the country. Capitalists from Boston to Savannah grasped for "Yazoo lands." Moultrie, like many men of prominence, was interested in western land companies, four of which a little later by bribery of the Georgia Legislature secured millions of acres for trifling prices and started one of the prime political scandals in American State and national history. Whether his was one of the four companies that later corrupted the Georgia Legislature does not appear. Wade Hampton and many men of similar standing were members of one of those. Moultrie, having collected £21,310 sterling due the State, lent it, on apparently good security, to his land company associates Isaac Huger, Thomas Washington, Jacob Weed, Alexander Inglis, Edward Penman, and William Clay Snipes. In his personal interest in the object thus aided, and not in lending the money, provided it had been done prudently, lay his offense; as, according to the customs of the time, such use of public funds was countenanced, though at the official's risk. The land speculators lost. Moultrie had also allowed large discounts to himself and others on debts due the State.

Moultrie protested his innocence of fraudulent intent and acknowledged fully his conduct, "which has already been such a scourge to him in fortune, mind, body, and connections as would exceed description of the most plaintive tongue." He was unanimously convicted and was sentenced to seven years' disqualification for office.³²

Drunkenness and Other Vices—The Temperance Movement— Though many, like the singularly pure R. Barnwell Rhett, could sincerely say when tempted to bow to what he conceived the wicked social custom of dueling, "I fear God more than man," many more were stained by the three traditional "vices of a gentleman." But it must be remembered that conditions elsewhere were much the same. Gambling was common. A brave and gallant gentleman, when accused of cheating by another deranged by opium, was reduced to

31. *E. g.*, letter from Augusta, April 7, 1785, in *Gaz. of State of South Carolina*, May 26, 1785.

32. HJ and SJ, Dec. 19, 1792; SJ, Dec. 10-11, 1793.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

this: "Col. ——— admits that he is obnoxious to censure for playing too much with the young men about the town during the summer previous to his election as Governor, and he reproaches himself severely for it; he also says he was in the habit of taking liberties at the table . . . for the purpose of teasing. . . . Further than this, he avers in the most solemn manner that he is not guilty."³³

Some newspapers of high moral standing carried as a matter of course advertisements of facilities for betting on the English horse races.

Dr. Ramsay said, in 1808, that only a physician could know the ravages of drunkenness in good South Carolina society (which, we might add, was the case elsewhere). Both gluttony and drunkenness were ordinary amusements in the generation following the Revolution. The commonness of intemperance even among judges to about 1840 has already been noticed. The enormous consumption of hard liquors by the middle and lower orders was doubtless partly due to their execrably prepared porky diet. Says Grayson of the post-Revolutionary society of Beaufort:

"They were a jovial and somewhat rough race, liberal, social, warm-hearted, hospitable, addicted to deep drinking, hard swearing, and practical joking and not a little given to loose language and indelicate allusions. . . . They met monthly or oftener to hunt and dine. . . . At these festivals no man was permitted to go home sober."

The only gentleman to whom indulgence was granted in not drinking as the rest did, continues Grayson, was one distinguished in social and political life who protested that if he drank then as they did, he would be drunk before the day was half over, and miss most of the pleasure; but he pledged himself if allowed to drink in his own way that at the end of the day he would be as drunk as the rest. And he never violated that pledge. At this period it was custom to lock the doors of the dinner party room, and none were permitted to leave. The close of the feast found the weaker vessels under the table, and the stronger staggered or were assisted home. Francis Marion, to escape from such a party during the siege of Charleston,

33. I omit the name and the citation of the original MS. The following is from another manuscript which also I do not cite: When Major ———, son of two of our most ancient families and son-in-law of a third, after his father-in-law had repeatedly redeemed his house, lost at gambling, was again served with a sheriff's levy, he asked the officer, "Is Mr. (rich father-in-law) dead?"

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

jumped from a window of the house, as related by his biographer, Judge William Dobein James, and broke his leg. Carried out of the city as no longer able to fight, he was thus saved for the services that made him famous.³⁴

An illustration of the connection between economics and morals is the diminution of intemperance through the introduction of cotton culture. Says Mr. Samuel DuBose, speaking of conditions about 1800:

"But the curse, which a seeming necessity had brought upon the inhabitants, was the business of manufacturing ardent spirits. The chief source of income from the most of the farms was apples and peaches to supply the distilleries which were dotted every three or more miles throughout the up country. Intemperance followed, as a natural consequence, and demoralization afflicted society to a frightful degree. My residence in Camden about this time made me a witness of scenes degrading to the nature of man and revolting to the feelings. Imagine then the abandonment of these for a substitute like cotton."³⁵ Hall's journal of his journey to Spartanburg about the same time revealed similar intemperance.

A writer in the "Black River Gazette" of 1828 recommends that all the drunkards in town be enclosed in a large pen and given unlimited liquor, but not allowed contact with hogs or other animals that they might contaminate; and that parents take their children to see them, and explain "that red-faced monster was once a man. But whiskey has changed him into a brute." Dr. S. Henry Dickson, of the Charleston Medical College faculty, delivered an essay on Mania Potu, which the class in 1836 published in pamphlet form. He says that drunkenness is a national evil, pervading almost every family. Physicians above all are called upon to extirpate it, and have already worked miracles. If coffee and tea do not suffice for drinks, then wine and fermented drinks can be used. "These are at least comparatively safe, and these, so far from prohibiting, I would cultivate and manufacture in overflowing abundance." The time is at hand when the entire medical profession will agree with the venerable Haller, the father of physiology, that "distilled spirits should be considered a *poison*, and not a *beverage*."³⁶

34. James' Marion, 31; Grayson MS., Autobiography, typed copy, 47-52.

35. Samuel DuBose, address before Black Oak Agricultural Society (1858), 21.

36. Charleston Library Society, pamphlet.



MILFORD, THE HOME OF GOVERNOR JOHN L. MANNING

Sumter County, nineteen miles from Sumter; built in the decade before War of Secession at a cost, it is said, of \$96,000, exclusive of the large amount of slave labor. Walls of parlor and drawing room, with sliding doors, are plate glass mirrors, brought from Paris. Dining room with curved doors, etc., of solid mahogany. Handsome stairs ascend in large tower projecting from rear of house. Three full stories, the third being ingeniously concealed for architectural effect by wreaths around small windows. Extended wings in rear.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Ministers of every denomination except the Methodists, whose young reforming zeal was at its height, drank at pleasure, and with a frequency far exceeding today to excess. Numbers of brilliant clerical careers were utterly wrecked. Says Professor R. Means Davis in a manuscript "History of Temperance in South Carolina," after picturing even the severe Associate Reform Presbyterian minister and his precentor taking their corn just before service, "Methodism swept over South Carolina with great power and introduced many new ideas about personal morality." Even Father Matthew's wonderful appeals in Ireland in 1838, he continues, reënforced the temperance movement already organized in South Carolina.

The motives for stringent regulations from colonial days to keep liquor from slaves are analogous to the fear of drunken negroes which in recent decades has so strengthened prohibition sentiment in the South. But the colonial statute book abounds with attempts to regulate the abuse among whites also. The unorganized temperance movement was evidenced in 1784 by the publication of Dr. Rush's essay on the evils of alcoholic drinks and the recommendation of the Charleston grand jury that dram shops below a certain locality be suppressed.³⁷

The South Carolina Anti-Intemperance Society in 1827 secured a statute outlawing suits for debts for liquor sold in less than quarts.³⁸ About 1829 a Charleston society to seek legal prohibition of selling intoxicants caused great excitement. Said one critic, the only motive of the temperance society was to prevent the laborer from having his cheap strong drinks while they drink their Madeira. "For this purpose the strong arm of the legislative power is to be appealed to, to deprive me of one of the dearest privileges which I possess, that of choosing what I shall eat, and what I shall drink. But let them go on; the people have now opened their eyes, and have proved that neither the demagogues nor the hypocrites can enslave them."³⁹ This same year (1829) Colonel Thomas Taylor, of Columbia, was president of the first State-wide temperance society in South Carolina.⁴⁰

In 1836 Governor McDuffie urged that the Legislature abolish liquor shops in Columbia as nuisances corrupting the college students,

37. Gazette State South Carolina, July 26, Aug. 2, 1784; S. C. Gazette and Gen. Ad., Oct. 16-19, 1784.

38. Statute, VI, 318; Com. Journal, Feb. 9, 1828.

39. Thomas, Rem., II, 118.

40. J. B. O'Neill, address Feb. 18, 1857.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

our future rulers; but so little was he heeded that in 1857, says Judge O'Neill, as cited above, there were in Columbia sixty-four grog shops and only sixty-two temperance men. Governor Gist (1858-60) was an ardent advocate of radical restrictions on liquor.⁴¹ The Prince William (Parish) Temperance Society in 1839 petitioned the Legislature for prohibition.⁴² Grand Worthy Patriarch A. M. Kennedy, 1852, at the State Convention of the South Carolina Sons of Temperance, urged State-wide prohibition, and his successor, Henry Summer, in 1857, stressed that, though moral suasion must be the main reliance, prohibition by law must be the aim.⁴³

About 1840 a remarkable temperance movement swept the country, of which Maine's prohibition law of 1851 was one result. Judge O'Neill threw himself ardently into the movement and became head of the "Washingtonians" in South Carolina and of the later Sons of Temperance in Canada and the United States.⁴⁴ R. B. and Albert Rhett DeBow, T. S. Grimké and prominent Charleston physicians were active in the movement. The Tupper law of 1849, says Professor Davis, introduced a new era in South Carolina liquor regulation, restricting retailing to *bona fide* taverns furnishing food, lodgings, and stables. Forgotten during the disorders following 1865, its republication in 1872 spread consternation among the illegal dealers. The act of 1874 thereupon legalized under licenses ordinary saloons in town and sellers of wine and beer anywhere. The act of 1850 chartering Erskine College, which has existed unchartered since 1839, forbade retailing ardent spirits within two miles of the college. The local option law of 1856 kept Marlboro dry until liquor was forced upon her during Reconstruction. So strong was the liquor element still among back country Baptists that in 1859 the King's Mountain Baptist Association's refusal of fellowship to distillers, sellers, and drinkers caused a secession and the forming of "The Constitutional King's Mountain Baptist Association." In 1866 reunion came by the association's confining itself to moral suasion and leaving each church its rights.

41. Dictionary American Biography on Gist.

42. Guilday, Bishop England, II, 472.

43. Journal Sons of Temperance South Carolina, 1847-57, 299, 622. The organization in 1857 had 1,949 members.

44. Dr. James H. Carlisle said that as a boy he listened to O'Neill speak for upwards of two hours on temperance, and that it was impossible for the listener to become tired.



MRS. ELIZABETH PEYRE MANNING, NÉE RICHARDSON

She was the niece of James Burchell Richardson, Governor of South Carolina, 1802-04; wife of Richard I. Manning, Governor of South Carolina, 1824-26; the sister of John P. Richardson, Governor of South Carolina, 1840-42; the mother of John L. Manning, Governor of South Carolina, 1852-54; the aunt of John P. Richardson, Jr., Governor of South Carolina, 1886-90; the grandmother of Richard I. Manning, Governor of South Carolina, 1915-19.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Dueling and Its Social Background—Dueling occupies a prominent place in South Carolina social history. South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky were eminent as dueling States. Governor John Lyde Wilson replied to a writer who commented on this fact that the citizens of those States “would feel a deep humiliation to be compelled to exchange their urbanity of deportment for the uncouth incivility of Massachusetts.”⁴⁵ The causes were complex—an ancient custom, a state of society, and a state of mind. The colonists brought dueling with them. They received a new stimulus to combat from the Revolution, after which dueling markedly increased. The Southern social system cultivated pride in personal honor and egotistic hauteur, which perhaps, as Dr. Ramsay thought, were supplemented by climate. The praise formerly common in South Carolina, he was “quick to resent an insult or forgive an injury,” expressed an ideal distinctly emotional and uncontrolled. Unfortunately, often it was too late to forgive the injury after having resented the trivial or sometimes fancied insult.

So possessed was the South Carolina mind with the idea that no reflection must be permitted on one's honor, and so hypersensitive did the egotistical become in such an atmosphere, that lives were sacrificed on the merest trifles. Men who had hardly ever fired a pistol were at the mercy of practiced marksmen of natural calmness. The theory of a fair fight was in such cases ridiculous. John Lyde Wilson, an habitual duelist, is said by Perry to have bluffed off investigation of his “defalcation” of his contingent fund while Governor (I am prepared to call it slovenly impropriety, but Perry may have known more than I do about it) until Thomas S. Grimké, who on principle would not fight a duel, prepared to move his expulsion from the Senate, with the result of the money's being accounted for. But, said Judge Huger, who challenged R. B. Rhett for reflecting upon his sincerity, Grimké would stand upon a burning housetop longer than would Wilson, if duty or manhood required.⁴⁶ Petigru was saved only by the pathos of his child's death from a duel with a lawyer seeking by personal aggressiveness to deprive him of the leadership of the Charleston bar won by his intelligence and moral courage. Public indignation (an unusual interference) prevented Henry Gourdin's

45. Wilson's Code, 16, 14, 1858 ed.

46. Perry, Rem. 130, 275.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

having to answer at the pistol point for warning the President against placing a totally unworthy applicant in an important position.⁴⁷

On the other hand, offenses too shadowy to be susceptible of definition for a damage suit were judged by the code as worthy of death. In Beaufort in 1832 (apparently) young Arthur Smith (of the family called Rhett after 1837) challenged young Thomas Hutson, who he heard had remarked that he was officious. Both were killed; but the background of the bitter political enmity of the time was largely responsible.⁴⁸

Dr. J. Marion Sims' account of the duel between Roach and Adams, South Carolina College boys under twenty years of age, is classic. At table they simultaneously seized a dish. What can I do to insult you?, asked one. You have already done enough, was the reply. But the remarkable part is that Pierce M. Butler, later Governor and colonel of the Palmetto Regiment, seconded one, and D. J. McCord, one of the leading lawyers of the State, advised the other. Adams was killed; Roach was desperately wounded, and soon killed himself drinking in remorse. Young Adams, refusing to fire when he saw Roach's pistol caught by his coat skirt and allowing the word to be given a second time, is far removed from the ruffian who strives to get the first shot in a street fight; but they both obey the same human determination to avenge, in defiance of religion and law, at their own discretion and passion, and are the refined and unrefined survivors of the law of the jungle. It is the tragedy of South Carolina that she retains so much of the process of the ruffian after abandoning the method of the gentleman.

So rigorously did public opinion insist on a man's fighting that General Greene, commanding the Southern Army in the Revolution, felt it necessary to secure Washington's endorsement of his refusing to permit the existence of discipline to be annihilated by declining to accept a challenge from a subordinate displeased at conviction by a court-martial.⁴⁹

In South Carolina between 1830 and 1860, "to such an extreme was this trying the metal of a man carried, particularly if he was suspected of a 'yellow streak' in his courage, that, in many cases, young men, after leaving college, were subjected to this ordeal to establish

47. Grayson, Petigru, 90-91; *The Gourdins*; "News and Courier," August 14, 1904, etc.

48. Grayson, *MS. Autobiography*; Folk, *MS.*, *Dueling in South Carolina*, etc.

49. Gamble, *Dueling in Savannah*.



CHERRY VALE, HOME OF THE FRIERSONS

About eight miles northwest of Sumter. Back portion older than 1796; builder unknown. Front built by John N. Frierson about 1844 (called "Lord John Frierson" from stately manners and elegance of dress, etc.; grandfather of Dr. J. Nelson Frierson, Dean of University of South Carolina Law School).

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

their bravery."⁵⁰ Dueling became so common around Camden that an iron man was set up for practice.⁵¹ Famous dueling grounds were the Washington race course at Charleston, Pidgeon Point (or Pond?) near Beaufort, and Sandbar Ferry on the Savannah.

Yet men of the highest honor and courage sometimes dared to face indelible popular stigma by refusing to fight. R. B. Rhett, sons of whom were notable duelists, though a "fire eater" by principle in the sectional controversy, intense in oratory, uncompromising in legitimately exposing an opponent, was always the Christian gentleman, never abusive or coarse. When denounced on the floor of the Senate by Clemens of Alabama as traitor, coward, and liar (it is needless to say without the slightest warrant), he replied in words widely commended North and South:

"But my second reason for not calling the Senator from Alabama into the field was of a still higher and more controlling nature. For twenty years I have been a member of the church of Christ. The Senator knows it—everybody knows it. I cannot, and will not, dishonor my religious profession. If he, or any one else, supposes that I am so much afraid of his insults, or the opinion which requires them to be redressed in the field, as to be driven by them to abandon the profession of twenty years, he is entirely mistaken. I frankly admit that I fear God; and that I fear him more than man. Although desirous of the good opinion of all men (for our usefulness is very largely dependent on the good opinion of our fellows), we can never obtain it by the abandonment of the principles we profess. True courage is best evidenced by the firm maintenance of our principles amidst all temptations and all trials."⁵²

No station of usefulness or eminence (except clerical, judicial, and a few official positions) exempted a man from being called out by any person passing as a gentleman. Rev. Henry Purcell, rector of St. Michael's, 1784-1802, about 1795 challenged a fellow-clergyman for condemning his pamphlet against Bishop Seabury and was put under peace bond.⁵³ W. C. Preston escaped a duel with Robert Cunningham only by explaining that he meant no reflection on the Cun-

50. I. Jenkins Mikell, "Rumblings of the Chariot Wheels," 188.

51. Kennedy and Kirkland, *Historic Camden*, II, 227, *et seq.*

52. "Congressional Globe," 24, Pt. I, First Session, 32d Congress, 647, 655; Miss White's Rhett, 127-28.

53. E. H. Folk, MS., quoting Rev. S. C. Hughson. Cf. *Holy Cross Magazine*, Oct. 12, 1923.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

ninghams of the Revolution by his denunciation of Tories.⁵⁴ Calhoun, in 1838, avoided meeting Waddy Thompson only by explaining that his contradiction of Thompson did not apply in view of the latter's statement of what he had really said.⁵⁵

Dueling was part of a highly organized, responsible society whose legal organization, as J. H. Hammond remarked, bordered on anarchy (that is to say, anarchy in the philosophical sense of absence of restraint upon the individual). Its best excuse was in the words of a condemner of it, Captain Hinson, that it protected a gentleman in a state of society in which another could insult him and still be considered a gentleman. Essentially this consideration leads many to doubt, in the vile welter of vulgarity and insult now tolerated, whether, like the prohibition of the liquor traffic, its abolition did not come before conceptions of social responsibility were sufficiently advanced and generally accepted; for our multiplied foul unpunished murders are but a sort of bootleg dueling. The killing habit might be changed in form, but could not be suddenly abolished. The duel, "while not justified by religious principles and out of harmony with modern civilization, yet had the redeeming quality of largely suppressing outbursts of passion, personal abuse, and outrage, and of prompting the good manners and strict regard for social amenities of which the South is justly proud."⁵⁶

The duel cultivated definiteness and decision of character. As an ideal, it was an expression of the greater value of one's character and family than life; but in practice it frequently became inextricably mixed with fantastic self-esteem, desire to stifle criticism or opposition, or a fierce and implacable deliberately fostered determination to kill an enemy almost passing imagination. As a survival of paganism, it highly emphasized truthfulness, integrity, and courage without condemning lewdness, pride and hate. Based on the preposterous theory that absolute power of life and death can beneficially be left with every individual, it placed every man who abhorred murder at the mercy of every man without qualms at killing.

54. Cunningham resigned his eldership for the duel.—Personal papers. The changed way of spelling the name will be noted.

55. Jervy, "Hayne"; "Courier," September 12, 1838. Seconds were actually selected for a duel that friends prevented between Calhoun and Grovesner in 1814.—Jervy, 50.

56. Rems. of Richard Lathers (1907), 14. A strong presentation of both sides is found in Dr. S. H. Dickson's defense of dueling in "Russell's," May, 1857, and W. J. Grayson's reply, *ib.*, Aug. Mrs. Ravenel's Charleston, 410-15, balancing of the merits and demerits of the system.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Opposition to Dueling—Though for ages illegal, the duel was virtually a part of our legal system. The survivor, if tried as a matter of course, was acquitted if the fight had been fair. The duel was thus a sort of agency of the court, like a master or referee. The fact that the very element who so passionately protested against the North's custom of warping the law of the Constitution to suit their own purposes, utterly defied the law against homicide in favor of an unlawful custom, is merely an illustration of men's habit of justifying by argument whatever they are determined to do.

Opposition to dueling was long futile. Judge Pendleton in about 1784 so strongly urged a jury to observe their oath that they declared a duelist guilty of homicide, whereupon the gentleman drew from his pocket a pardon.⁵⁷ The death of Hamilton stimulated General C. C. Pinckney to activity against the practice. "This absurd custom decides no rights, and settles no point," said the South Carolina American Revolutionary Society, which, like the Cincinnati, condemned it. Younger men merely scoffed that these elders had fought in their youth. John Blake White's drama, *Modern Honor*, performed in Charleston in about 1810, was inspired by the death of two young men in particularly useless duels.⁵⁸

In 1807 Bishop Bowen preached in St. Michael's against the practice on the occasion of a duel of shocking character. The sermon was printed in 1823, a year in which the Charleston Grand Jury called for action to prevent the loss of so many valuable lives every year.⁵⁹ Such an entry shows how futile it would be to count, to say nothing of naming, the scores of duels I have noted. Scores were never mentioned in the press. It was a delicate matter of personal concern, and gentlemen had a way of going, accompanied by a friend, to give a sound beating to editors not of their class who in any way became too personal. The Catholic Bishop England was active in speech and in organization, as were clergymen of every creed; but the anti-dueling associations, like the law, were ignored or scoffed at; for in the nature of the case, the duelist condemned those who condemned.

57. The note containing date of the "Gazette's" report is mislaid.

58. Folk, *Dueling in South Carolina* (MS.). Mr. White's letter says that J. E. Edwards' hair turned white in a night when he learned he had killed his friend, Dennis O'Driscoll. Dr. J. H. Carlisle told the writer he was assured by the grandson of a duelist (whom he did not name) that this occurred. The cause of the duel referred to by Dr. Carlisle was a misunderstanding of a trivial jest.

59. "Courier," October 16, 1823.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

These anti-dueling sermons or the formation of an anti-dueling association were often occasioned by some shocking death. Rev. Arthur Wigfall, in preaching the sermon published by the Grahamville Association for the Suppression of Dueling, in 1856, was mourning the slaughter of his brother when he said, "Let us hear no more of hanging Jack Cade in his rags, while the law meanly quails under the frowns of an aristocracy of crime." On the death of the brilliant young H. G. Nixon the Camden bar lamented its "having pleased Providence" that he should be removed from life, etc. The same tragedy occasioned urging the creation of a court of honor for the settlement of disputes, such as Charleston, Georgetown, and Savannah already had.⁶⁰ But the court of honor was usually created merely for the exigencies of a single case. When permitted by the seconds, whose power was absolute, it often effected a peaceful settlement.

Numerous challenges were sent in or near Charleston in 1812.⁶¹ Dr. P. A. Moser's law of December, 1812, prescribed imprisoning, fining, and exclusion from law, medicine, or divinity, or any trade or profession or public office, principals and seconds. This did not preclude punishment for homicide also. The sentence, in 1813, confirmed on appeal, of Walter Taylor, in Edgefield, to fine, imprisonment, and peace bond for challenging his son-in-law, A. Nesbit, was one of the few convictions, if indeed there were any others.⁶² This law prevented a duel between Petigru and Hunt.⁶³ To remedy the judges' having virtually interpreted away the Moser law, witnesses were protected, in 1823, from danger of incrimination, and in the vain hope of securing conviction the exclusion and peace bond penalties were, in 1834, removed.⁶⁴

Wilson Dueling Code—Before John Lyde Wilson (1784-1849) published his Code of Honor in 1838, duels were conducted as the participants agreed. There might or might not be seconds. A combat might immediately follow an affront. By agreement one might have no right to shoot until the other had fired. The resulting extravagances were sometimes ridiculous and sometimes brutal. There is no reason to doubt Governor Wilson's statement that his

60. Camden "Journal," Jan. 24, 31, 1829.

61. Layman in City "Gazette," Sept. 15, 1812, *ib.*, Oct. 1, 1812.

62. Charleston, Carolina, "Gazette," May 15, 1813.

63. Jervey, Hayne, 197-98.

64. Jervey, Hayne, 82-83; Statutes; Folk MS.



PARLOR OF CEDAR GROVE, THE NICHOLSON HOME, SEVEN MILES FROM EDGEFIELD

The original pictured wallpaper is a feature not often found, but the house is otherwise representative of many of the residences of old families in the town and county of Edgefield and other mid-state ante-bellum planter (*i. e.*, large farmer) counties.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

motive was to prevent "unnecessary" duels, and even if a fight was inevitable, to save lives. Duels were thenceforth usually conducted with punctilious decorum. The code was reprinted in 1858, and with slight changes in 1878 by R. B. Rhett, Jr., it is thought.

If the law could enforce Christian forbearance, says Wilson, "all that is honorable in the community would quit the country." He would, if possible, he continues, abolish dueling by teaching the young, inculcated with lofty independence, "that nothing was more derogatory to the honor of a gentleman than to wound the feelings of any one, however humble," and that to persist in mortal combat with one he had wronged would "put him without the pale of all decent society and all honorable men." Perhaps ninety-nine out of a hundred duels "originate in the want of experience in the seconds. A book of authority . . . will therefore be a desideratum."

The code follows: Never resent an insult (unless by blows or such like) in public. Never challenge until consulting your second. All communications must be in the language of gentlemen (thus preventing aggravating the original difficulty). Everything must be left to the second, whose mind is more capable of a just judgment of every circumstance; and no second may serve without the assurance that the principal will wholly submit to his judgment. A refusal to do so, even on the field after shots, obligates the second to retire. The second must have no further consultation with his principal except for making or accepting an apology or sending a challenge, and must compose the quarrel if honor permits. Father, son, or brother may not be a second. A night must intervene between an offense and a duel. The weapon must be that customary in South Carolina, the single shot smooth bore pistol, not over nine inches long, and the distance must be ten to twenty yards. If a principal fire too soon, his opponents' second may fire upon him, and must if his principal fall. Unless the insult has been gross, the seconds should propose shaking hands on "the middle ground" after one fire, but the second of the wronged man must insist on further shots for deep wrongs. Insulting words must be met by a blow or a challenge; but a blow is sufficient answer to a blow, unless one party is unreasonably beaten. The giving of the word is thus: "Gentlemen, are you ready? Fire; one, two, three, halt." Firing must be between the words fire and halt. A man refusing to fight must be posted as a coward.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

The above rules were at times modified. In other states guns were sometimes used.

Some Notable Duels—The height of the ridiculous was reached in the duel between the middle aged Henry Laurens and the youthful future Judge J. F. Grimké. Grimké having the right to fire first, his pistol snapped. Laurens, who condemned dueling, refused to take his turn. Some time was spent in alternately abusing or urging each other to fire or to draw swords, until second Gervais removed Laurens as having amply met Grimké's challenge.⁶⁵

Laurens and Congressman Penn, of North Carolina, were walking to the dueling ground outside Philadelphia when Penn offered his hand to help the tart and gouty older man across a ditch. Laurens accepted the courtesy and Penn suggested that their meeting was foolish. That ended their difficulty.⁶⁶

Very different was the duel fought because Edward P. Simons "damned" General Geddes and his son in a Charleston campaign in 1823. Their clothing was cut by the first four shots, and at the fifth Geddes was shot through both thighs and Simons killed.⁶⁷

McDuffie was challenged by William Cummings, of Augusta, in a political quarrel. Both missed; but Cummings challenged again because of McDuffie's newspaper account of the duel, and, June 8, 1832, lodged a bullet against McDuffie's spinal cord, "leaving him long before his death a melancholy imbecile."⁶⁸

After Perry had killed Bynum in a duel arising out of their activities as Unionist and Nullifier, respectively, he could afford to refuse to fight William R. Taber, the famous "Mercury" editor, who challenged him because of Perry's criticising his oration. Taber was burned in effigy, and Perry dragged from bed by an admiring "mob," to whom he made "a shameful harrangue."⁶⁹

William R. Taber, of the "Mercury," figured in one of the most famous duels in our history, September 29, 1856, at the Washington race course. Articles in the "Mercury" signed Nullifier, by Alfred Rhett, Jr., attacked Judge A. G. Magrath, a candidate for Congress,

65. Copy of Gervais' MS. account, dated Oct. 17, 1775.

66. S. B. Weeks, "Magazine of American History," Dec., 1891.

67. S. W. Moore, MS. letter to son, Oct. 15, 1823.

68. E. H. Folk, MS., Code Duello in South Carolina, citing Sabine, *Dueling*, 242, Sparks, *Memories*, 85, 89, 91.

69. E. S. Keitt, MSS.; Perry, *Letters to wife*, 2d ser., 141.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

acknowledged his talent, "deplore(d) its perversion to unworthy objects," and said that his friends' cry of persecution was "that ready refuge from the pursuit of justice, of falling fortune, and of bankrupt character." An editorial note accompanying the first article was taken as endorsing them. Edward, the judge's younger brother, challenged editors Taber and Heart, both of whom accepted, and since Magrath's challenge, they considered, contained insulting language, made their acceptance a cross challenge. This was a direct violation of the code, which forbade accepting an insulting challenge. The cross challenge introduced a complication rendering peaceful accommodations more difficult.⁷⁰

Rhett immediately, to avert these duels, challenged Judge Magrath, but without effect on the course of events. It was agreed that of the two editors he had challenged Magrath should first fight Taber. After the second fire the seconds for almost an hour sought an accommodation. Dr. Bellinger, having no connection with the affair, was allowed to participate in efforts for the peace which he had come to the ground to promote. James Conner for Magrath demanded that Taber say that he "regrets the publication in the 'Mercury' of whatever in those articles is personal." Taber's second, who had stated warmly that we came to seek satisfaction as well as give it, would only consent to a simultaneous statement by Taber that he had not intended any reflection on Judge Magrath's private character, and by Magrath that he had not intended to insult Taber by the wording of his challenge. Less from Magrath or more from Taber, he held, would manifest a deliberate intention to accomplish Taber's humiliation. Taber had firmly taken the stand that he must defend the liberty of the press, which he denied abusing.

The principals being placed for the third fire, Cunningham courteously requested Magrath to depress the point of his pistol a little more. (The pistols were held in the usual South Carolina position, arm straight downward, instead of the up-point position near the head or shoulder.) "Still more, Mr. Magrath," insisted Cunningham. At this point a serious breach of the code occurred by a rela-

70. Col. John Cunningham, Taber's second, in a letter of August 16, 1879, said: "I had no privity with Taber's remarkable note." (Snowden MSS.) Charleston papers October 2, 1856, have correspondence. "State," Aug. 23, 1903, reprints letters, articles by seconds, etc. Cf. King, *Newspaper Press of Charleston*, 155, *passim*. F. Hudson's *Journalism in America*, 403-07, has Col. Cunningham's account of the duel.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

tive of Taber's, who should have been excluded from the ground. This gentleman had been walking about with a displayed pistol, taking position "proximate to Mr. Magrath," and mandatorily exclaiming "Not enough yet, Sir." This diversion of Magrath's attention to a possible second antagonist, with the possibility of a general mêlée, such as occasionally occurred in such affairs in other states or countries, having passed, the third fire was given. Taber fell mortally wounded.

The duel between Magrath and Heart which was to follow if Taber did not render complete satisfaction, of course, did not occur. Rhett was at hand to demand the right to a duel, should Judge Magrath intervene. The duel was notable for the parties concerned, the questions of personal and editorial responsibility involved, the irregularities permitted in defiance of the code when the circumstances demanded its strictest observance, and the bitter feelings all these circumstances stirred.⁷¹

Representative of the system in its highest development in South Carolina were the duel of September 5, 1862, in which Major Alfred Rhett, First South Carolina Artillery, killed Colonel W. Ransom Calhoun, of the same regiment, and its prelude the Arnoldus Vander Horst-Rhett duel. Calhoun was a West Point graduate of 1851 and Rhett a Harvard graduate of the same year. Calhoun (then captain) seems unquestionably to have acted publicly offensively toward Rhett (then lieutenant) in operations at Fort Moultrie in 1861, the West Pointer perhaps unconsciously trespassing upon the military rights of the planter turned soldier; for he left a statement that he had never intended offense. Rhett, helpless against his superior, invited a challenge by saying to persons who would repeat it that Calhoun was a damned puppy. Calhoun remarked he would call Rhett out when patriotic considerations permitted. August 7, 1862, in company, Vander Horst was praising Colonel Calhoun (resigned on account of health), and surmising that no one could fill his place. This was doubly offensive to Rhett, who considered it willfully pushing upon him Calhoun, his enmity to whom was known.

Dispute growing hot, Vander Horst took Rhett's repeated assertion that Calhoun was a damned puppy as insulting to himself, and

71. Taber's splendid head and refined intellectual face might almost pass for a representation of Shakespeare. With the appearance of most of the others I am not acquainted.



HALLWAY AT CEDAR GROVE, SEVEN MILES FROM EDGEFIELD

Built by John Blocker before 1825. Bought by John Bones of Emmett's Rebellion. (The stone on the left is from the Giant's Causeway.) It descended to its present owner, Mrs. Elizabeth Hughes Nicholson, the wife of Lt.-Col. B. E. Nicholson, of Hampton Legion. Their daughter, Miss June Nicholson, principal of the McTyre School of the Southern Methodist Church, Shanghai, China, was reared and died here.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

challenged. The duel, which a board of honor failed to prevent, was bloodless. Rhett, who had merely intended to force Calhoun to challenge, fired his second shot into the air.

Calhoun now challenged Rhett in words admitting of no explanation or negotiation, and specified that there should be a fight to the finish with no air shooting. The death of Calhoun was followed by a Court of Enquiry, in which General Ripley and others testified to the Article of War 25 forbidding dueling always, having been considered in the United States and Confederate armies a dead letter, to be invoked only in case of unfairness or atrocity, and to high officers' having lost caste by refusing to fight.⁷²

Homicide and "Low Crime"—Dueling and ordinary homicide flourished side by side, and were the outcome of the same psychology of willful individualism fostered by the same conditions. Though apparently not so frequent in South Carolina in proportion as today, murder was a common Southern and Western vice. Carrying concealed weapons was not unlawful in South Carolina until January 1, 1881, but the Act of 1859 severely penalized assaults made with such. The Richland Grand Jury in 1852 called for "some severe remedy" for a habit that bred frequent bloody tragedies.

Nor was "low crime" (to recognize our common distinction) so uncommon as the idealizers of our past imagine. At a Charleston court in 1852 white men were convicted of pick-pocketing, larceny, forgery, obtaining goods under false pretenses. The sentences were whipping and imprisonment. Complaints were frequent of trading with slaves and keeping gambling houses for them. February 1, 1850, a white man was hanged in Edgefield for wife murder. (He also murdered his slave whom he forced to kill the wife.) His female accomplice was not indicted; for, as one writer boasted, Southern chivalry refuses to hang a woman, the pirate and murderess Mrs. Fisher being (he says) the only woman ever executed in South Carolina. The crimes of the South, continues this typical boaster, whose tribe have so fostered by half-way glorifying murder, are "a sort of honorable crime," in contrast with the robberies, etc., of the North. "Whenever the Southern dagger is drawn, there is something manly

72. Rhett's pamphlet account of both duels with documents. Calhoun had previously fought in Paris while Secretary of Legation. Rhett had never been second or principal before these duels.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

and chivalrous in the use of it," as self-defense or avenging wrong or fancied wrong.⁷³

The Classes and the Masses—The duel was distinctly the habit of the aristocracy, though somewhat extended beyond their bounds. The plain, pious middle class eschewed it on principle, and the undisciplined tempers of the lower element avenged themselves less formally. These differences of custom helped to accentuate the unusual contrast of classes in South Carolina. If there had not been a good share of arrogance along with the virtues of the aristocracy, especially in Charleston, with civilization so far in advance of the interior, they would have been more than human. Profusely praised both by themselves and others, unjustly abused by Northern fanaticism and up-country ignorance or prejudice, the natural reaction was an arrogance often so complacent as to be unconscious. There was too much tendency to despise the masses and too little sympathetically to permeate them with higher ideals of culture and conduct; but it must be emphasized that the aristocracy of Charleston did very thoroughly perform this service for their own city, so that to this day persons entirely outside that class, and even the negroes on the street, not to speak of the house servant class, very generally bear the marks of this influence. Long after 1865 an aged Charleston gentleman remarked that he had for the first time observed a man to swagger on the streets. A writer in the "Constitutional Union" of Georgia, December 6, 1850, considered South Carolina the most aristocratic State in the Union, with less intercourse between rulers and ruled and less sympathy between rich and poor than any other Commonwealth; while another writer in the same journal found "an overweening pride of ancestry; a haughty defiance of all restraints not self-imposed; an innate hankering after power, and a self-opinionated assumption of supremacy." The aristocracy thus in a most serious respect failed of its proper and useful function, and bitterly has it paid for its fault. It is a serious question whether the reaction it met in Tillman's venomous assaults were any worse violations of Christian charity and gentlemanly fairness.

When Washington Allston's mother married her second husband, Dr. H. C. Flagg, the son of a wealthy Rhode Island merchant and

73. Rept. of Trial of Martin Posey (pamphlet); papers of dates.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

himself surgeon of the 1st South Carolina Continentals throughout the Revolution, to please herself as she had married before to please her family, her father, outraged at alliance with a "Yankee adventurer," threatened to cut off her inheritance.⁷⁴ When within the aristocracy itself, after 1865, the head of a family somewhat older in standing would let it be understood that he considered it a condescension for his daughter to marry the descendant of a Revolutionary patriot and aristocrat of exceptional distinction, the attitude toward the small up country farmer may be imagined.⁷⁵ A low country friend to whom it was protested, but So-and-So was a gentleman, replied, with the air of one making an admission more damaging to the other side than his own, "Oh yes, an *up-country* gentleman." It was a Charleston gentleman who remarked on the stagecoach he had conversed with a lady of decided culture and charm, "and she was from the up country." As a matter of fact, she was a lady whose beauty and culture graced the eminent position which her husband later held. He was more considerate than the Charleston lady who disdained to converse in the carriage with an up country lady whose education and culture were doubtless not surpassed in the State.

Without bitterness these things may be smiled at, and the truth recognized that Charleston and some regions of the low country were before 1860 far ahead of all but a few localities and a limited number of individuals in the up country. It is astonishing to note even today the large proportion of cultured persons in the up country whose families came from the low country or from Virginia. Low country social ideals and social and intellectual leaders largely dominate Columbia, and did so even more fully before its recent commercial expansion.

Graduates of the South Carolina College by districts from 1807 to 1856, inclusive, numbered: Abbeville, 73; Anderson, 11; Barnwell, 15; Beaufort, 77; Charleston (including the present Berkeley, Dorchester, and the Holly Hill section of Orangeburg), 280; Chester, 50; Chesterfield, 21; Clarendon (evidently generally included in Sumter), 1; Colleton, 21; Darlington, 57; Edgefield, 56; Fairfield, 79; Georgetown, 33; Greenville, 19; Kershaw, 49; Lancaster, 29; Laurens, 42; Lexington, 16; Marion, 9; Marlboro, 26; New-

74. Flagg's Washington Allston, 6-7; A. S. Salley, President Washington's Tour Through S. C., 4.

75. O'Connell, Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia, 211.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

berry, 47; Orangeburg, 38; Pendleton, 28; Richland, 178; Spartanburg, 12; Sumter (evidently Sumter election district, including Clarendon judicial district), 76; Union, 29; Williamsburg, 15; York, 39.

After 1825 there were scores of handsome mansions in the up country, increasing as agriculture and commerce grew. Waddy Thompson's estate on Paris Mountain, with its vistas in many directions, was a show place for travelers from many states. It was equipped with running water and gas, and had a separate building for his library, which was at times visited by George Bancroft.⁷⁶ The mansions built (it is said) by Governor Pickens for his two daughters in Newberry and Edgefield districts were very handsome, and in them, as in many another, educated men and highly cultured women dispensed thoroughly South Carolina hospitality. The Rutherford mansion in the town of Newberry resembled a nobleman's seat, and in these later days serves as a public school.

Classes were much less separated in the up than the low country, for the reasons that its upper class had so much more recently risen, and there was no one center in which it could collect as in a disdainful social fortress. But it must not be forgotten that there was always a broad-minded, liberal element in the ruling class that understood better the permanent interests of the masses and of the State as a whole than they were able to bring either their own class or the common people to see. The lack of our domestic politics was an educated lower class to appreciate and support such leadership. When the masses were finally led to revolt they repudiated the services of some of their best friends as well as of their supercilious superiors. The word aristocrat had come, as it has never come in England, to mean a man who neglects and despises the people. To the two extremes of her society South Carolina is indebted for some ugly phases of her history.

The Poor Whites—Of the "poor whites" we have already seen something in viewing the factory movement. By all contemporary testimony their condition was pitiful, and among appreciable elements revolting. William Gregg, in 1845, thought thousands never passed a month without hunger, and Governor Hammond estimated,

76. Gen. Waddy Thompson, by H. T. Thompson; pamphlet.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

in 1850, that 50,000 out of a white population of 275,000 could not gain a decent living, and that stealing and dishonest trading on what slaves stole was common.⁷⁷ Tillmanism and Bleasism did not produce the ignorance and poverty that formed a conspicuous part of their following; they revealed them.

The origin of the poor white has been the subject of more speculation than investigation. My observation of the sources impress me that we produced, rather than imported, him.⁷⁸ The poor immigrant of the eighteenth century degenerated under three unfavorable influences; isolation, poor lands, and competition with the slave plantation. Hookworm, malaria, execrable diet, and the whiskey drinking that was, dieticians think, partly induced by it, promoted the downward course. In the malarial region of the great plantations for some sixty miles inland the course of ignorance, moral depravity, and low, lawless desperation probably went farther than anywhere else except possibly in the degraded parts of the sandhills. But we cannot indict in gross the inhabitants of any locality. Only strong tendencies can be asserted. I could name typical men who moved from such localities and classes to highly favorable environments, rose to prosperity and high public respect, and left children whose neighbors never imagine the condition of their grandparents.⁷⁹

Depopulation and degeneration attacked good communities. Elder Giles, of a Presbyterian Church in Abbeville district, wrote about 1850, "Forty-five years ago I have no doubt there were at least 200 members. From removals and deaths, small farms have been bought up by large planters—who generally are a curse to any community. . . . We have dwindled down to thirty-five."⁸⁰

The process was common in the middle and up country plantation counties. The free land of the colonial period being exhausted, the massing of the best lands into plantations meant the progressive degeneration of the poor. In 1825 paupers were found in a rough

77. Olmstead, II, 152, is easiest source for Hammond. Cf., Mitchell's Gregg.

78. See above, chapter 37, etc.

79. So far as printed material is concerned (and the disagreeable subject has never been widely or systematically investigated), Miss Shelby and Mr. Stoney's "Po' Buckra" is by no means an overdrawn picture of conditions about Hell Hole Swamp. We may be sure that wherever similar natural conditions and social traditions exist similar results will be found. Says Mr. James Henry Rice, "William Gilmore Simms has drawn faithful pictures of the bushman, *e. g.*, Bostick, in Woodcraft; Toney in the Partisan series, Hell-Fire Dick in The Forayers, etc. Fannie Kemble, in a Journal of a Year on a Georgia Plantation (1838) calls them 'the lowest race of men with a white skin on the face of the earth.'"

80. Howe, II, 295.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

approximation to the age of the settlement and the prevalence of slavery. Charleston, in 1825, had more paupers than the entire State with its greatly increased population about a century later.⁸¹ Immigrants sometimes sank in one generation into poor whites, and in forty years after 1865 the grandchildren of poor whites who had been fed at gentlemen's back doors had become an upstanding, respectable population.⁸²

Our past has been so obscured and distorted by the idealizer, the apologist, and the propagandist as to recall the definition of history as "a tale that has been agreed upon." An eminent writer recently spoke of the old South as a country where white men did not work; whereas in reality a vast proportion of the Confederate Army took arms with hands already hardened by toil, and the majority of them never owned a slave. Even William H. Trescot could say to the South Carolina Historical Society in 1859:

But slavery might have done all this (united and enriched the State and educed splendid traits of character), and only ended by creating a strong, haughty and powerful aristocracy. Fortunately for us, it has been able to do much more; it has realized the dream of political philosophers; it has been the great leveler, not by dragging down, but by raising up; it has made a society of equals, by elevating all citizens of the State to the condition of a privileged class. . . . The early settlers . . . were literally free and equal. When slavery then became established among them, it could not be limited, and the whole society became slaveholders.

And thus it happened that, by the time South Carolina became an independent State, her whole society had been both elevated and unified.

Trescot's noble address on General Elliott, in 1866, showed exceptional realization of the possible error of the civilization he had praised seven years before; and, in 1889, he said to the alumni of the College of Charleston (though still barely alluding to the gaping differences between white classes):

In many of our strongest convictions, in much of our most constant habits, we were an anachronism and an anomaly. Living under a

81. Cf. Mills, *Statistics of South Carolina*.

82. A gentleman in Lee County in about 1905 was unable to point out to me any but thoroughly respectable looking people of this ancestry. Cf. Rev. Immer's description in 1761 of the degeneration of Purrysburgers in one generation (SPG MSS.); also Prof. Voight's studies of South Carolina's German and Swiss immigrants.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

theory of government based upon the principle that all men were born free and equal, every hour saw the birth of a slave, and the necessary rule of our prosperity was that, as some one has tersely and wisely said, all progress is the adequate adjustment of inequalities. The development of the whole country depended upon the elevation of labor, and the pride of our special civilization was that, while we owned it mercifully, and directed it skillfully, we were above it, and could impose its heavy burden upon a class whom God had specially provided for our use. Ours was essentially a government of class and race.

That the poor white was the real victim of slavery and the negro its beneficiary (which is not saying he should have remained in school forever) is now a commonplace.⁸³ The long class and sectional antagonism we have already traced from about 1765. The fear that it might prevent the up country from coöperation in Session was an ignorant exaggeration. The War of Secession and Reconstruction united classes as never before. The partial subordination of the negro danger at last tore away the mask and showed South Carolina as she really was, a divided, conflicting and potentially class-wrecked society.

Rumblings of Class Conflict—The movement of 1838 for the popular election and increased power of the Governor, and of 1844-1858 for the popular choice of presidential electors and for a limited term judiciary and for new up country districts, have already been noted. The early 1850's heard demands for a new Constitution to remedy the concentration of power in the hands of some 80,000 citizens in the blacker districts instead of the 190,000 in the whiter, which rendered the phrase of republican form of government a strange term when applied to South Carolina. A few up country extremists favored an extra-legal convention's framing and enforcing a new Constitution, and low country extremists feared that if South Carolina seceded in 1852 the threats of the former to leave negro-owning planters to do their own fighting might be made good. The retiring Governor J. L. Manning and the incoming Governor Adams, in 1854, both prayed that we be spared the spirit of innovation. The

83. I once taught a group of South Carolina negro teachers for a month, preparing them to teach other negro teachers in county normals. I was asked the question, "Professor, who do you think got the most benefit out of slavery, the negro or the white man?" My answer that the negro got the benefit and the white man paid for it, was greeted with a roar of laughter. "Brer Rabbit," the weaker animal, had triumphed over the stronger.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

first step in pulling down or patching may be fatal, said Adams. "The watchword will be reform—the shout will be change—until [it] have pulled down over your heads the best balanced system of government that the world has yet looked upon."⁸⁴

J. H. Hammond, in 1847, saw that it was essential to keep "the actual slaveholder not only predominant, but paramount within its (slavery's) circles," for it was "weakened by every accession of administrative and executive power to the masses here."⁸⁵ Trescot was grieved at this sectional and class intra-Union and intra-Carolina conflict over slavery and democracy. We have in South Carolina, he told the South Carolina Historical Society in 1859, two classes (not alluding, however, to the poor white), produced by the fierce conflicts of sections over slavery in which the present generation has grown up: one that distorts the old South Carolina character by its extravagances and violence of temper, "while on the other side, we have men equally honest, who, wearied and disgusted with these extravagances, would rashly destroy those peculiarities of our State character and constitution, which are liable to such mischievous exaggeration; who would eradicate our old State pride, destroy the old conservative character of our State politics; strip us bare of all the glorious achievements of the past, and drive us, destitute and dishonored, into the fit companionship of a vagabond and demoralized democracy; a democracy which, in the language of one of the boldest and honestest thinkers in the country, 'has modified our State Constitutions in a democratic sense.'"

While sensing all the danger of democracy, South Carolina leaders ignored its cardinal virtue, that it alone forces society for its own protection to elevate and do justice to the masses of men. Though liberal aristocrats in South Carolina as elsewhere strove for this, no aristocratic society has ever done so except under compulsion. Nor have the two South Carolinas, the one of the masses, the other of the classes, ever long held in unity except in the presence of the negro peril or its consequences. The two South Carolinas were moving towards their inevitable conflict when a far greater conflict postponed their trial of strength. Manhood suffrage, existing since 1810, would with adequate leadership have overthrown even the control of the

84. Boucher, *Sectionalism, Representation, and the Electoral Question in South Carolina*, 42; "DeBow," Feb., 1855, 172-73.

85. *Ib.*, 38, quoting Hammond to Simms.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CUSTOMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

State Senate by the planter and the Charleston commercial and professional classes; for these always faced at home a stolid majority of the poor who, after the abortive efforts following the Revolution, had scarcely found a voice; but whether it would have been possible without such violence as that of Tillman to rouse passion sufficient for action where reason slept is a question.



Benedict and Allied Lines

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



BE LONGING to the group of surnames of baptismal origin, the patronymic Benedict was one of the most popular personal names of the surname epoch, owing its favor to the Benedictines. Several of its derivatives, such as Bennet, Bennett and Benson are among the most familiar of English surnames. Early records of the name are found in the Hundred Rolls, 1273, when Reginald *fil.* Benedici is mentioned as of County Hunts, and Clemens *fil.* Benedicti as of County York.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

A family tradition states that the Benedicts were anciently in the silk manufacturing district of France and of Latin origin. At the time of the Huguenot persecutions they fled to Germany and then by way of Holland to England. Thomas Benedict, American progenitor of the Benedict family, is said to have been an only son, born in 1617. That name had been confined to only sons of the family for more than a hundred years. When Thomas Benedict, of Nottinghamshire, left England, he did not know of another living person of the name. Hence it is assumed that his father was not then living.

(Henry Marvin Benedict: "The Genealogy of the Benedicts in America," pp. 1, 2.)

I. Thomas Benedict, born in England in 1617 or 1618, immigrant ancestor, was among those Englishmen who preferred exile in a new land to the religious oppression of his own country. His mother died when he was young and his father married (second) a widow, whose daughter, Mary Bridgum, came to New England in 1638 on the same ship with Thomas Benedict, who was then twenty years old. Soon after arriving in New England, they were married. These facts concerning Thomas Benedict were communicated to Deacon James Benedict, of Ridgefield, Connecticut, by Mary Bridgum, who lived to the good old age of one hundred years. Deacon Benedict recorded these facts in 1755.

BENEDICT

Arms—Gules, a lion rampant holding in his paws the head of a hammer pierced in the center, all or.

Crest—The lion issuant. (Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

LYFORD

Arms—Or, three bendlets azure an inescutcheon chequy or and gules.

Crest—A fox's head erased or. (Burke: "General Armory.")

LORD

Arms—Argent, on a fesse between three cinquefoils azure two pheons of the field.

(Burke: "Encyclopædia of Heraldry.")

REVELATION

Wm.—Gives a long trumpet blowing in his hand, a horn
not pierced in the center, all of
(The horn is a trumpet) (The horn is a trumpet)

REVELATION

Wm.—On three bells in his hand, a trumpet blowing in his hand, a horn
not pierced in the center, all of
(The horn is a trumpet) (The horn is a trumpet)

LORD

Wm.—A great, on a horse between three cinnabars, a horn
not pierced in the center, all of
(The horn is a trumpet) (The horn is a trumpet)



Benedict



Lyford



Lord

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Young Thomas Benedict was apprenticed to a weaver before coming to New England. Later he seems to have been entirely occupied with farming and public affairs. He also seems to have been something of a rover. After living for a time in the "Bay parts," he removed to Southold, Long Island, where his nine children were born. Next, he went, about 1649, to a farm belonging to the town called Hassamamac and remained there a while. Later he took his family to Huntington, Long Island, where they settled for some time, removing next to Jamaica. Finally they went to Norwalk, Fairfield County, Connecticut, where Thomas Benedict became a deacon of the church.

It has been stated authoritatively, on his own affidavit, that Thomas Benedict was resident in Huntington in June, 1657, and he was one of those appointed to exercise certain functions of government in the town. He owned land in both Southold and Huntington. On March 20, 1663, he was appointed a magistrate by the Dutch Governor Stuyvesant. December 3, 1663, he was appointed lieutenant of the town. He also held the office of commissioner when the Dutch Governor Stuyvesant surrendered New York and its dependencies to the English under Colonel Richard Nichols. In Norwalk, Thomas Benedict was town clerk for a number of years; selectman for seventeen years; and was listed among the forty-two freemen of 1669. The public positions held by him, wherever he lived, indicate his evident ability and the confidence and esteem he inspired in his community. No record of the exact day of his death has been found, but his will was executed February 28, 1689-90, when he was "aged about 73 years." Inventory of his estate, in which he is described as "late deceased," was taken March 18 of the same year.

Thomas Benedict married Mary Bridgum. Children: 1. Thomas. 2. John. 3. Samuel (1), of whom further. 4. James. 5. Daniel. 6. Elizabeth, married, after 1676, John Slauson. 7. Mary, married, July 17, 1673, John Olmsted. 8. Sarah, married, December 19, 1679, James Beebe. 9. Rebecca, married Dr. Samuel Wood.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 1, 2, 4, 7-10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 24. James Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. I, p. 164.)

II. Samuel (1) Benedict, son of Thomas and Mary (Bridgum) Benedict, lived with his father for some time, until after his removal to Norwalk, Connecticut. In 1684-85 he purchased land of the

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Indians and with several others made the first settlement at Paquogue (Danbury). He was a deacon of the church in both Norwalk and Danbury.

Samuel (1) Benedict married twice; the name of his first wife is not known. He married (second), July 7, 1678, Rebecca Andrews, daughter of Thomas Andrews, of Fairfield, Connecticut. Children of the first marriage: 1. Joanna, born October 22, 1673. 2. Samuel (2), of whom further. Children of the second marriage: 3. Thomas, born March 27, 1679; married Elizabeth Barnum. 4. Nathaniel. 5. Abraham, born June 21, 1681. 6. Rebecca, married, June 18, 1712, Samuel Platt. 7. Esther.

(Henry Marvin Benedict: "The Genealogy of the Benedicts in America," pp. 24, 241-42-43. James Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. I, p. 164. James M. Bailey: "History of Danbury, Connecticut," p. 46.)

III. Samuel (2) Benedict, son of Samuel (1) Benedict, was born March 5, 1675, and died January 18, 1735. His will was dated March 4, 1734-35, and recorded April 9, 1734-35.

Samuel (2) Benedict married Abigail Pickett, daughter of Thomas Pickett. Children: 1. Mary, married a Mr. Wildman. 2. Hannah. 3. Ebenezer, born in 1718, died March 27, 1796; married Rachel Benedict. 4. Samuel (3), of whom further. 5. Mercy.

(James M. Bailey: "History of Danbury, Connecticut," p. 14. Henry Marvin Benedict: "The Genealogy of the Benedicts in America," pp. 243-44.)

IV. Samuel (3) Benedict, son of Samuel (2) and Abigail (Pickett) Benedict, was born in 1722 and died May 19, 1792. His will, dated June 18, 1787, and proved June 12, 1792, names his wife, Phæbe, and children.

Samuel Benedict married, December 9, 1742, Phæbe Benedict, daughter of Captain John Benedict. Children: 1. Samuel, born May 28, 1744, died in Danbury, Connecticut, August 18, 1803; married, April 7, 1768, Betty Westcott. 2. Abigail, born July 31, 1746. 3. Eleazer, of whom further. 4. Phæbe, born January 22, 1750. 5. Mary, born April 15, 1752. 6. Joanna, born November 21, 1754, died October 1, 1766. 7. Rebecca, born May 22, 1757. 8. John, born February 4, 1760, died in 1780. 9. Arc, born August 22, 1762,

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

administration of estate granted January 24, 1793. 10. Elijah, born November 15, 1765, died November 22, 1822; married, April 12, 1787, Tamar Pearce.

(Henry Marvin Benedict: "The Genealogy of the Benedicts in America," pp. 244, 247-48.)

V. *Eleazer Benedict*, son of Samuel and Phœbe (Benedict) Benedict, was born December 27, 1747, and left a will, dated February 14, 1805, and proved at Danbury, Connecticut, February 13, 1821. He lived at New Penfield, now Webster, Connecticut.

Eleazer Benedict married (first), February 1, 1770, Mary Barnum, born in October, 1747, died October 21, 1774, daughter of Joseph Barnum. He married (second), April 24, 1777, Jerusha Crosby, born June 29, 1754, died in 1821, daughter of Isaac Crosby, of South East. Child of the first marriage: 1. Hannah, born December 23, 1772, died in Wayne County, New York; married, in 1790, Reuben Sears. Children of the second marriage: 2. Mary, born March 15, 1778, died in Monroe County, New York. 3. Patience, born April 5, 1779, died in 1861; married Northrop St. John. 4. John, of whom further. 5. Betsey, married John Comstock. 6. Susannah, born April 16, 1784; married, in November, 1800, Reuben Trowbridge. 7. Annis, born June 8, 1786, died in Michigan; married James Hodges. 8. Rachel, born July 2, 1788, died March 11, 1791. 9. Eliud, born May 8, 1790, died in 1821; married Mercy Osborn. 10. Rachel, born May 11, 1791; married George K. Camp. 11. Jerusha, born February 10, 1795. 12. Eleazer, born November 4, 1798; married, January 15, 1822, Harriet Kilbourne.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 248, 255.)

VI. *John Benedict*, son of Eleazer and Jerusha (Crosby) Benedict, was born December 14, 1780, and died July 21, 1861.

He married, in 1804, Lucinda Barnum, born March 6, 1785, daughter of Ezra Barnum, of Danbury, Connecticut. Children: 1. Ezra Crosby, born in 1805, died in Michigan in 1861; married Ida Jourdan, born in Vermont in 1810. 2. Erie, born in 1807, died aged two years. 3. Enum, born in 1808, died in 1832. 4. Eli, born in 1811; married Eunice Moody, born in 1812. 5. Daniel Sela, born in 1812, died in 1832. 6. John Barnum, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 254-55.)

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

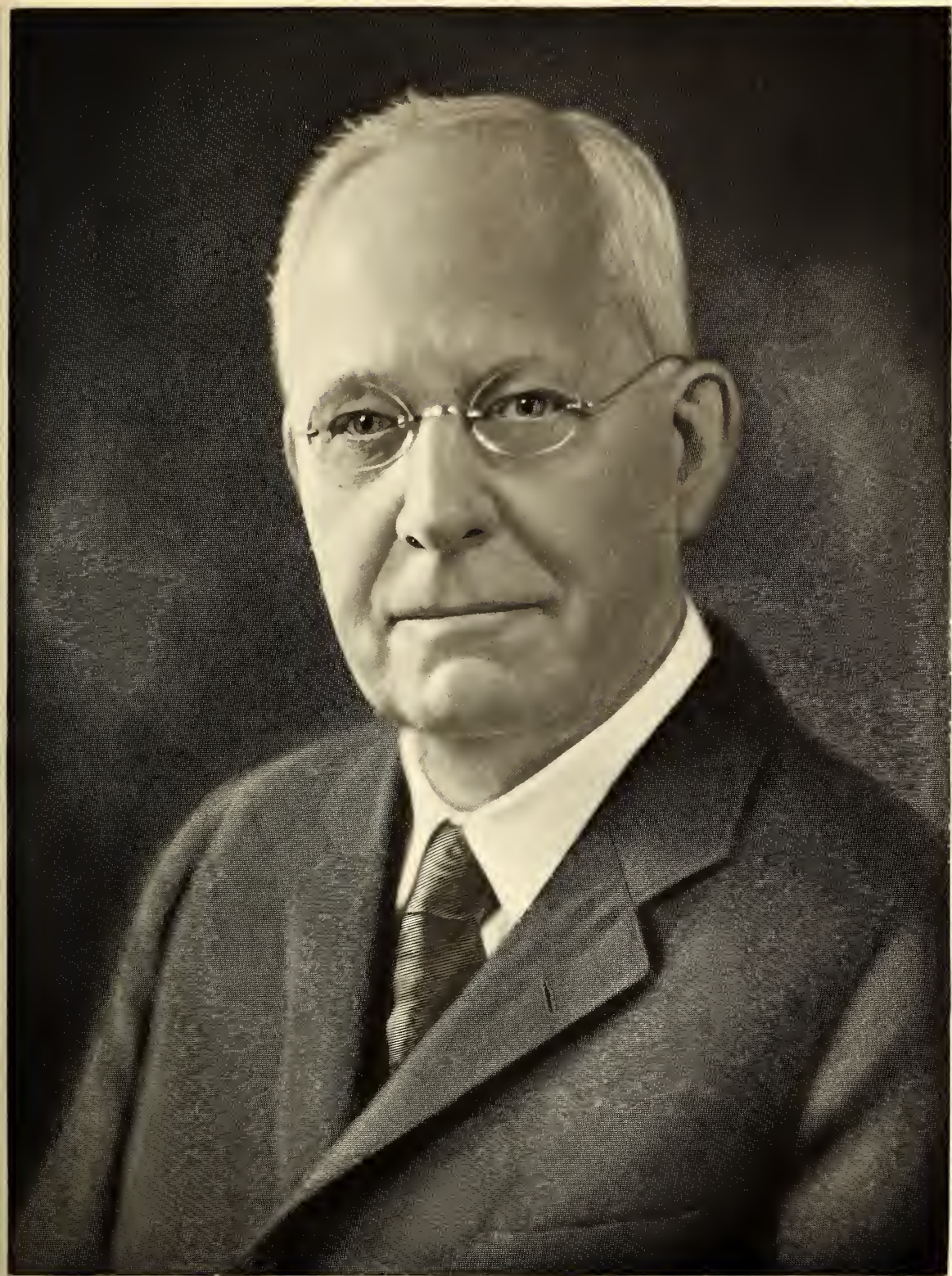
VII. John Barnum Benedict, son of John and Lucinda (Barnum) Benedict, was born February 1, 1820. He was long a resident of Cincinnati, Ohio, coming here about 1866, and for many years was one of its leading contractors and useful citizens. He was a civil engineer.

John Barnum Benedict married, February 16, 1845, Ann Elizabeth Brush. (Brush III.) Children: 1. Enum Sela, born in Rochester, New York September 17, 1854, died in Cincinnati, Ohio, in March, 1927, unmarried. 2. Alfred Barnum, of whom further.

(*Ibid.* Family data.)

VIII. Alfred Barnum Benedict, son of John Barnum and Ann Elizabeth (Brush) Benedict, was born in Rochester, New York, April 2, 1856. After attending the local graded schools he entered the University of Cincinnati, College of Liberal Arts, from which he was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Two years later he received the degree of Bachelor of Laws from the old Cincinnati Law School. In recognition of his great service and devotion, the University conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1917. As a college student he showed evidences of the brilliant mentality that was to characterize his later career and received the key of the Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity. During the Home-coming Week at the University in June, 1933, the week's program was dedicated to Alfred Barnum Benedict, and the highest honor that the Alumni Association could give a graduate of the university was conferred upon him—a life membership in the association. He was the first person ever to be so honored.

Mr. Benedict was admitted to the bar in Cincinnati in 1880 and immediately began the practice of his profession. His great work for the University of Cincinnati began with his appointment, in 1893, as one of the directors of the institution. Three years later he presented a plan for organizing a law school in connection with the university, which would bring about the affiliation of the fading Cincinnati Law School. Practically single-handed he effected this organization, and the College of Law was brought into being. He persuaded William Howard Taft, then judge of the United States Court of Appeals, to act as dean and he drew for its faculty upon such members of the bar as ex-Governor Judson Harmon, Judge Rufus B.



American Historical Society

Steel Engraving by Pinckney

Alfred B. Benedict

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Smith, Lawrence Maxwell, Gustavus H. Wald, Harlan Cleveland, J. D. Brannon and others. The school commanded immediate recognition, and in the following year, 1897, the old Cincinnati Law School was united with it, mainly through the efforts of Mr. Benedict, who then resigned from the board and entered the law faculty, where he taught continuously for twenty-seven years, except for three years, 1904, 1905, 1906, when he resigned to serve again as director, and excepting also the year 1916.

In 1916 Mr. Benedict resigned his position, and the Cincinnati Law School, then divorced from the university, seemed about to end forever its useful career. Mr. Benedict was asked to accept the deanship and rescue the school from its difficulties. Against his desire and judgment, he consented to do this and proceeded with the utmost energy to reorganize the faculty, inducing by his personal appeal some of the best lawyers to enter the faculty and aid him in rejuvenating the school. He raised its standard and set it upon its feet. The Carnegie Foundation in 1923 placed it in Class A, there being only thirty-eight other law schools in the country obtaining that honor.

Believing, as he always had done, that the law school should be an integral part of the university, he proceeded without delay and accomplished his end, bringing to the university \$400,000 worth of property, in addition to a well organized law school, thus for a second time giving the university a college of law. He was instrumental in obtaining the funds, mainly from Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Taft, for the construction of the Law Building at the university. Mr. Benedict, having accomplished so much and having attained the objects which induced him to accept the deanship, now felt that he had made sufficient sacrifice of his time and personal interests and that the law school was in such a prosperous condition that the work and deanship could easily be carried on by another, thus relieving him of the burden that he so long and so successfully had carried. He, therefore, resigned as dean in June, 1924.

Besides his association with the law school, Mr. Benedict was noted in Cincinnati forty years ago as a champion of good government. He was a member of the Honest Elections Committee and fought for good municipal government with, among others, Judge Rufus B. Smith, John R. Holmes, Judge Howard Hollister and William Howard Taft. When the charter movement was in its early

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

stages, he advised it on many questions of principle and action. He also was co-author with Judge Smith of an edition of the Ohio statutes that was a standard work for many years. One of the most famous cases in which he participated was on the question of taxation of the Union Central Life Insurance Company, many years ago, bringing almost a million dollars extra in taxes to Hamilton County, Ohio. At that time he was retained as special attorney for the State. Although he dropped out of active practice some years ago, he was connected with the Channer and Sawyer cases and later represented the Dorgers when their case went to the Court of Appeals.

In Cincinnati, Ohio, on July 3, 1927, Alfred Barnum Benedict married Emma A. Lyford. (Lyford VII.)

The death of Alfred Barnum Benedict occurred in Cincinnati, October 16, 1933. His passing was a source of deep regret to the university and the law college, to which he had given such long and devoted service; to the city, in which he had been so ardent an advocate of good government; and to professional colleagues and friends in all walks of life who were legion. Few among the noted graduates of the College of Law, University of Cincinnati, have by their achievements reflected more glory upon their *alma mater* than Alfred Barnum Benedict, LL. D., the former dean of that institution. Over a period of more than six decades he was an ardent supporter of the university and, more than any other man, he was responsible for the fusion of the old Cincinnati School of Law with the larger organization. His long régime as director and dean of the law college was the most constructive and successful in the history of the school. In his practice of that most exacting of professions, the law, he was acclaimed as of the first rank not alone for his conscientious and capable service as an attorney, but also for his knowledge of the law, its history and personnel, traditions and ideals, and the keen intellectuality and sound judgment of his activities, within the court and out, and in the affairs of the community.

Many eloquent tributes were paid to the career of Mr. Benedict and attempts were made at an appreciation of his personality and achievements. There is general agreement that he was one of the distinguished minority of men who give of themselves unstintedly and always of their best to the betterment of humanity. His life was rich and full, and the benefits of it great and lasting. His last will and

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

testament disclosed that even with his death he did not consider his work done. In that document he provided for an unlimited use of his estate to his widow during her lifetime. After her passing it was to be divided: One-half to the Cincinnati Law Library Association, as an endowment fund, the income alone to be used; the other half to go to the Cincinnati Bar Association, to provide a fund the income of which is to be used for the "relief of needy lawyers of Hamilton County, who are past sixty years of age, and for providing legal aid for the poor, and for promoting the cause of justice among men."

Both these organizations showed their gratitude for these munificent gifts and their appreciation of Mr. Benedict's life and character by passing resolutions. That of the Cincinnati Law Library Association read, in part, as follows:

Alfred B. Benedict, full of honor and years, passed to the great beyond. No words of ours can portray the man, his fine ability, studious character and earnest, honest purpose. He was a great teacher, because like all great lawyers he was able to impart what he knew to others so plainly and clearly, that his exposition of legal principles was like unto a shining light. His advice was sought and followed by his fellow-lawyers. His arguments to the legal tribunals were logical, persuasive and convincing. Intellectually honest, he hated all sham and deceit. Apparently severe and stern and wearing such a mask to conceal the kind heart that beat within, we find that he loved justice, learning, and his fellowman, and expressed such love in his last will and testament. On behalf of the Cincinnati Law Library Association we now accept his generous gift with thanks, and shall sacredly devote the same according to his wishes to the cause of legal learning which he so loved. Generations of lawyers to come will thus have occasion to honor the memory of Alfred B. Benedict, and to hold him in grateful remembrance.

The resolutions of the Cincinnati Bar Association expressed similar sentiments:

Be It Resolved, That by the death of Mr. Alfred B. Benedict, the Cincinnati Bar Association has suffered the loss of a member universally esteemed for ability, courage and industry as an advocate, for his wisdom, integrity and loyalty as a counsellor-at-law, for his kindness, helpfulness and charity as an instructor and friend of the aspirant to the highest type of professional attainments and ethical practices.

Be It Further Resolved, That this association does hereby record its great appreciation of the high and kindly motives which prompted

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Mr. Benedict to remember in his last will and testament the Cincinnati Law Library Association, which always held his affectionate and high regard, and also to remember the aged and needy lawyers and those whose poverty would otherwise deprive them of the benefit of legal advice.

(Family data.)

(The Lyford Line).

Lyford originally designated one "of Lyford," a chapelry in the parish of West Hannay, Berkshire. There were fifteen of the name Lyford to every 10,000 inhabitants of Lyford, Berkshire. As early as 1273 the Hundred Rolls of County Oxford record one John de Lyford.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." H. B. Guppy: "Homes of Family Names in Great Britain.")

I. Francis Lyford, who died in Exeter, New Hampshire, between December 17, 1723, the date of his will, and September 2, 1724, the day it was proved, is mentioned in Suffolk, Massachusetts, deeds, as one of the witnesses to a conveyance of land at the "South end of the Towne of Boston." He signed with three others, February 12, 1667. Also in Suffolk deeds, under date of September 20, 1670, in the record of a mortgage, reference is made to Francis Lyford, mariner of Boston. There are various property records showing that he owned land and also conveyed certain property to his first father-in-law. Francis Lyford was selectman of Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1689 and 1690. During King William's War he served from February 6, 1696, to March 5, 1696, in Captain Kinsley Hall's company of militia in Exeter.

Francis Lyford married (first), in Boston, Massachusetts, about June, 1671, Elisabeth Smith, born November 6, 1646, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Smith. He married (second), in Exeter, New Hampshire, November 21, 1681, Rebecca Dudley, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Dudley. Children of the first marriage: 1. Thomas, born March 25, 1672, in Boston, died in Exeter, New Hampshire, between December 29, 1726, and June 7, 1727; married Judith Gilman. 2. Elisabeth, born in Boston, July 19, 1673, died unmarried. 3. Francis, born in Boston, May 31, 1677. Children of the second marriage: 4. Stephen (1), of whom further. 5. Ann, born in Exeter, New Hampshire; married Timothy Leavitt. 6. Deborah, born in

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Exeter; married a Mr. Follett. 7. Rebecca, born in Exeter, New Hampshire; married a Mr. Hardie (Hardy). 8. Sarah, born in Exeter; married John Foulsham (Folsom). 9. Mary, born in Exeter; married a Mr. Hall.

(William Lewis Welch: "Francis Lyford, of Boston and Exeter," pp. 4-8. James Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. III, p. 133.)

II. Stephen (1) Lyford, son of Francis and Rebecca (Dudley) Lyford, was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, and died there, December 20, 1774. He is listed as one of the distributees of land in Exeter, April 12, 1725, having one hundred acres. He served as selectman in 1734. His will, dated March 23, 1773, was proved January 13, 1775.

Stephen (1) Lyford married, at Exeter, New Hampshire, Sarah Leavitt, who died October 13, 1781, daughter of Moses and Dorothy (Dudley) Leavitt. Children: 1. Biley, born in Exeter, in 1716, died in Brentwood, New Hampshire, February 10, 1792; was in Colonel Nicholas Gilman's regiment of militia, September 12, 1777, and in Captain Porter Kimball's company in Colonel Stephen Evans' regiment at Saratoga, in September, 1777 ("New Hampshire State Papers," Vol. XV, pp. 283, 290, according to family records); married, August 25, 1743, Judith Wilson. 2. Stephen (2), of whom further. 3. Moses, died at Exeter, New Hampshire, April 13, 1799; married, September 22, 1748, Mehitable Smith. 4. Samuel, died February 8, 1778, unmarried. 5. Francis. 6. Theophilus, died in Exeter, New Hampshire, January 31, 1796; married Lois James. 7. Betsey (Elizabeth), married Joshua Wiggin.

(William Lewis Welch: "Francis Lyford, of Boston and Exeter," pp. 11-12, 14-16, 17-18. Mary E. (Neal) Hanaford: "Family Records of Branches of the Hanaford, Thompson, Huckins, Etc., Families," p. 212.)

III. Stephen (2) Lyford, son of Stephen (1) and Sarah (Leavitt) Lyford, was born in Newmarket, New Hampshire, April 12, 1723, and died there, March 14, 1805. He was a yeoman of Newmarket and was in Captain James Hill's company at Pierce's Island, November 5, 1775. ("New Hampshire State Papers," Vol. XIV, p. 232, according to family records.)

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Stephen (2) Lyford married, in Newmarket, New Hampshire, December 20, 1753, Mercy Pike, born March 23, 1727, died October 30, 1800, daughter of Robert Pike, of Newmarket, who died December 5, 1743, and Hannah (Gilman) Pike, who died May 1, 1774. Children: 1. Sarah, born October 17, 1754, died unmarried, September 26, 1812. 2. Love, born June 11, 1756, died January 30, 1838; married a Hilton. 3. Stephen, born August 10, 1758, died December 8, 1844; married the widow Sarah (Lampney) Hilton. 4. Francis, born October 20, 1760, in Newmarket, New Hampshire, died in Meredith, New Hampshire, May 25, 1821; married, intentions published at Exeter, September 27, 1783, Mary Gilman. 5. William, born October 1, 1762, died July 8, 1800, unmarried. 6. Samuel, born January 7, 1765, died August 22, 1838; married Comfort Bracket. 7. Robert, of whom further. 8. Mercy, born November 10, 1770, died unmarried, November 12, 1844.

(William Lewis Welch: "Francis Lyford, of Boston and Exeter," pp. 14, 16, 22-23.)

IV. Robert Lyford, son of Stephen (2) and Mercy (Pike) Lyford, was born in Newmarket, New Hampshire, April 15, 1767, and died in Brookfield, New Hampshire, November 17, 1819.

Robert Lyford married, March 28, 1793, Mary Lyford, born February 13, 1771, died August 2, 1868, daughter of Thomas and Ann (James) Lyford. Children: 1. Nancy, born February 20, 1795, died December 31, 1839; married, in 1818, Nathaniel Calder. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Robert, born October 7, 1799, died December 25, 1803. 4. Lewis, born June 12, 1801, died November 28, 1822. 5. Lucinda (twin), born April 19, 1803, died March 22, 1867; married J. D. Ballard. 6. Almira (twin), born April 19, 1803; married J. H. Pike. 7. Mary, born June 20, 1805, died June 24, 1823. 8. Thomas, born November 6, 1807, died in Boston, Massachusetts, July 9, 1865; married, in July, 1832, Susan Jenkins. 9. Harriet, born August 18, 1810; married, March 16, 1841, J. S. Edgerly. 10. Henry Augustus, born May 2, 1812, died December 25, 1834.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 18, 23, 41-42.)

V. John Lyford, son of Robert and Mary (Lyford) Lyford, was born in Brookfield, New Hampshire, February 6, 1797, and died there, April 28, 1831.

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

John Lyford married, in 1825, Mary Shortridge, born in Brookfield, New Hampshire, in 1801, died April 27, 1834. Children, born in Brookfield, New Hampshire: 1. Lewis, of whom further. 2. Mary N., born August 23, 1827, died October 28, 1858; married, October 7, 1849, Charles S. Mason. 3. Robert, born in 1829, died July 11, 1846. 4. John, born May 12, 1831; married, May 13, 1858, Caroline A. Edwards.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 23, 41.)

VI. Lewis Lyford, son of John and Mary (Shortridge) Lyford, was born in Brookfield, New Hampshire, December 25, 1825, and died in Cincinnati, Ohio, January 22, 1914. He lived in Boston, Massachusetts, a few years before coming to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he became prominent as a furniture dealer and manufacturer and as a contractor.

Lewis Lyford married, in Boston, Massachusetts, July 1, 1850, Clarissa H. Lord. (Lord VII.) Children: 1. Frank L., born in Cincinnati, Ohio, October 13, 1851; married Annie D. Fairley. 2. Mary M., born in Newport, Kentucky, July 14, 1855; married William B. Burdsal. 3. Carrie E., born in Cincinnati, Ohio, July 8, 1859; married William S. Nourse. 4. Emma A., of whom further. 5. Clara D., born in Cincinnati, Ohio, August 9, 1865; married Thomas Shober. Lewis and Clarissa H. (Lord) Lyford were also the parents of two sons, Walter Wallace and Elmer, who died as infants.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 41, 65. Family data.)

VII. Emma A. Lyford, daughter of Lewis and Clarissa H. (Lord) Lyford, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, February 19, 1862. She married Alfred Barnum Benedict. (Benedict VIII.)

(William Lewis Welch: "Francis Lyford, of Boston and Exeter," p. 66. Henry Marvin Benedict: "The Genealogy of the Benedicts in America," p. 225.)

(The Lord Line).

This surname is derived from a name applied to those who were master of, or in control of, landed estates in England. At the present time it is used in conjunction with names of the nobility in England. As early as 1273 the surname Lord appears, families of the name set-

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ting in Nottingham, Cambridge, and in Huntingdonshire. Roger and Walter le Lord, of Cambridge and Huntingdon, respectively, are the first of the name to appear on records.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Robert Lord, progenitor of this family, appears to have been the son of Widow Catharine Lord, who was of Ipswich in 1637. He died August 21, 1683, in his eightieth year. He was freeman at Ipswich, March 3, 1636, deputy to the General Court in 1638, and for many years was town clerk and clerk of the court. The inventory of his estate amounted to £645.

Robert Lord married, in 1630, Mary Waite, who survived him. Children, order of birth not known: 1. Thomas, born in 1633. 2. Samuel, born in 1640. 3. Abigail, married, February 26, 1666, Jacob Foster. 4. Nathaniel, of whom further. 5. Robert, born December 26, 1657, died in June, 1735; married, June 7, 1683, Abigail Ayres. 6. Sarah, married a Mr. Wilson. 7. Joseph, died young. 8. Susannah, married a Mr. Osgood. 9. Hannah, married John Grow.

(Joseph B. Felt: "History of Ipswich, Essex and Hamilton, Massachusetts," pp. 167, 176. James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. III, p. 116.)

II. Nathaniel Lord, son of Robert and Mary (Waite) Lord, was born about 1653 and died December 18, 1733. He was town treasurer.

Nathaniel Lord married, December 31, 1685, the widow Mary (Call) Bolles, born about 1658, daughter of Philip and Mary Call. Children: 1. Nathaniel, Jr., of whom further. 2. Philip, born March 5, 1691. 3. Elizabeth, born November 4, 1693. 4. Jeremiah, born November 10, 1698. 5. Samuel, born October 28, 1700.

(Joseph B. Felt: "History of Ipswich, Essex and Hamilton, Massachusetts," p. 167. Abraham Hammatt: "The Hammatt Papers," pp. 210-11.)

III. Nathaniel Lord, Jr., son of Nathaniel and Mary (Call-Bolles) Lord, was born about 1687 and died August 10, 1770, "aged eighty-three years."

Nathaniel Lord, Jr., married, intentions published November 27, 1720, Anna Kimball, born November 21, 1695, daughter of Caleb and Lucy Kimball. Children: 1. Nathaniel, born November 3, 1721.

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

2. Anna, born March 24, 1724, baptized March 29, 1724. 3. Caleb, born January 11, 1725, baptized January 16, 1725. 4. Daniel, born December 31, 1727. 5. Lucy, baptized March 22, 1729. 6. Aaron, of whom further. 7. Joseph, born August 4, 1734, baptized August 11, 1734. 8. Mary, baptized September 25, 1737.

(“Vital Records of Ipswich, Massachusetts,” Vol. I, pp. 214, 240, 241, 245, 246, 247; Vol. II, p. 284. Abraham Hammatt: “The Hammatt Papers,” pp. 210-11.)

IV. Aaron Lord, son of Nathaniel Lord, Jr., and Anna (Kimball) Lord, was born May 25, 1732, baptized May 28, 1732, and died March 24, 1811, “aged seventy-nine years.”

Aaron Lord married, July 1, 1754, Hannah Lord. Children: 1. Hannah, born May 20, 1756, baptized May 23, 1756. 2. Daniel, born June 25, 1766, baptized June 30, 1766. 3. Stephen, of whom further. 4. Eunice, born August 1, 1770, baptized August 5, 1770. 5. Elizabeth, baptized November 15, 1778.

(“Vital Records of Ipswich, Massachusetts,” Vol. I, pp. 239, 241, 242, 243, 249; Vol. II, pp. 278, 616. Abraham Hammatt: “The Hammatt Papers,” p. 211.)

V. Stephen Lord, son of Aaron and Hannah (Lord) Lord, was born June 5, 1768, and died February 11, 1823, “aged fifty-five years.”

Stephen Lord married, September 4, 1791, Rebekah Dennis, baptized January 17, 1768, daughter of Samuel and Rebecca Dennis. Children: 1. Stephen, born January 10, 1797. 2. Leverett, of whom further. 3. Loisa, born February 21, 1805. 4. Clarissa Hodgkiss, born June 22, 1807. 5. Augustin, born December 3, 1813.

(“Vital Records of Ipswich, Massachusetts,” Vol. I, pp. 115, 240, 241, 245, 249; Vol. II, pp. 286, 621.)

VI. Leverett Lord, son of Stephen and Rebekah (Dennis) Lord, was born, according to the “Vital Records of Hallowell, Maine,” in Hallowell, March 31, 1801, and died there in 1890.

Leverett Lord married (first), May 4, 1826, Sarah C. Partidge; (second) Sarah Day. Children: 1. Clarissa H., of whom further. 2. John Leverett, born November 19, 1828. 3. Sarah E., born October 4 or 6, 1830. 4. Daniel P., born October 28, 1832. 5.

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Martin A., born November 8, 1834 or 1835. 6. Frances E., born January 25, 1841. 7. (Probably) Carrie.

(Mabel G. Hall, editor: "Vital Records of Hallowell, Maine," Vol. I, p. 183; Vol. IV, p. 51. "Vital Records of Ipswich, Massachusetts," Vol. I, pp. 182, 183, 184, 245. Family data.)

VII. Clarissa H. Lord, daughter of Leverett and Sarah C. (Part-ridge) Lord, was born in Hallowell, Maine, April 12, 1827, and died in Cincinnati, Ohio, November 30, 1905. She married, in Boston, Massachusetts, July 1, 1850, Lewis Lyford. (Lyford VI.)

(William Lewis Welch: "Francis Lyford, of Boston and Exeter," pp. 41, 66. Family data.)

(The Brush Line).

Robert De Brus went with William the Conqueror in 1066 to England, where his son Robert's name was changed to Bruce. Genealogists say that from this French De Brus or De Brewes are derived the English names of Bruse, Bruce, Bush and Brush. As an illustration of the variations of the name and possibly indicating the source from which the family in this country sprang, the following extracts may be of interest: William de Brus was in "Heworth, a mile to the north of Aycliffe. His son, Adam de Brus, held the vill by Knight's service" and payment of a small sum. William Brus, 1354, "then styled Chivalier, held the Manor of Heworth by the fourth part of a Knight's fee and 40 s. William Bruys, son and heir, 1381. Robert Bruys, sold the estate in 1435."

The peculiar name of Zophar was a common one in the Brush family, a Zophar Brush having been born as early as 1730. Unfortunately, Rev. Ebenezer Prime, in his record of infant baptisms at the First Church in Huntington, Long Island, omitted the parents' names in almost every instance; hence, it is impossible to determine the percentage of most of the babes named "Zophar Brush" who were there christened, as follows:

Zophar Brush, baptized May 17, 1730.

Zophar Brush, baptized March 20, 1747-48.

Zophar Brush, baptized October 6, 1751.

Zophar Brush, baptized July 29, 1753. (He is probably the Zophar (son of Jacob and Sarah), who died in Huntington, June 4, 1755, in his second year).

Zophar Brush, baptized September 16, 1759.

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

The Huntington Church had many male members surnamed Brush prior to 1759. It is found by examining the marriage records of the same church that no less than twenty-one men named Brush were married there between 1723 and 1759.

Thomas Brush, "ancestor of all (the Brushes) who were of Huntington," was born in England, about 1610, and died at Huntington, Long Island, New York, in 1675. He was of Southold, Long Island, before 1656, and was admitted a freeman of Connecticut Colony in 1666. John Tucker and Thomas Brush, both of Southold, conveyed April 11, 1663, to Thomas Mapes, "the whom lott and dwelling house therein erected, wherein hee the said Thomas Brush now inhabiteth, Together with all doores, locks, windowes, flowers, garden, orchard, backsides & fences in & about the same, . . . with such reservacion as is expressed in an Agreem^t bearinge date the 24th of June 1661, made betweene the said John Tucker & Thomas Brush."

Thomas Brush then removed to Huntington, where "At a Towne meting the 1 of Jeune 1663, Captain Sele, Thomas weekes, Thomas brush Isaacke Plate were chosen by the Towne to take a vew of all landes allredy layd out . . . also . . . to dispose of the land," etc.

Thomas Brush married Rebecca Conkling, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Allsaebrook) Conkling. Children: 1. Thomas, probably the Thomas Brush of Huntington, who died April 16, 1698; his will mentions land adjoining that of his brother John Brush, and he named the said brother and John Wickes as executors. He bequeathed to his wife Sarah, sons Thomas, Jacob and Timothy, daughters Rebecca, Sarah, Susanna, Elizabeth, Mary and Martha, also to a possible unborn child. 2. Richard, resided in West Neck, Huntington; married Hannah or Joanna (probably) Corey; had six children born in Huntington: i. Esther, born April 2, 1670. ii. Richard, born September 28, 1673. iii. Thomas, born January 13, 1675. iv. Mary, born March 31, 1677. v. Benjamin, born October 20, 1682. vi. Robert, born June 30, 1685. 3. John, was owner of land in West Neck, Huntington, in 1682; from 1693 to 1714 he was either constable or trustee of Huntington most of the time; married Elizabeth Platt, born September 15, 1665, daughter of Isaac Platt; children: i. Isaac, died in 1758; was a lawyer and an Episcopalian. ii. Samuel, married, as his second wife, Mrs. Martha (Oldfield-Higgins)

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Titus. 4. Rebecca, married, February 8, 1682, Jeremiah Hobart or Hubbard.

(Maria Annette (Bowers) Brush: "Genealogy: Brush-Bowers," pp. 7, 8-15. "Records of the First Church in Huntington, Long Island, 1723-1779," pp. 18-23, 27, 41, 44, 45, 50, 72. Josephine C. Frost: "Ancestors of Jacob Shaffer and His Wife Cordelia Hunt," pp. 24-26. "Southold (New York) Town Records," Vol. I, p. 105. "Huntington Town Records, 1653-1688," Vol. I, pp. 46, 345. Mrs. Chauncey H. Brush: "Concerning the Ancestors of Abner Brush and of His Wife," p. 15.)

I. Zopher Brush was born in Huntington, Long Island, August 18, 1759, where in the First Church, an infant "Zophar Brush" was baptized September 16, 1759. He died at Southeast, Putnam County, New York, May 1, 1814. He was called "of Long Island," when his first child was baptized in 1785, and "of Ridgebury," when others of his children were baptized in 1786 and 1789 at the Congregational Church at Green's Farms, in the town of Westport, Fairfield County, Connecticut. One copyists calls him of "Redding" in the 1786 baptismal record.

Zopher Brush married, May 3, 1780, Sarah Bennett, born in Fairfield, Connecticut, September 26, 1764, baptized at Westport, Connecticut, November 18, 1764, and died in Southeast, Putnam County, New York, May 4, 1814, daughter of Joseph and Sarah (Lyon) Bennett. Children: 1. Sarah, born June 16, 1784, baptized November 27, 1785. 2. Joseph Bennett, of whom further. 3. Zopher, born March 26, 1788, baptized January 25, 1789, died June 2, 1812. 4. Polly, born April 26, 1790, baptized February 16, 1798. 5. Betsey, born July 4, 1792, baptized February 16, 1798. 6. Lockwood, born June 2, 1794, baptized February 16, 1798. 7. Priscilla, born July 19, 1796, baptized October 30, 1796. 8. Charles, born June 29, 1798, baptized September 20, 1799. 9. Charlotte, born September 27, 1801. 10. Matilda, born March 28, 1806, died April 7, 1806.

("Records of the First Church, Huntington, New York," p. 50. Donald L. Jacobus: "History and Genealogy of the Families of Old Fairfield, Connecticut," Vol. II, pp. 111, 154. William Applebie Eardeley: "Records of the Congregational Church at Green's Farms," Part I, pp. 35, 36, 37, 42, 43. Mrs. Harvey Tyson White: "Records of Fairfield, Connecticut," Vol. III, p. 83. Family data.)

BENEDICT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

II. Joseph Bennett Brush, son of Zopher and Sarah (Bennett) Brush, was born in "Ridgefield," Connecticut, May 25, 1786, baptized (as of Ridgebury) September 24, 1786, and died April 3 or 30, 1858. He resided at North Huron, Wayne County, New York.

Joseph Bennett Brush married Elizabeth Sears, born in Ridgefield, Connecticut, November 25, 1791, and died June 12, 1881. Children: 1. Charity, born in Ridgefield, Connecticut, November 27, 1809. 2. Knowles S., born in Ridgefield, August 31, 1811. 3. Maryette, born in Ridgefield, February 16, 1814. 4. Zopher, born in Ridgefield, January 23, 1816, died in Clyde, Ohio, September 6, 1905. 5. Sally B., born in Arcadia, Wayne County, New York, April 22, 1818. 6. Phebe C., born in Arcadia, June 3, 1820. 7. James, born in Arcadia, December 20, 1822, died April 22, 1849. 8. C. A., born in Arcadia, April 3, 1825, died August 3, 1904. 9. Ann Elizabeth, of whom further. 10. Delilah J., born in Arcadia, March 28, 1830, died February 12, 1861. 11. William, born in Arcadia, August 30, 1832, deceased.

(*Ibid.* Henry Marvin Benedict: "The Genealogy of the Benedicts in America," p. 255.)

III. Ann Elizabeth Brush, daughter of Joseph Bennett and Elizabeth (Sears) Brush, was born in Arcadia, Wayne County, New York, May 20, 1827, and died May 14, 1900. She married John Barnum Benedict. (Benedict VII.)

(Henry Marvin Benedict: "The Genealogy of the Benedicts in America," p. 255. Family data.)



Joseph Stanly Lichtenberg, Ophthalmologist

BY HERBERT A. HULL, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI



IN a lifetime devoted to medical science, Dr. Joseph Stanly Lichtenberg rose to a position of recognized prominence in his chosen profession. He was known as one of the country's most brilliant and distinguished ophthalmologists, whose services to his profession were notable and who, for many years, gave freely of his fine talents and energy to the people of Kansas City. It was here that his practice centered and here that the greater part of his life was spent.

Dr. Lichtenberg was born at Detroit, Michigan, on July 11, 1869, a son of Gustav B. and Isabella Samson (Simpson) Lichtenberg and a grandson of Joseph and Rosalie (Beckel) Lichtenberg. Both paternally and maternally he came of distinguished Jewish ancestry. His paternal grandparents were natives of Dörtzbach, Württemberg, Germany. They were married there and in 1854 emigrated to the United States, settling in Albany, New York. Gustav B. Lichtenberg, their son, accompanied them. Following his marriage he removed to the West, lived for ten years in Detroit and in 1880 came to Kansas City, where he established an optical shop. He became a widely known manufacturing optician and was the owner of the official barometer in this section before the establishment of the Weather Bureau. Readings from this instrument were telegraphed daily to many cities as a basis for weather forecasts. Isabella Samson (Simpson) Lichtenberg, wife of Gustav B. Lichtenberg, was born in Albany, New York, on June 28, 1844, daughter of Moses Samson and Hannah (Beckel) Simpson. Her parents, like her husband's, were born in Dörtzbach, Germany, were married there, and, on coming to the United States, settled in Albany. Her father's first naturalization papers were filed in Albany in 1840. Moses S. Simpson worked with Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise in the founding of Reformed Judaism in America. He assisted this famous churchman in establishing Congregation Ansche Emeth at Albany, the first Reformed Jewish Congregation in America, and served as president of the congregation.



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John L. Lichtenberg

JOSEPH STANLY LICHTENBERG, OPHTHALMOLOGIST

Dr. Joseph Stanly Lichtenberg was eleven years old when he came with his parents to Kansas City, Missouri. He completed his preliminary education in Kansas City public schools and subsequently enrolled at the old University Medical College, from which he was graduated with the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1896. Afterwards he spent a year in study with Dr. Herman Knapp, a noted oculist of New York City. Dr. Lichtenberg came naturally by his interest in optics and diseases of the eye. As a boy he learned to grind lenses in his father's shop and altogether spent many years mastering the principles of optics under his father's guidance. With this background he entered upon a career which was to make him nationally known as an eye specialist. Dr. Lichtenberg also studied abroad at the University of Vienna and the University of Prague and in later years was a frequent visitor to leading European clinics.

Establishing himself in Kansas City, Dr. Lichtenberg quickly built up an important practice and with passing years his reputation steadily increased. He was a profound student of medical science, possessed an authoritative knowledge of his specialty and was brilliant in his intuitions, which, however, were always based on adequate research. He was one of the first oculists in the Middle West to prescribe corrective lenses for strabismus. From an estimate of his career, appearing after his death, the following lines are taken:

He was severely scientific in his work and had little patience with the inefficient pretender. Joseph Lichtenberg was an understanding, patient teacher and generous in his praise of sincere effort. He had two hobbies; one was scientific medicine; the other travel.

The "Kansas City Star" wrote of him editorially:

Kansas City has lost an outstanding medical practitioner, and the medical profession an accomplished exponent in the death of Dr. Joseph S. Lichtenberg. In character, in understanding, in sympathy, Dr. Lichtenberg impressed himself as a citizen and a friend in the city that was his home since boyhood, and was the scene of his professional service. That service was in keeping with the progress of medical science. With more than ordinary preparation for the special line he chose in practice, he kept abreast of developments through intensive study and frequent attendance on American and European clinics. He was the founder of and an active contributor to two Kansas City eye clinics. Dr. Lichtenberg was a scientist in spirit and practice. He sought the most advanced methods of treatment

JOSEPH STANLY LICHTENBERG, OPHTHALMOLOGIST

employed in his profession and contributed serviceably to medical journals out of his research and experience.

In his professional practice as in private life, Dr. Lichtenberg was conspicuously charitable. He gave generously of his time and services at all times to the service of the poor and it was entirely through his efforts that the first free eye clinic in Kansas City, Missouri, was established in connection with the Jewish Institute. Out of this enterprise grew the Alfred Benjamin Dispensary, which serves the poor of Kansas City's north side, regardless of race or creed. He was also the founder of the eye clinic at the General Hospital and was the guiding spirit in its work.

Dr. Lichtenberg's distinguished career brought him many professional honors. He was a Fellow of the American Medical Association, a Fellow of the American College of Surgeons, an influential member of the American Ophthalmological and Otolaryngological Society, the American Academy of Medicine, the Kansas City Academy of Medicine, the Missouri State Medical Society, and the Jackson County Medical Society, in which, at the time of his death, he was chairman of the Necrological Committee. He was also a member of the Oxford Ophthalmological Society, which meets annually at Oxford University, England; the German Ophthalmological Society, which meets annually at Heidelberg University, Germany; and the International Ophthalmological Congress, which meets every three to five years in various countries of the world.

Dr. Lichtenberg was a frequent contributor to the journals of these societies and to other medical literature. He read widely throughout the whole field of medical science and was a gifted linguist, possessing a fluent knowledge of five different languages. Two of them, German and French, he learned as a child under the instruction of a governess. Dr. Lichtenberg was at one time professor of ophthalmology at the University of Kansas School of Medicine and served as president of the Kansas City Academy of Medicine and the Kansas City Society of Ophthalmology and Otolaryngology. During the World War he enlisted in the army of the United States and was commissioned a captain in the Medical Corps, serving at Camp Sevier, Greenville, South Carolina, where, in addition to his specified duties, he took an active part in welfare work. Dr. Lichtenberg was a prominent Mason, being affiliated with all higher bodies of the

JOSEPH STANLY LICHTENBERG, OPHTHALMOLOGIST

Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, including the thirty-second degree of the Consistory and a member of the Temple, Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. Apart from the distinction of his professional career, his personal qualities and fine citizenship won him the highest regard. A biographer in the "Jackson County Medical Journal" wrote:

Dr. Joseph Stanly Lichtenberg was a man of intelligence and culture and at all times a sympathetic friend. . . . He loved life, friends and home. Although childless, he rarely met a little child that that did not kindly accept his overtures of admiration and affection. The finest compliment that can be paid him is to say that "he was a man," which requirement he generously fulfilled. He was conspicuously charitable in his contact with the very young, the very old and the very poor. He was a genial host and welcome guest at any social or scientific function. . . .

If his biographer were allowed only one word with which to describe him, he would say that he was a gentleman. If he were permitted the use of two words he would say that he was a perfect gentleman.

The last line of Leigh Hunt's immortal poem, "Abou ben Adhem," has an appealing significance, "may his tribe increase."

On February 10, 1923, Joseph Stanly Lichtenberg married Mrs. Eva Warner Case, for some years a teacher at Manual Training High School in Kansas City. She survives him, continuing her residence at their beautiful estate, The Castle, famous in Kansas City history, which Dr. Lichtenberg purchased and remodeled some two years before his death.

Dr. Lichtenberg died at Kansas City on April 2, 1933, following an operation from which he failed to rally.

His passing [wrote a colleague and associate, in words which well express the sentiment of all who knew him] leaves a void in the ranks of our profession that will be hard to fill, but in the hearts of his friends there will always remain a fullness of his memory.

He was a man! By sheer ability and intensive work he rose, by his own efforts, to the top of his profession and has left an indelible mark in ophthalmology that will exist for all time. Industry, remarkable ability, unyielding integrity, an inexhaustible supply of kindness were among his admirable qualities, and, at all times, rich and poor alike were privileged to derive benefit from them. Ability, knowledge, and willingness to impart this knowledge made him the ideal teacher.

JOSEPH STANLY LICHTENBERG, OPHTHALMOLOGIST

He was one of the originators of our Society and was faithful to the end. His hand was always outstretched to help and guide the younger man. He handed, without stint, to the poor and unfortunate an unlimited amount of his time, knowledge and skill. He left his mark also on civic affairs as one of the founders of the Alfred Benjamin Dispensary and Menorah Hospital.

We, who work in his chosen field, are his debtors and we members of our society acknowledge this debt and grieve at his passing.





Philip Kling

Philip Kling, Business Man

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



IRRED with ambition and endowed with natural industry and business ability, Philip Kling began his life work when he was seventeen years of age and for seventy-five years continued in harness, having been the active head of his own industrial establishment at the time of his death in Detroit, Michigan, at the age of ninety-two years. His record is in many respects unique in the business world. He was always willing to begin a task at the bottom, for he knew that he possessed the qualities that would carry him to the top. When his young associates spent their money frivolously, he saved his and in time became the owner of great properties through his keen business acumen and care for detail. He was a careful man, but never parsimonious, for when appeal was made to him for help in case of misfortune the applicant never turned away empty-handed. Mr. Kling was thorough in everything he undertook and could always be relied upon to the limit. He was conscientious and honorable, a perfect example of upright citizenship and an able exponent of the principle that fair competition brings success to all and promotes the general prosperity of a community. For three-quarters of a century he worked in the interests of Detroit's progress and left an indelible impression in its business world.

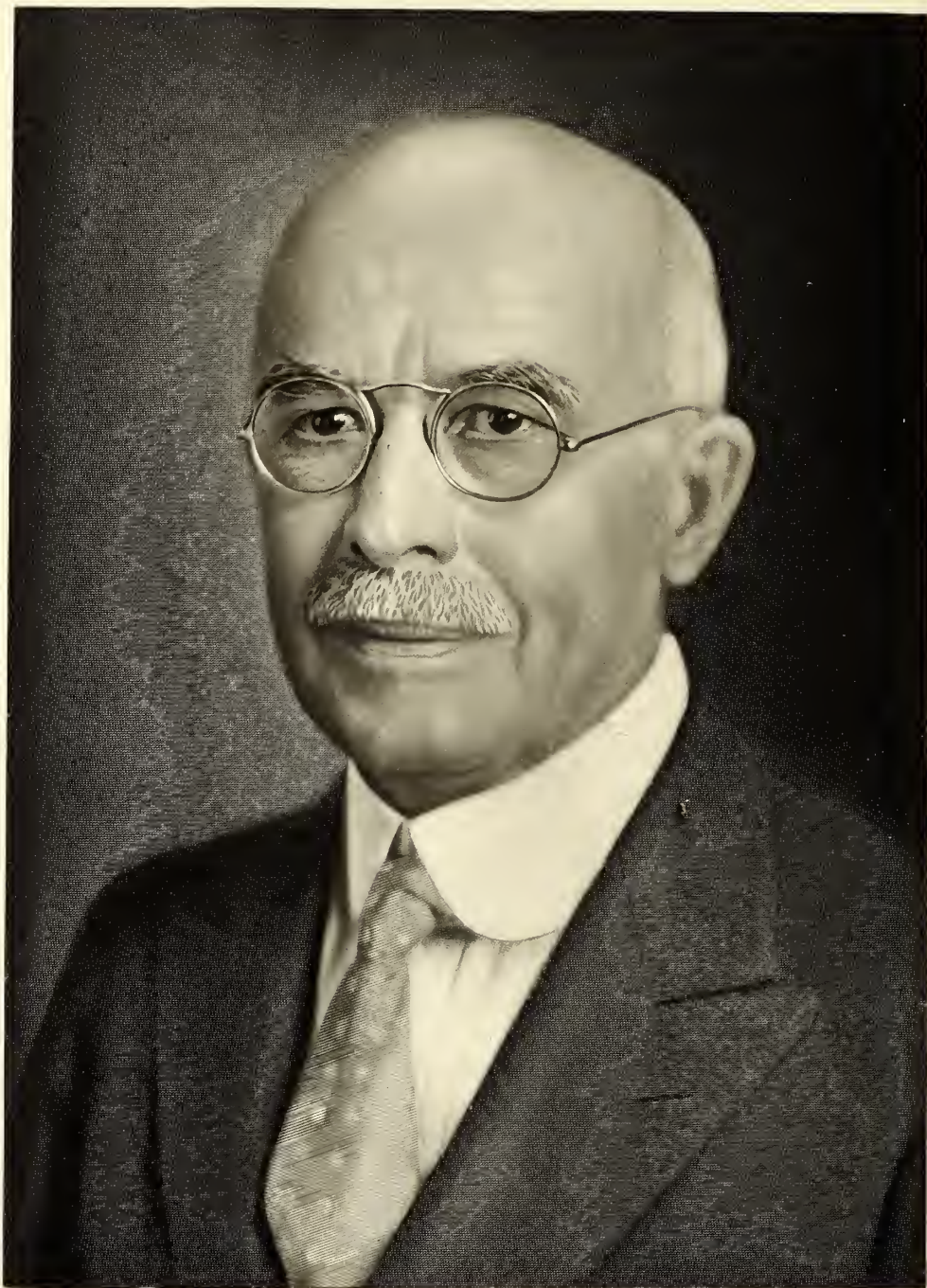
He was born at Kehl-on-the-Rhine, Baden, Germany, November 14, 1818, and was educated in the district schools at Kehl. His father, who died when he was an infant, had been a cooper, and until he was seventeen years of age he learned and worked at that trade. He then came alone to America, a journey that took three months in the small sailing vessel aboard which he was a passenger. Reaching New York in the year 1835, he got work in that city as a cooper, making casks for a brewery at a wage of one dollar and a half a week. The strength of his character may be observed when it is made known that at that small remuneration he was able to save money and at the end of three years had accumulated enough to enable him to move West. He came to Michigan and at Milford built a cooper shop and began business. The plant was destroyed by fire, and he rebuilt and

PHILIP KLING, BUSINESS MAN

continued to operate until 1842, when he disposed of the property and removed to Detroit. Here he built a more pretentious cooperage shop and employed several hands at the work. He still saved his money and wore patched clothing that he sewed himself. He did not mind, for he was saving money for larger undertakings. In 1852, in association with Michael Martz, a shoe dealer, and Henry Weber, a furniture merchant, a partnership was formed, these two furnishing the capital, and Mr. Kling his knowledge of brewing and cooperage. Thus was founded the Peninsula Brewery, located on East Jefferson Avenue at the present approach to the Belle Isle Bridge. A few years later Mr. Kling purchased the interest of Mr. Martz and upon the death of Mr. Weber, about 1885, he bought that interest and changed the name of the establishment to the Kling Brewing Company, which he continued in association with his two sons, to operate until his death, March 14, 1910, at the age of ninety-two years.. In his political affiliations he was always allied with the Democratic party. Born in the Black Forest of Germany, his natural faith was Roman Catholic, but there were no churches of that denomination in Milford when he settled there, and he never formally joined one when he came to Detroit.

Philip Kling married (first) Margaret Stevens, by whom he had six children, two of whom died young, the others being: 1. Fanny, wife of John Phillips. 2. Lillian, wife of Jacob Bauman. 3. Julia, who became the wife of Louis W. Schimmel (q. v.), both deceased. 4. Carrie, wife of Carl Schweikert. Philip Kling married (second) Josephine Honer, also deceased, and by that marriage there were three children: 5. Emilie, wife of Louis Kamper. 6. August, who died in 1922. 7. Kurt.

Mr. Kling was very much advanced in many of his ideas, a fine business man and a representative citizen. Among his modern ideas was that cremation was the proper manner in which to dispose of the dead, and he provided that this method be followed in his own case. His wishes were obeyed and the ashes of this splendid citizen of Detroit now rest in a mausoleum in Roseland Park Cemetery. He left a record for achievement and sound citizenship that should be an inspiration to the generations to come.



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L. W. Schimmel

Louis William Schimmel, Business Man and Banker

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



HE lifelong association of Louis W. Schimmel with the city of Detroit was a powerful influence upon this city's commercial and financial organization. It was also an association that brought Mr. Schimmel himself into the limelight of public attention, though he always performed his labors quietly and unostentatiously. Such were his qualities of leadership that he was frequently called upon to guide the development of large enterprises in business and civic life, and he won the respect of those who worked with him or knew him in a business way and the lasting affection of many friends. His career was useful, and he won the confidence of all who knew the man and his work.

Mr. Schimmel was born on March 9, 1860, in Detroit, Michigan, son of Louis and Katherine (Boenwitz) Schimmel. At the German-American Seminary he received his early education, subsequently studying at Goldsmith's Business College. His first work was as parcel boy with A. Williams and Company, who were then housed on the site where the Majestic Building now stands. In two years he won promotion to the post of bookkeeper. Before long he removed to Ypsilanti, Michigan, where for a year he filled the position of assistant bookkeeper and all-around man. He was then independently engaged in business as a jeweler and conducted a crockery store. Returning to Detroit, he remained in this city for a year, in which he was employed in the silk department of William H. Elliott and Company, who operated a department store. For ten years he served as bookkeeper with the Eckert and Becker Brewing Company, during that period gaining a comprehensive knowledge of the industry.

His next step was to organize the Tivoli Brewing Company, of which he became president in 1897. So continuing until January 1, 1921, he resigned the office in that year. As vice-president of the American State Bank, he was connected with financial interests until 1928. He was also a director and for a time chairman of the board

LOUIS WILLIAM SCHIMMEL, BUSINESS MAN

of the Detroit Gray Iron Foundry Company; president of the Hillger Land Company; vice-president of the Alloy Steel Company; a director of the Multi-Products Company; a member of the executive committee of the Detroit Fidelity and Surety Company and the Troy Oaks Land Company; president of the St. Clair Land Company; and a director of the Del'the Amusement Company that operated several neighborhood theatres. It may be observed from this list of his business affiliations that his interests were extensive and important. A man of superior ability in commercial matters, he carefully formulated his plans and promptly executed them.

He was also active in civic and social affairs, having belonged to the Harmonie Club and the Grosse Isle Golf Club. He was a member of the Free and Accepted Masons, in which he was associated with Schiller Lodge, and also of the Detroit Lodge of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. His chief recreation was the raising and racing of homing pigeons. He owned a large flock of pedigreed racing birds, among them the "Miracle Hen," champion homing bird of America, the only feathered creature of the air ever known to have taken sixteen first prizes. At one time he refused an offer of \$1,000 for this bird. In the national races he almost always took first prize in his section. He regularly attended the pigeon fanciers' conventions in different parts of the country and at his death he expressed a desire that his daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. C. Hugh Martin, would carry on the work with pigeons. By April 6, 1933, they had banded several birds that were to take part in the races at the Century of Progress Exposition, in Chicago, in June, 1933.

In his political views Mr. Schimmel was a staunch Republican. His religious affiliation was with St. James' Protestant Episcopal Church, of Grosse Isle. His first interests were, however, his home, family and friends. Fond of children, he often arranged delightful events for the little ones who lived near his home on Grosse Isle. One of his favorite hobbies was the lighting of a large cedar tree that adorned his front lawn, and the giving of presents to the neighborhood children at a special Christmas ceremony.

On June 4, 1890, Louis W. Schimmel married Julia Kling, daughter of Philip Kling (q. v.) and Margaret (Stevens) Kling. Mrs. Kling died when Mrs. Schimmel was only five years old. Mr. and Mrs. Schimmel became the parents of one child, a daughter, Clara Schimmel, who



American Historical Socy

Steel Engraving by Finlay & Conn

Julia Schimmel

LOUIS WILLIAM SCHIMMEL, BUSINESS MAN

married C. Hugh Martin, of Detroit, president of the Gray Iron Foundry Company. The Martins became the parents of two children: 1. Lois Wilhelmina Martin, a student at Liggett's School. 2. Hugh Martin, Jr., a student at the Detroit University School. Mrs. Julia (Kling) Schimmel was a constant adviser of her husband in his business undertakings, and he always consulted her before entering upon any new venture. She had been, before their marriage, for fifteen years bookkeeper for her father, having so served until she was married. Mrs. Schimmel died on May 5, 1929.

Mr. Schimmel's business career was marked by steady progress, resulting from close application to duty and complete mastery of each position that he held. His personal characteristics were those that made for popularity, and in business affairs he manifested forcefulness, keen discrimination, and quick understanding of involved interests. So it was that he became one of the very highly respected commercial leaders of his city and State, and that his death, on March 12, 1933, was so widely mourned. The bodies of Mr. and Mrs. Schimmel rest side by side in the mausoleum in Evergreen Cemetery, Detroit. He was survived by his daughter, son-in-law and grandchildren, and by a brother and two sisters, Oscar C. Schimmel, of Detroit, and Elise Schimmel, of Grosse Isle, and Mrs. Emily (Schimmel) Corbeille, of Detroit. His passing was an occasion of sincere regret among these relatives, his many friends, and all who had the best interests of Detroit close to their hearts. His name will live on in the history of this city, as his memory lingers and will linger in the minds of men.



Perez M. Stewart, Construction Engineer and Inventor

BY HOWARD E. KERSHNER, NEW YORK CITY



IN a lifetime crowded with substantial success Perez M. Stewart performed work that vitally affected the lives and welfare of a vast number of his fellows, yet accomplished it with a quiet, matter-of-fact attitude which kept him from the public view. Even in the years of his retirement he continued his investigations and inventions, and although a decade has passed since he left the scene of his labors the beneficent effects of his work continue.

I. Thomas Bruen Stewart (father of Perez M. Stewart), a native of Ireland, removed to the United States and settled in Boston, Massachusetts, but soon after the birth of his son, Perez, he removed to Passaic, New Jersey, and established his business in New York City, where he conducted a plant for the manufacture of fine furniture and cabinet-makers' products which were of a high quality because of the excellent standards in workmanship that he maintained. He died in 1906. He married Marietta C. Mason, who died in 1912. Among their children was Perez M., of whom further.

II. Perez M. Stewart, son of Thomas Bruen and Marietta C. (Mason) Stewart, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, August 2, 1858, and died at Pasadena, California, June 15, 1924. Soon after his birth he removed to Passaic, New Jersey, and there he attended the public schools, but later became a student at a military academy at Sing Sing, New York, from which he was graduated in 1876. Upon the completion of his preparatory course in the military academy he matriculated at Columbia University, from which institution he was graduated with highest honors in the class of 1880. He entered upon his business career by associating himself with his father in the furniture manufacturing business, and continued in that connection until 1885, when he entered the sales department of Killian Brothers in New York City, dealers in building materials, remaining in that firm's employ until 1888. Thus equipped with a substantial training, he



P. M. Stewart

PEREZ M. STEWART, CONSTRUCTION ENGINEER

established a business on his own account as a building contractor, specializing in the construction of attractive residences. With a clientele that included many celebrated people, especially those of the theatrical profession, he designed and built homes for Lillian Russell, Julia Marlowe, and many others; and he erected a number of residences in the most fashionable part of Riverside Drive and West End Avenue, as well as in the Fifties and its succession of streets and those adjoining Fifth Avenue. Such residences attracted most favorable attention and comment at that period. Mr. Stewart was later associated with John B. MacDonald in the construction of the New York Subway System, and proved of the greatest value in counsel and assistance as that work proceeded; and then, joining H. H. Robertson & Company, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, as consulting engineer, with his offices in New York City, his work took him to many of the principal cities of the East. He became a member of the board of directors of this corporation, and continued in advisory capacity up to the time of his death.

As an inventor, Mr. Stewart made a number of valuable contributions that are used generally in building construction; the famous P. M. skylight, in universal use, is one of his most important devices; a paint that prevents corrosion in steel structures; and a waterproof and fireproof paint formulated in recent years, were products of his brain and workshop. One of the devices that will always be a reminder of Mr. Stewart is the safety red light that is placed over exits in all theatres, hotels, and places of public gatherings, which he developed as a result of his observations subsequent to the famous Iroquois Theatre fire, in Chicago, Illinois. His activity in these and many related matters were many and invariably useful; and his research and study were profound.

In 1880, while Mr. Stewart was a resident of New York City, he became interested in politics and was elected on the Democratic ticket as an Assemblyman in the New York State Legislature. While in Legislature, he introduced a bill that made the regular inspection of theatres and places of public amusement compulsory. After serving in this political capacity, he was appointed head of the Bureau of Buildings for the borough of Manhattan, and he fulfilled the duties of the important position with great care and conscientiousness; and at the time of his retirement a fitting testimonial was presented him by his colleagues that bore evidence of the high regard in which he

PEREZ M. STEWART, CONSTRUCTION ENGINEER

was held. In 1918 he removed, upon his retirement from active business, to Pasadena, California, and his later years were spent in the development of certain inventions and formulæ of his own. He was a charter member of the Colonial Club; and a member of the Players' Club and of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, of New York City.

It has been said many times of Perez M. Stewart that he performed nothing that was not useful, and, indeed, of signal and practical use to his fellowmen. A survey of his life-work discovers an array of varied activities such as it seldom falls to the lot of one man to perform; and the record is that of completed projects, whether in the building of residences of people of note in the fashionable sections of New York City, aiding in the construction of the New York City subway system, or the invention of certain devices that have become of universal use for public safety and utility. There appears to have been no period in Mr. Stewart's career that has not been marked with accomplishment that is of enduring value to this generation and its successors for a long period to come; his talents were never hidden away, nor used for any selfish motive; he developed his many gifts for a larger service, and throngs of city folk and amusement-goers are benefitting from the results of the inventive genius of Perez M. Stewart. A man whose ideals and common sense endeared him to all, an affable, genial associate, who made and kept many friends, his name lives not only because of his useful achievements, but also because of the sterling worth of his character and the love which he inspired in the hearts of those nearest to him.

The following touching tribute by his daughter, Mildred (Stewart) Murdoch, beautifully expresses something of quality of the love he inspired and also speaks eloquently of the personality of the man himself:

TO MY FATHER

Dear Heart, with the fresh wonder in thine eyes,
Marveling at thy new found Paradise,
I speak to thee, praying that one soft word
May sift through all the silence and be heard,
And though I cannot picture thy domain
Where thou art free from restlessness and pain,
Yet doth my love for thee instruct my heart
That peace and safety lie where'er thou art,
And all thy pleasant path secure and bright,
Shimmering in God's endless summer light.

PEREZ M. STEWART, CONSTRUCTION ENGINEER

Perez M. Stewart married, June 25, 1884, in Middlebury, Vermont, Gertrude Fletcher, and they were the parents of the following children: 1. Mildred, who married Rev. John Murdoch, D. D., a clergyman of the Presbyterian Church. Mr. and Mrs. Murdoch are the parents of two daughters, Elizabeth, born at Oxnard, California, December 28, 1925, and Gertrude, born October 22, 1928. 2. Thomas Bruen, born October 31, 1885, died December 17, 1888.



Lineage of Ann (Nancy) Morgan Hart, Revolutionary Heroine

BY MYRTLE M. LEWIS, GLEN ROCK, NEW JERSEY



ORGAN is an ancient personal surname of Welsh origin. According to M. A. Lower, in his "Patronymica Britannica," the founder of the Pelagian heresy, in the fourth century, was a true Welshman, and a monk of Bangor. His name was Morgan, which signifies "of the sea," which name was Latinized *Pelagius*. In Wales the surname often occurs with the prefix *Ap*. In England an eminent mathematician signs himself De Morgan. The Morgans of Golden Grove, Flintshire, descend from Marchudd ap Cynan, founder of the eighth noble tribe of North Wales and Powys; though the settled name of Morgan was not assumed until the sixteenth century.

The ancestry of Nancy (Morgan) Hart has been under scrutinous search for some time, and the probable line of descent as given in the following pages is now accepted by the Daughters of the American Revolution and descendants of Nancy (Morgan) Hart.

Records show that in the early Welsh settlement of Pennsylvania there were many persons named Morgan. There was at least one Cadwalder Morgan, a James, a John, and an Edward, who were contemporaries.

All historians agree that Daniel Boone, General Daniel Morgan, and Nancy (Morgan) Hart were cousins, and as the name of James and John appear frequently in the three families, it is reasonable to suppose that some of the above named were the progenitors of this particular family. The mother of Daniel Boone was Sarah Morgan. She married Squire Boone. Records of a descendant of Nancy (Morgan) Hart say that she, Sarah (Morgan) Boone, James Morgan, father of General Daniel Morgan, and Thomas Morgan, father of Nancy (Morgan) Hart, were sisters and brothers.

However, Hazel A. Spraker states, in "The Boone Family Genealogy," that Sarah Morgan was the daughter of Edward Morgan, but adds: "Every effort has been made to learn something of the



NANCY HART HOLDING BRITISH SOLDIERS AT BAY

LINEAGE OF ANN (NANCY) MORGAN HART

ancestry of Sarah Morgan, wife of Squire Boone, but without any appreciable success." James Appleton Morgan, in "The Morgan Genealogy," says Edward Morgan married Margaret, and had, among others, Sarah, who married, July 23, 1720, Squire Boone.

Thus the ancestry of these three illustrious contributors to the history of our country, *i. e.*, Nancy (Morgan) Hart, General Daniel Morgan, and Daniel Boone, has baffled many genealogists, but we trust that some clue will ultimately lead us to definitely establish the relationship of the valiant heroine and hero of the Revolution with that of the daring pioneer.

About 1725 a southern migration began in Pennsylvania, and some settled in Hopewell, Franklin County, Virginia. Pioneers began to locate, about 1740-50, around what in 1752 was created Orange County, North Carolina. Among these settlers were many Quakers and Welsh inhabitants from Lancaster, Chester and Bucks counties, Pennsylvania. About 1736 Morgan Morgan was recorded as being the first white man to settle and build a home west of the Blue Ridge. Squire Boone settled with his family in Orange County, North Carolina, in 1750, and General Daniel Morgan left his home in 1752, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, to follow his favorite cousin, Daniel Boone. Another record states that Daniel Morgan, at the age of sixteen, went down into Virginia to the home of his uncle, John Morgan, in Berkeley County, Virginia. General Daniel Morgan married Abigail Bailey, and had two daughters, one being Nancy Morgan, who married Presley Neville.

We now have the Morgan, Boone, and Hart families in Orange County, North Carolina, and we know that Nancy Morgan, according to records accepted by the Daughters of the American Revolution, was born in North Carolina, in 1744. Morgan Morgan has been established there as early as 1736. It is probable that he was related to Thomas Morgan. L. Tyler, in his "Historical and Genealogical Quarterly Magazine," says: Nancy Morgan was the daughter of Thomas and Rebecca (Alexander) Morgan. This has also been accepted by descendants of Nancy (Morgan) Hart, and is strengthened by the fact that one of her sons was named Thomas Morgan Hart. Since she was born in North Carolina in 1744, her parents undoubtedly settled there before the Boone family, or the advent of Daniel Morgan into that territory.

LINEAGE OF ANN (NANCY) MORGAN HART

(M. A. Lower: "Patronymica Britannica." Browning: "Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania," pp. 106, 221, 226-27. Clarence V. Roberts: "Early Friends of Upper Bucks," p. 378. Hazel A. Spraker: "The Boone Family Genealogy," p. 542. D. A. R. records. J. P. Bell: "Our Quaker Friends of Ye Olden Times," p. 193. "West Virginia Magazine Quarterly," Vol. IV, pp. 193, 278. North Carolina Daughters of the Revolution, in "North Carolina Booklet," p. 56. John P. Hale: "Trans-Allegheny Pioneers, 1748, and After," pp. 23, 249, 254. W. W. H. Davis: "History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania," p. 308. L. Tyler: "Historical and Genealogical Quarterly Magazine," Vol. III, pp. 168-69. James Appleton Morgan: "The Morgan Genealogy," p. 169. "Records of Haverford, Gwynedd and Merion Monthly Meetings.")

I. James Morgan, according to records of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and of descendants of Nancy (Morgan) Hart, was the first known ancestor of the heroine. He lived in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. According to the records of a descendant, he probably had the following children: 1. Sarah, married Squire Boone. They were the parents of Daniel Boone, born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, February 11, 1734, or 1735. They settled on the Yadkin River, Orange County, North Carolina, in 1750. Hazel A. Spraker says, in "The Boone Family Genealogy," that she was the daughter of Edward Morgan, of Gwynedd, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania. James Appleton Morgan, in "The Morgan Genealogy," also says her father's name was Edward. 2. James, died in 1782; married Eleonora. They were the parents of General Daniel Morgan, born in 1736. Daniel Morgan left home in 1752, at the age of sixteen years, to follow his cousin, Daniel Boone, and resided at the home of an uncle, John Morgan, in Berkeley County, Virginia. General Daniel Morgan married Abigail Bailey, and had two daughters, one being Nancy, who married Presley Neville. 3. Thomas, of whom further.

(D. A. R. records. Hazel A. Spraker: "The Boone Family Genealogy," p. 542. John P. Hale: "Trans-Allegheny Pioneers, 1748, and After," p. 23. "West Virginia Magazine Quarterly," Vol. IV, p. 278. W. W. H. Davis: "History of Bucks County," Pennsylvania," p. 308. William Bryan and Robert Rose: "Pioneer Families of Missouri," Part I, pp. 1-54. Records of a descendant of Nancy (Morgan) Hart. James Appleton Morgan: "The Morgan Genealogy," p. 169. "Records of Haverford, Gwynedd and Merion Monthly Meeting.")

LINEAGE OF ANN (NANCY) MORGAN HART

II. Thomas Morgan, believed to be the son of James Morgan, was probably born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. He probably joined the migration southward, about 1740, eventually settling in Orange County, North Carolina.

Thomas Morgan married Rebecca Alexander. Child (probably others): 1. Ann (Nancy), of whom further.

(D. A. R. records. Records of a descendant of Nancy (Morgan) Hart. L. Tyler: "Historical and Genealogical Quarterly Magazine," Vol. III, pp. 168-69.)

III. Ann (Nancy) Morgan, daughter of Thomas and Rebecca (Alexander) Morgan, according to records accepted by the Daughters of the American Revolution, was born in North Carolina, in 1744, and died in Henderson, Kentucky, in 1840. She is buried in the Hart graveyard, Henderson County, Kentucky.

Nancy Morgan is first brought to light in Elbert County, Georgia, where she eventually settled with her husband, Benjamin Hart. She is recorded as a remarkable woman of strong physique and decisive character. History describes her as standing six feet in height, muscular, erect of carriage, and possessing a unique courage, which some writers termed "masculine." One of her biographers writes: "She was an expert sharpshooter and hunter, and nothing was more common than to see her in full pursuit of the bounding stag. The huge antlers that hung around her cabin, or upheld her trusty gun, gave proof of her skill in gunnery."

During the American Revolution her zeal for the American cause led her into several exploits which entitle her to stand among the foremost heroines of that period of our history. On one occasion a party of British troops visited her home and ordered that she prepare a meal for them. This she agreed to do, and when everything was ready they stacked their guns and sat down to partake of the food. Seizing one of the muskets, she threatened to shoot the first man who moved, and while one of her sons was sent to summon aid, she held them until he returned, thus being instrumental in the capture of six prisoners of war. On another occasion she met a Tory on the road, took his musket from him and marched him before her to a nearby fort. She is also credited with building a raft of logs and crossing the river to the Carolina side to obtain information for the troops. While in a fort with other women and children, she ably

LINEAGE OF ANN (NANCY) MORGAN HART

defended it when the men were absent on a foraging expedition, and is said to have fired the cannon which routed a force of Tories and Indians who attacked it. It is also related that when a spy was applying his eye to a chink between the logs of her cabin, she threw a ladleful of boiling soap in the orifice, and when he tried to escape she took him prisoner.

Nancy Morgan married Benjamin Hart. (Hart III.) Thus she is known to history as Nancy Hart. Her name is commemorated in her native State in Hart County, which was named for her; also by the Nancy Hart Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Milledgeville, Georgia. Descent from her has entitled several women to membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution. At the beginning of the Civil War a band of patriotic women took the name of "The Nancy Harts." After the death of Benjamin Hart she is said to have married again and removed to what was then the "wilds of the West."

Her portrait hangs in the State Capitol at Atlanta, Georgia, and recently a memorial built by the Federal Government at Hartwell, Georgia, was unveiled and dedicated by a descendant of the heroine.

(D. A. R. records. Mary Wolcott Green: "Pioneer Mothers of America," Vol. II, p. 248. L. Tyler: "Historical and Genealogical Quarterly Magazine," Vol. III, pp. 168-69. Sarah S. Young: "General Narrative of the Hart Family in the United States." Records in possession of a descendant of Nancy (Morgan) Hart. "New York Times," dated November 22, 1931.)

(The Hart Line)

The medieval form of the surname Hart was "le Hart." The name is a common one throughout the various counties in England, including Kent, Devon, Middlesex, Lincoln, and Essex. We hear of John le Hart as early as 1273 in the Hundred Rolls of County Kent; Isabella le Hart in those of County Cambridge, and Johannes Hert in the Poll Tax of York in 1379.

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." M. A. Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

Arms—Per chevron azure and gules in chief two bucks drinking argent attired or, in base a well of the third. (Burke: "General Armory.")

I. Thomas Hart, ancestor of the family in America, was a merchant in London, England. In 1638 he emigrated to Virginia and

LINEAGE OF ANN (NANCY) MORGAN HART

settled in New Kent County. George Mynifrie, merchant, was responsible for his arrival in America.

Thomas Hart had a son: 1. Thomas (2), of whom further.

(Greer: "Early Virginia Immigrants," p. 151.)

II. Thomas (2) Hart, son of Thomas Hart, was born in New Kent County, Virginia, in 1679, and died in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1755. Hanover County, Virginia, was set off from New Kent County, in that State, in 1720.

Thomas (2) Hart married Susanna Rice. Children: 1. Thomas, married Susanna Gray, daughter of John Gray, Jr. 2. John. 3. David, married Susanna Munn. 4. Benjamin, of whom further. 5. Nathaniel, married Sarah Simpson. 6. Ann, married James Gooch.

(L. Tyler: "Historical and Genealogical Quarterly Magazine," Vol. III, p. 169. Family data.)

III. Benjamin Hart, son of Thomas (2) and Susanna (Rice) Hart, was born in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1730, and died in Brunswick County, Georgia, in 1798 or 1799. His will has been lost, but according to valuable records in the possession of the family the following documents are on file in the county courthouse, Vols. A, B, E, F.:

Know all men by these presents that we, Thomas Hart and Ann Hart, being left executors by the last will and testament of Benjamin Hart Senr. jointly with Benjamin Hart Junr. and that we the said Thomas and Ann Hart, his mother Exct. as aforesaid, being about leaving the County and deposeth that the estate and eff's of the deceased should be truly administered agreeable to the said last will and testament do constitute and appoint Benjamin Hart as aforesaid Junr. our sole attorney to act and do everything about the premises as fully as we might or could do concerning the said estate both real and personal and that we do further relinquish all and every part of our said administration unto the said Benjamin Hart reposing especial trust and confidence in our said Attorney to will and to do everything agreeable to the last will and testament of the deceased we do ratify and confirm this to be his powers given under our hands and seals at Brunswick this eighteenth (18) day of November 1802 and XXVII of American Independence.

Witness Present

WM. LEE

GEORGE PURVIS

her

ANN HART (Seal)

mark

THOMAS HART

LINEAGE OF ANN (NANCY) MORGAN HART

GEORGIA GLYNN CO.

Before one James Fort Clerk of the Superior Court of the county aforesaid, personally appeared George Purvis who being duly sworn makes oath that he was present and did see Ann Hart and Thomas Hart sign seal and deliver the within instrument of writing for the purpose therein mentioned and that he also saw William Lee sign the same with this deponent as witness thereto.

Sworn before me this 6th day of April 1803

JAMES FORT, clerk
" " Recr.

EXTRACT FROM DEED ON FILE

This indenture made the 6th day of April 1803 between Benjamin Hart and ——— of the County of Glynn State of Georgia, of the one part and James McLeod Esq. of said county and State of the other part etc. This contract or parcel of land was bought by my father from the Commissioners of Brunswick at Publick sale pursuant to an act passed for that purpose the 13th day of February 1797 said to contain (50) fifty acres bounded by I, the said Benjamin Hart for myself my heirs and everyone of them the said bargained premises with every part and parcel thereof will warrant and lawfully defend together with my mother, Ann Hart's Dowery unto the said McLeod as sole attorney acting in and by authority of the executor and executrix named in the last will and testament of Benjamin Hart Senr. deceased.

Extract from deed on file at Brunswick Ga. cont. Witness my hand and seal the day and year above written.

Witness

BENJAMIN HART (Seal)

THOMAS HART

GEORGE PURVIS

GEORGIA, CLARKE COUNTY.

This indenture made this tenth (10) day of August in the year 1803 between Ann Hart of the County and State aforesaid and late wife of Benjamin Hart, deceased, of the town of Brunswick; of one part and Thomas Hart of the County of Glynn and State aforesaid, of the other part. Witnesseth that the said Ann Hart late wife of Benjamin Hart, deceased, as aforesaid for and in consideration of the sum of two hundred (200) dollars to her hand paid before signing and delivering these presents the right is hereby acknowledged hath bargained sold released and confirmed and by these presents doth sell release and confirm unto Thomas Hart all her right of Dowery that is her dower right being one third of an undivided moiety of a lot of ground on the South East Commons in the town of Bruns-

LINEAGE OF ANN (NANCY) MORGAN HART

wick. Beginning at a marked corner post on Allen McKensie's line 14 chains to corner of the corner of the town street N. 65 West or said McKenzie's line thence with the town street of said town S. 63 W. 14 chains to John Piles corner a chinkapin thereon, with said Piles to the Marsh 22 E. 3750 links to corner stake in the edge of the marsh and thence N. 40 E. 11 chains, thence with a right line to the beginning being N. 10 E. 25 chains containing fifty (50) acres being the same lot of ground that Benjamin Hart secured purchased of the Commissioners of the town of Brunswick and the commons thereof and the Ann Hart doth bind herself to warrant and defend the right of her undivided moiety of the said lot of ground as before-said during her natural life to the only proper use benefit and behoof of heirs and the said Thomas Hart his heirs executors administrators or assignors. In witness whereof the said Ann Hart hath herewith set her hand and seal the day and date above written.

Signed sealed and acknowledged in presence of

her
ANN HART
mark (Seal)

JOHN HART
M. NALL J. P.

It is hereby certified that I, Thomas Hart, by these presents makes sale convey and confirm the within moiety of dower unto Benjamin Hart of the town of Brunswick in the County of Glynn for and in consideration of two hundred (200) dollars to me in hand paid the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, as witness my hand and seal this 3rd day of February 1804. THOMAS HART (Seal)

Witness present

WM. LEE

GEORGE PURVIS

Recorded this 27th day of February 1804 and examined by James Fort Rec'd.

After the death of his father, Thomas Hart, Benjamin Hart's mother removed from Hanover County, Virginia, to Orange County, North Carolina. From records in the possession of the family, Benjamin Hart was chosen coroner of Edgecombe County, North Carolina, and was appointed town commissioner in 1760. Benjamin Hart lived for a while in Edgefield, South Carolina, but about 1772, or 1773, he removed and settled at Broad River, Elbert County, Georgia. Mrs. Green, in her compilation of Georgians who fought at the battle of Kettle Creek, gives the names of Benjamin Hart, Nancy Hart and Morgan Hart. Since the battle of Kettle Creek was fought at War Hill, Wilkes County, which adjoins Elbert County,

LINEAGE OF ANN (NANCY) MORGAN HART

February 14, 1779, it is reasonable to suppose that Benjamin Hart was still a resident of Elbert County. He was cornet and regimental quartermaster of the 3d Continental Dragoons, July 26, 1778, and in 1779 he received the rank of lieutenant. He served in the Revolution until November 9, 1782.

Benjamin Hart married Ann, known more often as Nancy, Morgan. (Morgan III.) Children: 1. Thomas Morgan. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Benjamin. 4. Lemual. 5. Mark. 6. Kezia. 7. Susanna.

(Heitman: "Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army," p. 277. L. Tyler: "Historical and Genealogical Quarterly Magazine," Vol. III, p. 168. Lucian Lamar Knight: "Georgia Land Marks, Memorials and Legends," Vol. I, pp. 673-75. Sarah S. Young: "General Narrative of the Hart Family in the United States." Family data compiled from the following sources: Joseph Habersham Collection, Vol. II, No. 30. White: "Historical Statistics of Georgia." "McCall History." "Johnson's Cyclopedia." Miss Bowen: "History of Wilkes County, Georgia." J. E. D. Shipp: "The Life and Times of William H. Crawford." Sophie Lee Foster: "Revolutionary Reader." "North Carolina State Records," Vol. VI, p. 74; Vol. XXV, p. 452.)

IV. John Hart, son of Benjamin and Ann (Nancy) (Morgan) Hart, was born in 1762, and died in Henderson, Kentucky, in 1821. His will was probated there, October 16, 1821. He lived on Long Creek, three miles from Lexington, in Oglethorpe County, in 1788. In 1791 he removed to Sparks Fort, near Athens, Georgia, and in 1792 moved on the Oconse, three miles below Athens.

Dr. Neisler, of Butler, Georgia, says, according to records in possession of the family:

In Clayton's "Digest of Laws of Georgia" (1801-10), p. 35, John Hart and four others founded Watkinsville, Georgia (Clarke County), as county seat, Act Passed December 5, 1801, to divide Jackson County.

General Joseph Lane, of Oregon, says:

My father, John Lane, and Uncle John Hart and Uncle Lowery were all good Indian fighters. In pursuit of Indians who had been robbing outside settlers, they ventured too far and were attacked by warriors, and Uncle Lowery was killed.

This battle was with the Creek Indians, September 16, 1787.

LINEAGE OF ANN (NANCY) MORGAN HART

About 1803, or 1804, John Hart moved from Georgia to Kentucky. He settled in the part of Union County which later became Henderson County. In this locality he possessed a large farm and was considered very wealthy for those times. He died there, and both he and his wife are buried in the Hart family burying ground on the side of the hill below the old log house where they lived. In 1918 only the ruins of the building remained. None of the graves are marked, as stones are very scarce in that part of the State.

John Hart married, in 1787, Patience Lane. Children: 1. Thomas, married Sallie Buggs. 2. Nathaniel. 3. John, Jr., married Miss Coghill; he was killed in a Mexican battle. 4. Benjamin. 5. Ann, married Mr. Jordan. 6. Kezia, married (first) William Standley; married (second) Wiley Suggs. 7. Rebecca, of whom further. 8. Amelia. 9. Susanna, married (first) Mr. Floyd; married (second) Mr. Talbot; married (third) Mr. Dixon. 10. Rhoda. 11. Mary (Polly), married Alexander Bailey.

(L. Tyler: "Historical and Genealogical Quarterly Magazine," Vol. III, pp. 169-70. Family data.)

V. Rebecca Hart, daughter of John and Patience (Lane) Hart, was born near Athens, Georgia, February 28, 1797, and died in Dallas County, Texas, August 15, 1866. After her husband's death she removed to Mississippi, settling later three miles out of the town of Greenville, Mississippi. At the outbreak of the Civil War she moved to Dallas County, Texas, where she died at the home of her youngest daughter, Ann, or Annie. She married Dr. Thomas Worthington.

(*Ibid.*)



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for October 1, 1934.

State of New York, }
County of New York, } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared M. L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of September, 1934.

(Seal.)

ROSE HALPIN,
Notary Public, New York County,
Clerk's No. 432, Register's No. 6H552,
(Commission Expires March 30, 1936.)



SALEM—FIRST CHURCH

Built 1825, from a water color by W. H. Emmerton

Courtesy of The Essex Institute

VOL. XXIX

APRIL, 1935

NUMBER 2

AMERICANA

ILLUSTRATED



THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.

SOMERVILLE, NEW JERSEY, AND NEW YORK CITY

Entered at the Post Office in Somerville, N. J., as Second Class Matter, under the Act
of Congress of March 3, 1879

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The American Historical Society, Inc.

AMERICANA

Published by THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC., formerly published by the National Americana Society. Issued in quarterly numbers at \$4 per annum; single copies \$1. Publication Office, the C. P. Hoagland Company Building, 16 Union Street, Somerville, N. J.

AMERICANA is a Quarterly Magazine of History, Genealogy, Heraldry, and Literature. Manuscripts upon these subjects are invited, and will be given early and careful consideration. It is desirable that contributions should contain not less than two thousand nor more than ten thousand words. Contributors should attach to their manuscript their full names, with academic or other titles, and memorandum of number of words written.

All correspondence relating to contributions should be addressed to the Editor. All communications should be addressed:

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Somerville, N. J., or 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City

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Contents

	PAGE
How the Pilgrims Built Their Houses.	
By Gleason L. Archer, LL. D., Dean, Suffolk Law School, Boston, Massachusetts; Director, Suffolk College of Liberal Arts - - - - -	147
Franklin Pierce, the Most Charming Personality of All the Presidents.	
By Cora Miley, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma - - - - -	156
Religion in Essex County, Massachusetts.	
By S. H. Paradise, M. A. Oxon., Phililps Academy, Andover, Massachusetts - - - - -	181
A Ritual Parchment and Certain Historical Charts of the Bois Fort Ojibwa of Minnesota.	
By Albert B. Reagan, Ph. D., Department of Anthropology, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah - - - - -	228
Martin Van Buren McGilliard.	
By Walter S. Finley, Cleveland, Ohio - - - - -	245
Wilmer Frederick Christian, Jr., M. D.	
By Walter S. Finley, Cleveland, Ohio - - - - -	251
Logging on Puget Sound, as Illustrated in the Lives of Sol Simpson and Mark E. Reed.	
By Edwin P. Conklin, New York City - - - - -	256
Mather and Allied Families.	
By Myrtle M. Lewis, Glen Rock, New Jersey - - - - -	284
Book Review - - - - -	312

AMERICANA

April, 1935

How The Pilgrims Built Their Houses

BY GLEASON L. ARCHER, LL. D.,*

DEAN, SUFFOLK LAW SCHOOL, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS;
DIRECTOR, SUFFOLK COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS



It is a singular fact that the Pilgrim Fathers who left many written records were so silent on the question of how they built their first homes. It is only by painstaking research and by piecing together fragments collected here and there that we may gain a reasonably accurate picture of the process of homebuilding at Plymouth in its early days.

In Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," he declares that on December 25 (January 4 by our calendar) the Pilgrims "began to erect the first house for common use to receive them and their goods." There is not very much in that entry to throw light on the size of the house or upon the method of its construction. Fortunately, however, Rev. Thomas Prince, in his "New England Chronology," has preserved to us memoranda covering daily events at Plymouth, presumably written by leaders of the colony, and possibly by Bradford himself, that give us genuine assistance.

"December 25, Monday, they go ashore again, felling timber, sawing, riving, carrying. Begin to erect the first house, about 20 foot square for their common use, to receive them and their goods." The similarity of language between this entry and Bradford's own account is significant. It is well known that Bradford was a very methodical man and that he kept notebooks in which he jotted down important

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HOW THE PILGRIMS BUILT THEIR HOUSES

events. He also kept a letter book in which he copied all important correspondence relating to the colony. Unfortunately, his notebooks were lost or destroyed and only a fragment of his letter book was rescued from destruction. It is well known that the letter book was found up in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in a grocer's shop. No doubt it had been one of the manuscripts in Rev. Thomas Prince's library kept in a room in the tower of the Old South Church in Boston. The Prince library had been despoiled by British soldiers during the American Revolution.

The entry as to the activities of the Pilgrims on their first day of building operations gives us an idea not only of the size of the famous Common House itself, but it indicates the manner in which the first houses were built. The words "felling timber, sawing, riving and carrying," are very significant. Trees were felled with axes. Saws were used to square off the ends of the logs intended to be used in the manufacture of planks. To "rive" has always been understood to mean to rend asunder by force, as by the use of wedges. The riving or splitting the logs into slabs or planks indicates that the Pilgrim Fathers resorted to decidedly primitive methods of manufacture of lumber, which is exactly what we would expect from their previous life experience. While living in England they had been farmers and while in Leyden they had found employment as weavers, cobblers, shopkeepers, etc. None of the number apparently had had any experience as sawyers.

Production of Lumber Prior to Sawmills—There were no sawmills in England in those days but there was a highly developed craft known as the Sawyers—men who were skilled in sawing boards and planks out of logs. In fact, these sawyers were so well organized and powerful that they successfully prevented all attempts in England to establish sawmills until the year 1770. The first sawmill in America was built at Piscataqua Falls in Maine in 1634. The method of operation of sawyers prior to the advent of sawmills was to place a log on wooden horses or trestles with one end of the log somewhat elevated. Two men operated the saw, one standing above the log and the other in the pit beneath it.

When the comparatively wealthy Massachusetts Bay Colony came to settle in Massachusetts in 1630 they brought along men skilled in



FIREPLACE IN THE OLD KITCHEN OF DELANO COTTAGE



A CORNER OF THE DELANO BARN AT THE EAVES

HOW THE PILGRIMS BUILT THEIR HOUSES

every trade and calling that might become useful to the new commonwealth. In their train were sawyers who at once assumed great importance in the colony. The first laws enacted in Massachusetts Bay, 23 August, 1630, had to do with the wages that might be charged by "carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawyers and thatchers." It was especially provided "that sawyers shall not take above 4 s 6 d the hundred for boards at 6 score to the hundred, if they have their wood felled and squared for them; and not above 5 s 6 d if they fell and square the wood themselves."

Thus it will be seen that the work of the sawyer in any new community of that period could be one of great importance. That there were no sawyers in Plymouth is demonstrated by the fact that the colonists used hand-hewn planks in their building operations. We have no proof of this in their own writings, but fortunately for our present inquiry we have ample proof from other quarters. Isaac DeRasier, the secretary of the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, came to Plymouth on a visit in 1627, and rendered a complete report in writing to the proprietors of the Dutch colony. In that report he declared: "The houses are constructed of hewn planks." Obviously the Pilgrims would not have resorted to the use of hewn planks if they had been able to produce planks by sawing them.

It was not until 1669 that we find any mention in the records of Plymouth Colony of sawed lumber, although we have every reason to believe that sawyers from the Bay Colony or from England found their way into Plymouth Colony many years before that date.

On July 6, 1669, it was enacted by the General Court of Plymouth Colony "that no boards shall be brought into this Colony and that no boards shall be sold in this jurisdiction to exceed in price five and forty shillings a thousand delivered at the waterside in the township where they are sawen on penalty of paying a fine of ten shillings a thousand to the use of the colony. Repealed June 11, 1670. (P. 222, Vol. XI, "Plymouth Records.")

Again, in June, 1672, we find another reference to a committee appointed to see to the execution of the orders of court prohibiting the transporting of planks, boards, bolts or bark out of the government. June, 1672. (P. 106, Vol. V, "Plymouth Records.")

The First Building Operations—Let us return, therefore, to the first building operations in December, 1620. Houses built of

HOW THE PILGRIMS BUILT THEIR HOUSES

planks, of course, required frames of substantial timber. It is obvious, therefore, that the "Common House" as well as others built for dwellings in Plymouth were framed in the same manner as the earliest houses that now exist in the locality of Plymouth. Squared beams of great size were used for sills and corner posts as well as for the burden bearing beams of the structure.

One curious and exceedingly interesting bit of building technique was the custom in the very earliest houses of constructing shoulders on the upper ends of corner beams—that is to say, a noticeable bulge beginning two or three feet below the junction of the corner beams with those beams which they were designed to support. Such posts or pillars were sometimes called gun stock beams. The corner posts in Delano Cottage in West Duxbury, owned by the writer, as well as in the barn on the premises, show this type of construction. The same is true of all the houses that I have seen that antedate the 1670's. The early colonists had a plenty of lumber and they used it lavishly.

Now as to the manner of using the boards, or rather planks, for the boards of early times were almost as thick as modern planks. The earliest houses show conclusively that the first comers attached wall boards in an upright position instead of horizontally as modern builders do. This method of construction made walls shed water readily, but the long spans of boarded walls in the gable ends and between the horizontal beams rendered necessary some sort of stiffening lest the boards pull apart or bend inward in storms and tempests. Necessity thereupon dictated the custom of spiking a broad plank horizontally across the expanse about midway between the beams. Every plank that I have seen devoted to this use in buildings now extant is an outer section of a log, just as it came from the saw when the sawyers or sawmill operator squared the log in preparation to manufacture it into lumber. What might otherwise have been a mere worthless slab of wood thus became a sturdy and age defying adjunct to the walls of Pilgrim barns and homes.

There were inevitable cracks between the planks, but this difficulty was met by battening the cracks—*i. e.*, a narrow strip of wood was nailed over each crack. Ancient barns in Plymouth County still disclose the evidences of having been battened in this manner. When the author reconditioned the old Delano barn in West Duxbury he

HOW THE PILGRIMS BUILT THEIR HOUSES

extended the roof about six feet in the rear, forming a tool house and woodshed, but best of all preserving the original boarding free from shingles that had been in place for generations. The outline of the original battening of the boards is clearly discernable indelibly etched by suns and storms of two hundred and fifty years ago.

There is evidence in Plymouth history that the early colonists used clay or mud to stop the cracks and to keep out the cold. It was recorded that a great rain occurring on February 4 of the first winter "caused much of the daubing of our houses to fall down." It may well be that in their struggle to build themselves houses to shelter them from the unaccustomed cold the colonists resorted to "daubing" as crack fillers until such time as the cracks could be battened.

Pilgrim Roofs—It is somewhat surprising that in the matter of roof building the colonists did not at once hit upon the idea of constructing roofs of plank in the same manner in which they built the walls and ends of their buildings, but it is unquestioned that the first roof construction both in Plymouth and in Massachusetts Bay Colony was of thatch. The explanation, of course, is that in the rural districts of England and Holland thatch was the accepted type of roof covering. To begin with thatch was warm. It shut out rain and snow. But it had one very bad failing. It was highly inflammable.

The first misadventure in way of burning of a roof occurred to the Common House itself within a few days after it was completed. On January 9 it was recorded that the roof was half-thatched, after some four days of intermittent labors upon it. On January 14, about 6 o'clock in the morning, a spark from the fire flew into the thatch and almost instantly consumed it to the great terror and alarm of the occupants, who raced pell mell out of the building. Even the desperately ill William Bradford fled from the rain of sparks that descended into the house.

This incident indicates very clearly that the roofs of the Pilgrim houses were not boarded in but probably consisted of supporting beams, surmounted with poles on which the thatch was set. Thatch, by the way, was marsh or meadow grass laboriously gathered in the vicinity of Plymouth. It was so arranged that every individual grass stalk of the outer surface pointed downward. By beginning at the eaves and working upward to the ridge of the roof it would be

HOW THE PILGRIMS BUILT THEIR HOUSES

possible to construct a waterproof covering because raindrops would descend from one course to another until reaching the eaves. Hay stacks are protected in something of the same manner today. After the hay is in place a man with a rake combs the entire outer surface downward from the peak, causing the stalks to arrange themselves into a sleek downward pointing thatch that will not wet through however great the rainfall. Thus we may picture the thatch-covered houses of Plymouth in its early days as picturesque dwellings, crowned with inflammable wigs.

Thin Walls of Pilgrim Dwellings—Houses of the early colonists were cold dwellings indeed because of the thin walls of that period. The Pilgrims were amateurs at housebuilding. One of the distressing features of some of the old houses, as for instance, Delano Cottage, was the thinness of the walls. Even as late as 1667 colonial artisans were building houses in which two-inch boards or planks, shingled on the outside and plastered or wainscotted within, formed their chief reliance against cold.

To be sure there were some houses in which the need for protection from Indians led to the building of a brick or stone wall within the outer shell of the house. This wall was, of course, sheathed in by wainscoting or plaster, resulting in a much warmer type of house. The hollow wall house, with a dead air space as a protection from cold, was evidently a later development. I am told that when alterations were being made in the ancient Alden house in Duxbury they discovered that some of the walls were hollow and filled with thatch. Other houses in Pilgrim Land are known to have been similarly protected by pine needles.

Early houses were plastered with clam shell plaster, so-called, for the colonists were obliged to manufacture their own lime by burning clam and oyster shells. The imperfect means of grinding the shells resulted in plaster that was filled with flakes and nodules that gave it a characteristic appearance. The laths of early days were made by splitting boards partly through from end to end in many places and then pulling the boards apart as they were nailed in place so that cracks would appear here and there to give the mortar a chance to pass through and thus to form a bond.

Sanded Floors—There is no end to the surprises that await those who undertake to rehabilitate Pilgrim houses. I had known from

HOW THE PILGRIMS BUILT THEIR HOUSES

childhood that sanded floors were the custom of long ago, but somehow it had faded out of my consciousness until like a wraith from the past it arose to confront me when we took up the floor of the ancient living room of Delano Cottage in February, 1935. There had been a gradual settling of one corner of the room, and we decided that a sill had given away. In order to cure the defect an expert had been engaged to take up the floor and lo! when he had skillfully lifted the original floor boards there appeared beneath them on the underplanking, where it had sifted down between the cracks, battenlike layers of snow white sand—sand transported from Duxbury Beach in the days when Mayflower Immortals were still alive.

Another discovery that throws light on the enduring qualities of ancient craftsmanship was the fact that the suspected sills were not at fault. They had settled, to be sure, but a few stones judiciously placed remedied that defect. The sills proved to be of oak, huge beams, mortised and locked like a massive frame beneath the entire house. Despite the fact that this portion of the cottage virtually rested upon the ground, with no ventilation to keep the wood from rotting, yet the sills and beams were sound and the underplanks of the floor gave no evidence of weakness.

The nails that had held the floor boards in place for nearly two and a half centuries were of the pointed handmade variety, every one of them worthy of a museum. Had I been present when the floor was relaid I should no doubt, out of reverence for the past, have had most of these nails used again. As it was the carpenter saved them for me—wonderful relics of ancient blacksmithing.

The Great Central Chimney—The chimney of early houses was a huge affair, so huge in fact that the typical cottage was seemingly built around it. It had a separate flue for every fireplace in the house. Some of these flues were so large that a man could be let down from the chimney top to the fireplace itself. We may, therefore, understand why nearly all the heat given off by the great fireplace went up the chimney. The main fireplace of early houses—where cooking was done—might be anywhere from five to eight feet across. The earliest type had baking ovens in the back of the fireplace itself. There were some advantages in this plan because after the oven had been fired the excess coals could be raked out into the fireplace itself, but it had one fatal disadvantage. The housewife

HOW THE PILGRIMS BUILT THEIR HOUSES

with her inflammable and voluminous skirts was in constant danger while reaching across the fire to the oven. This is probably the reason why brick ovens of a later period were built at one side of the fireplace.

When I purchased Delano Cottage in July, 1933, I was disappointed in the apparent absence of a baking oven. The fireplace was a huge affair, more than six feet wide and correspondingly deep. Yet no oven was anywhere in evidence. Later, when Miss Carrola A. Bryant, who was superintending the restoration of the cottage, took me to the ancient Alden house in Kingston and I noted the similarity of the fireplace with an oven in the back, it occurred to me that perhaps the Delano fireplace was similarly equipped.

Upon our return I at once discovered a tell-tale recess in the bricks. Calling a mason I ordered immediate exploration. The spot gave forth a hollow sound. The mason removed a brick. It was a thrilling moment when, with an electric torch casting its beams into the dark interior, I was privileged to behold the beautifully shaped dome of the ancient brick oven where Mary Alden, daughter of the immortal John and Priscilla, and first mistress of the house, had baked her bread in 1667. We removed the bricks that had hidden the oven and repaved the broad floor of it. Today it is in the same condition as when the last survivor of the Pilgrims, John Alden, himself, sat before the great fireplace waiting for daughter Mary to cook his dinner. Mary was the wife of Dr. Thomas Delano, a son of Philip DeLa Noy, the ancestor of President Roosevelt.

Roof Lines—The roofs of the earliest houses in Plymouth Colony that survive to the present day have characteristics of beauty that command the admiration of all beholders. Anyone who has ever tried his hand at constructing a roof can appreciate what a vast difference in appearance a very slight alteration in the angle can make. Some years ago I was building a log cabin in my woods in Norwell and performing the task unaided. Before settling upon the roof angle I made numerous trials by tacking up skeleton gables only to be dissatisfied with the artistic result. Then in desperation I went up to my old farmhouse and standing off in the field determined the exact angle of the roof. The gable did not meet at the ninety degree angle, but somewhat greater than that. The result was, of course,



THE GREAT CHIMNEY, DELANO COTTAGE



DELANO COTTAGE IN APRIL, 1924

HOW THE PILGRIMS BUILT THEIR HOUSES

the long graceful slope that has made the so-called Cape Cod roof world famous. This roof, by the way, might more properly be called the Duxbury roof, for it was apparently in ancient Duxbury, the first town built by the early colonists outside of their original village, that this type of cottage roof originated. But, however and wherever the characteristic slant of roof was evolved, it soon spread throughout the colony.

Attention should, perhaps, be called to this significant fact: It would have been the easiest thing in the world for early artisans to have used the forty-five degree angle in cutting the rafters—easy to match the beams and rafters, for they would have met at right angles at the peak. It is difficult, however, to accomplish the junction when the angle of meeting varies from forty-five degrees, which demonstrates that the early builders were governed by ideals of symmetry and grace in roof construction rather than by mere utility.

Clapboards and Shingles—We have spoken of the manner of spiking the planks on the walls of the first houses—up and down rather than horizontally. Well, that custom continued for a century or more in the Pilgrim country. Roof boards ran from peak to eaves—wall boards from eaves or gable to the ground. This scheme worked admirably when battening of cracks was the accepted method of keeping out snow and rain. It worked well with clapboards—which by the way were originally clay boards, or a type of covering designed to keep the clay-filled cracks between the boards from becoming wet by rains. The coming of shingles, however, altered the situation.

We have reason to believe that the first shingles were thick and clumsy, and much longer than modern shingles. They were split with a froe out of a block of wood and presented a rough and bristly appearance on a roof. Shingles were later made considerably shorter and were shaved in order that they might fit neatly on the roof. They were nailed with handmade nails. We found that the walls of the gable ends, as well as the rear of Delano Cottage, were covered by the original hand-shaved pine shingles—attached with handmade nails. These shingles were so greatly weathered as to require removal. The house was reshingled, but we saved many of the handmade shingles and the handmade nails. We regard them as priceless relics of the days when the last of the Mayflower immortals walked the earth and found shelter within these very walls.

Franklin Pierce, the Most Charming Personality of All the Presidents

BY CORA MILEY, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA



Y all the standards of good judgment there were two reasons why Franklin Pierce should never have been elected President of the United States. The first was that he had been too long out of national politics, too far absent from the scene of action. He had retired from the United States Senate in 1842 and had been quietly practicing law in his home town of Concord, New Hampshire, without thought of public office, until his nomination for the Presidency in 1852. He had not only lost his touch with public affairs, but he had also lost the technique of dealing with other statesmen in governmental situations.

Since his resignation from the Senate, old measures had been settled and old leaders had passed out of the picture. When he left Washington, Tyler had been President, and political battles had been raging on the questions of a national bank and the annexation of Texas. Between that time and his nomination for the Presidency the bank question had been relegated to the limbo of forgotten things and Texas had been a member of the Union for eight years. Other measures had also been urged, passed and settled. The Walker tariff had entirely changed the imposts on imports; the Compromise of 1850 had been definitely made a part of the law; several states had been added to the Union and much outside territory had been acquired.

Clay, Calhoun and Webster, the great triumvirate, and John Quincy Adams, that battle-scarred old warrior, were all dead. An era was closed. In truth there were men who thought all important matters had been settled. Benton had said as much to Sumner when he came to the Senate. "You have come upon the scene too late, sir," he said. "There is nothing left to settle except petty, sectional disturbances over slavery." But a transition was taking place; a new era was to begin; new men, unknown, untried, were assuming leadership.

FRANKLIN PIERCE

Of the transitional period, of the forces that were to bring about this new era, of Stevens, Sumner, Ward and Seward, Pierce could have known very little; of their idiosyncrasies, of their weaknesses, of the subtleties necessary to gain their coöperation he was abysmally ignorant. Of the shadings, the nuances, the overtones, the undercurrents, of the intimate political situation he certainly had no knowledge whatsoever.

The second reason was that Pierce was too winning a personality for such a position. He was too sensitive to personal reactions. All written records of him testify to his charm and his constant, thoughtful consideration of others. It is said that when he was on the way to Mexico during the war he went into the hold many times a day to minister to the sick soldiers and that after the arrival there, he visited them in the hospitals where he contributed to their wants in every way that he was able. Upon his return to America, while he bore the rank of brigadier-general, he was conversing one day with some friends, when he saw a rough old countryman sitting on a cart down the street. Excusing himself he hurried to speak to him, saying by way of explanation when he returned that the old man used to work for his father. The doorkeeper at the White House said: "He does not keep his manners for the fine folks, but he gives me the compliments of the morning as grandly as he does General Scott." Mrs. Jefferson Davis said: "All sympathies seemed in him united. None was so poor that he could not do him reverence. His courtesy was unflinching and he was incapable of feigning. If he was displeased with anyone and a reproof was necessary, he gave it so kindly that the sting was all taken out." Nathaniel Hawthorne, his lifelong friend, in writing of him both at sixteen and at sixty, declares his kindness, his magnanimity, his generosity, to have been unflinching at both periods of his life. "He was ever willing at whatever risk to his fortune or his popularity to shield the poor and obscure from oppression and injustice," says a biographer. All those who knew him say that he loved people and loved to do them little kindnesses.

History shows that such a man, while a rare and wonderful soul, does not make a good executive. An executive who allows himself to be too much moved by his sympathies is not safe. He finds reality too painful to entertain; he avoids it whenever he can. A "good neighbor" has never made a good President. A man at the head of large

FRANKLIN PIERCE

affairs must have iron in his soul, he must have an impersonal sense of justice, he must think of the greatest good to the greatest number and not of the greatest good to the individual. Personal popularity is the accidental, and often evanescent, concomitant of public life. The man who is in the habit of loving it, or seeking it or entertaining it, or taking time for it, is losing the larger measure in the lesser one before he begins.

In actual fact there was a reason why almost any man would have been ineffective at this time. The desire for economic domination as well as the agitation over slavery had irreparably separated the North and South. War between the sections was inevitable even at that time. The tide was gathering strength, the currents were growing more turbulent. A stronger man than Pierce might have either driven the country into war sooner or might have been able to defer it, but no man could have averted it. Clay said that the Missouri Compromise postponed the conflict for thirty years; he had hoped as much for his Great Compromise of 1850. That was not to be, but even if it had done so, postponements are but postponements. Agitation had begun with the Missouri Compromise, it only ended with the Civil War. Separation between the two sections had widened over the nullification controversy between Calhoun and Jackson; the right of petition so valiantly fought for by John Quincy Adams, and the establishment of the "gag rule" had widened it farther; Tyler's vetoing of the tariff bills had drawn party lines tighter and tighter; the slavery question had even been paramount in the minds of men in Congress during Polk's administration, when it had colored every question, had influenced every decision. Even when the country was involved in the Mexican War the "Wilmot Proviso," concerned with territory which we might acquire as a result of the war, was brought forward. The Compromise of 1850 introduced to ameliorate conditions had in reality only in time accentuated the difficulties of the situation.

With the beginning of Pierce's administration, by a tacit understanding the discussion of slavery was ignored. But dissension concerning it did not sleep. The breach was constantly widening and deepening, the turbulent forces were seething constantly. Is it not a strange thing that people, even the most intelligent men, sometimes approach great catastrophes seemingly unaware of their proximity?

FRANKLIN PIERCE

Life goes on; the sun rises and sets; men tend the duties of the day; youth laughs and loves; we occupy ourselves with trivialities even as dark tragedy stalks and ultimate destiny approaches.

There was another circumstance also that came into the life of Pierce just before his inauguration which made the burdens and responsibilities of his office far more arduous than they would have been otherwise and which rendered him less capable of giving undivided attention to them. His only child, Bennie, a boy of thirteen, while traveling with his father and mother from Boston to Concord, had been instantly killed in a railroad accident. One moment he had been entertaining his parents with his bright conversation, the next he lay dead in their arms, his skull crushed.

Thus it was that this sensitive, gracious, charming man, who hated all unpleasantness, who had been absent from Washington for eleven years, who knew little of the men concerned with important measures and who bore within him a heavy and saddened heart, came into the turmoil, the hatred and violence of an impending political catastrophe.

What sort of training and background did he have for these extreme difficulties of the position to which he had been almost accidentally elected? He was born in New Hampshire, the son of an old Revolutionary hero, Benjamin Pierce, "the first citizen of New Hampshire," and subsequently Governor of his State. Old Benjamin was a picturesque, unique character. It is said that when at seventeen years of age the news of the battle of Lexington came to him, he was plowing in the field. Instantly he unhitched his horse, left the plow in the furrow, took his uncle's gun which he had carried with him in case of an Indian attack, and went away without notifying anyone, to fight seven years for his country.

There is another story told of him while he was Governor of New Hampshire. His daughter, anxious that he be properly attired for his new position, had bought him a three-cornered hat, even then quite out of style, for his inauguration. Now in those days the duties of the Governor were not so arduous as at the present time. Most of the time Governor Pierce could stay at his home in Hillsborough and attend to his own affairs. But the citizens of the Capitol could always tell when he thought governmental affairs needed attention; when he came to town on State affairs he wore the three-cornered hat.

FRANKLIN PIERCE

Notwithstanding any peculiarities of personality, old Benjamin Pierce was a stern and rigorous character, a strict disciplinarian, ambitious for his children that they should be honest and upright as well as well-versed in the teachings of Jefferson. And in these necessary qualifications for manhood he himself was the teacher around his own fireside.

As a child young Franklin was of that same happy disposition which made him so universally popular in later life. A story of his early life records that he remained in at recess for weeks to help a backward classmate catch up with his work. At sixteen he entered Bowdoin, where he was a fellow-student with Longfellow, Sergeant Prentiss, John P. Hale and Hawthorne. Here he became so engaged in doing kindnesses, enjoying people and making friends that when the announcement of grades was made for the first time in his junior year he found himself at the foot of the class. Chagrined and humiliated that his father's son could be found so lacking he retired to his quarters and like Achilles, sulked and refused to come forth. But at length urged to do so by two faithful and interested friends, he went back to his class rooms with new resolves, which he kept with such tenacity that he was third from the top of his class at graduation time the next year.

After a period spent in the study of law he returned to New Hampshire to engage in the making of law as well as in the practice of it. That was the usual procedure those days; young lawyers found themselves in politics almost as soon as they were admitted to the bar. Young Franklin was soon elected to the Legislature and was chosen Speaker of the House. Owing to his consideration, courtesy and charm he was a complete success in this position. Following that he was elected to Congress, where for the first time he stated his views on slavery. He said that he was a State's rights man, that he believed the Federal Government was created by the states, not the states by the Federal Government, and that he thought that which concerned only the people of those states should be left to them. He believed that slavery was protected by the Constitution and being a strict constructionist of the Constitution he thought there was no more to be said on that matter. From that time forward he was called a Northern man with Southern sympathies.

It was while he was a member of Congress that he married Jane Means Appleton, daughter of President Jesse Appleton, of Bowdoin

FRANKLIN PIERCE

College, and brought her to Washington for the honeymoon. Four days were taken for the journey. They first went to Brown's Indian Queen Hotel and then down to a boarding house on Third Street just off the avenue, where they secured accommodations for ten dollars apiece a week with one dollar and a half extra each month for a rocking chair.

In 1837 he was elected a member of the United States Senate and resigned in 1842, declaring with some vehemence that never again would he hold public office. Between that time and his election in 1853 he was offered the Democratic nomination for Governor of New Hampshire, an appointment to the United States Senate and the post of Attorney-General in Polk's cabinet, all of which he emphatically refused.

This early retirement and positive avowal never to reënter politics again was obviously because of the influence of his wife, who detested the duties of public life. Extremely sensitive, frail, overly refined, highly educated, deeply religious in the narrow dogmatism of Massachusetts, she asked nothing of life but to spend it in domestic tranquility basking in the undivided attentions of her husband. In her "Memoirs," Mrs. Jefferson Davis says: "Mrs. Pierce was very small and never could have been called pretty, but was well-read, intelligent, a person of strong will and clear perceptions. She was so like the picture of Elizabeth Barrett Browning that a friend, seeing the picture of the poet, thought it Mrs. Pierce. She rarely participated in gay amusements and never enjoyed what is called fashionable society." It can easily be seen why a man of the temperament of Pierce would retire from public life if it made his wife unhappy. To see others unhappy gave him the greatest pain. The truth of the matter is that this marriage was a sad mistake. The two were entirely unsuited in every way. His buoyant gay gregariousness was always of serious concern to her; her gloomy pessimism was a constant drag to his enthusiastic spirit. She was always ailing, and disapproving; at his departure for war her melancholy was pervasive; when he received the news of his nomination for President she fainted; when little Ben was killed she said she felt that God had taken him away that his father might be able to attend more closely to the duties of the Presidency; and she never made the slightest efforts to throw off the melancholy attendant on the child's death.

FRANKLIN PIERCE

When war was declared with Mexico, Pierce enlisted at once as private. To serve one's country politically and patriotically were two different things, he declared. One might refuse to do the one but not the other, according to his views. And although he was not versed in military tactics he was made brigadier-general before he left America. That was characteristic of his life; things were always given to him; he never had to overcome obstacles to acquire them. He served throughout the war with distinction and bravery; he was under fire a number of times and was once seriously wounded, but there seems to have been no time when he was called into the military counsels. Upon his return he went again into the practice of law; and for an avocation into the manipulation of State politics.

The Congress of 1852 was given to President-making. The Whigs had three strong men who were likely candidates, Millard Fillmore, then serving the unexpired term of General Taylor; General Winfield Scott, who expected the nomination as a reward for his services in Mexico; and Daniel Webster, who had served his country in national politics for over thirty years and was best fitted of any man in public life for the position. The Democrats also had three strong candidates: Stephen A. Douglas, the "Little Giant" of the party; Lewis Cass, who had been nominated for the Presidency in the previous campaign; and James A. Buchanan, who had been for a long time in public life. No one apparently was giving any thought to Pierce. The strength of the Democratic party was about equally divided between the three prominent candidates and such was the enthusiasm of friends for each of them that it was seen after a time to be inexpedient to nominate either of them.

The Democratic convention met on June 1. On the thirty-sixth ballot after it was seen that neither of the other candidates could be elected, Virginia offered the name of Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, and gave him her fifteen votes. Later she withdrew them and nominated Daniel Dickinson. But on the forty-ninth ballot there was a stampede to Pierce and he received 282 votes, more than the necessary majority.

There has always been speculation as to the cause of his nomination. Some say that it was planned and engineered by a lifetime friend, James Bradbury, of Maine; others say that the leaders of the

FRANKLIN PIERCE

party had the prescience to know that General Scott would be nominated by the Whigs and that they had to put out a military man to oppose him. Others say that it was given to Pierce because of his work for the party in New Hampshire. Whatever the case—Franklin Pierce was nominated, accepted the nomination and was elected.

At the time of his inauguration Pierce was forty-nine years old, five feet and nine inches tall, and of slender build. He had brown hair and eyes and was of distinguished appearance. Between the months of his election and his inauguration his popularity increased tremendously, the people of the whole country were enthusiastic over the new President-elect. The North felt that he stood for the peace and prosperity of the Compromise and his views on State's rights and slavery were well known in the South. Everything seemed propitious for a successful administration. The country had been prosperous since 1842. The decade preceding the war was to see the highest tide of prosperity the Nation had known up to that time. General prosperity has been ascribed to the moderate tariff legislation, the discovery of gold in California, the opening of the railroads to the Mississippi, the improvement of ocean travel, and the general advance in the arts. The Compromise of 1850 had seemingly allayed, for the time being, the strife between the North and South. There was little disturbance in public affairs. Questions that had vexed the public mind had been settled. The people thought the country to be enjoying the peace and quiet that make for progress and civilization. With the Nation apparently in this state, President Pierce felt that he could spend his time planning and promoting constructive undertakings. In his first message to Congress he promised an early settlement of the fishery disputes with Great Britain; a settlement of the Central American question; he protested against filibustering expeditions in Cuba; he recommended an increase of the army and navy, further reduction of the tariff, the extension of the public land system to the new territories, and government aid to a Pacific railroad. The last question lay near his heart; he wanted to build it as a monument to his administration, but that was not to be. The first transcontinental railroad was not built until 1868. Man proposes and God disposes. Even as Pierce planned, the storm cloud gathered.

It was during the first Congress of the administration that Douglas introduced the Nebraska bill, which provided that the Nebraska

FRANKLIN PIERCE

Territory be divided into two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, one presumably free and one slave; but there was a clause attached thereto which said that the Missouri Compromise, which had prohibited the extension of slavery beyond $36^{\circ} 30'$ had been rendered inoperative by the clause in the Compromise of 1850, which said that slavery not existing in nor likely to exist in territory acquired from Mexico, territorial government was to be established there without restrictions. The Nebraska bill stated that it was not the intent of its creators to legislate slavery into the two territories nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people of the district to decide the matter for themselves. Looking back this seems fair enough and certainly in keeping with the Constitution and the ideas of "liberty and the pursuit of happiness." But it raised a furor of intense feeling at the time. On January 24 the newspapers published an article signed by Sumner, Chase, and others, which read: "We arraign this bill as a gross violation of a sacred pledge, as a criminal betrayal of precious rights, as part and parcel of an atrocious plot. . . ." In view of the wording of the bill these seem strong words, indeed! Douglas, replying to the article, claimed that the bill was grossly misrepresented, the action of the members of the committee which were responsible for it grossly falsified, their motives arraigned, and their characters calumniated.

From January to March heated arguments on the bill continued, more than eighty speeches being made on it. Douglas closed the debate ably. "I have not brought this question forward as a Northern man or as a Southern man," he said. "I have presented it especially as an act of justice to the people of those territories and the states therefrom, now and in all time to come. I have nothing to say about Northern rights and Southern rights. I know of no such divisions under the Constitution. The bill does equal justice to the whole Union, it violates the rights of no State or territory, but places each on a perfect equality and leaves the people thereof to the free enjoyment of all their rights under the Constitution." The bill finally passed the House on March 3 by a vote of 37 to 14, amid scenes of great excitement. Pierce gave it his approval on May 30. The whole time of the Thirty-third Congress was spent on this bill. It accomplished nothing else of note.

No sooner had the Kansas-Nebraska bill been passed than certain people went over from Missouri for settlement there and founded the

FRANKLIN PIERCE

towns of Atchison, Leavenworth and LeCompton. Meanwhile the Emigrant Aid Society had been organized by the abolitionists in Boston with the object of sending families favorable to their beliefs to settle in Kansas, and in that first year 1,400 people were sent out by them at a cost of \$140,000. Conflict was imminent from the beginning. Political and actual warfare in Kansas followed. Two governments were set up there, men were killed, houses burned, assassinations attempted, men tried for treason and martial law was established. The final culmination of the trouble was the tragedy enacted by John Brown and his sons who had come to Kansas pledged to fight slavery. When the news reached Brown at Ossawatimie that Lawrence, a "northern town," had been attacked he and his sons formed part of a band that marched to the defense. On the way, animated by religious fanaticism, they dragged five men on the opposing side of the controversy out of their beds, murdered them and hacked them with cutlasses. As a reaction of this horrible murder armed men from both parties ranged up and down the territory for over a year.

President Pierce was tremendously disturbed over the matter, declaring that it never left his mind night or day. And he held the Emigrant Aid Society entirely responsible. In one of his messages to Congress he condemned the members in no uncertain terms, saying that the Free State movement was an act of treason on their part.

This message was the cause of a heated debate in Congress during which Charles Sumner, in the course of a powerful condemnation of what he called the crime against Kansas committed by Missourians, descended to bitter personalities directed toward Senator Butler, of South Carolina. Two days later Preston S. Brooks, a representative of South Carolina and a nephew of Senator Butler, attacked Sumner on the floor of the Senate Chamber. The Senate had adjourned and Sumner was writing at his desk with his head down when Brooks approached and dealt him several blows on the back of the head with a stout gutta-percha cane, just as he would have cut right and left with a dragoon's broadsword. Sumner's long legs were stretched beneath the desk so that he was pinioned when he tried to rise. The blood from his wound blinded him and in his struggle to rise he wrenched his desk from the floor, but before he could get to his feet he was almost unconscious. A number of men watched the attack but none interfered. Sumner suffered two years from his wounds and was

FRANKLIN PIERCE

absent from the Senate during all that time, but the people of Massachusetts kept his seat for him when he should be able to return. The debate on a resolution censuring Brooks for his attack, followed by his resignation and a unanimous reelection by the people of South Carolina, was marked by sharp and acrimonious passages.

The North, chagrined over the defeat of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, at once took up its stubborn renewal of opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law, revived its personal liberty laws, and renewed the activity of the "Underground Railroads." The first of the Fugitive Slave laws had been passed in 1793. It provided that the escaped slave could be tried in any court; when his identity had been established, papers were to be issued which would give him into the hands of his owner. But this law was ineffective. More and more slaves escaped. Various attempts were made to modify the law so that it would protect the negro freeman in the North and the slave owner in the South. At length events in Pennsylvania helped to shape a new law. In 1826 that State had passed a law which prescribed a severe penalty for the removal of any negro from the State either for the purpose of selling or detaining him in slavery. In 1837 a negress, Margaret Morgan, was arrested after five years' of residence in Pennsylvania and carried back to Maryland. The case was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the Chief Justice rendered a decision that the law was unconstitutional, but he also said that no State official could be forced to aid in the recovery of a runaway slave. In 1850, the year of the Great Compromise, Senator Mason brought forward his Fugitive Slave Law, which put the duty of carrying out the law on Federal officials. The negro was to be delivered to the owner or his agent on a simple affidavit; the negro's testimony was absolutely barred. According to the provisions of this law the commissioner before whom the case was to be tried was to receive ten dollars if the negro was delivered to the owner, and five dollars if he was released. The act made possible the recovery of negroes who had escaped and settled down in the North many years before. It made profitable the capture and sale of free negroes. After the law had passed, public interest in the letter of it gradually subsided, though the activities and watchfulness of those who operated the "Underground railroads" (the name of the routes taken by escaping negroes who were aided in passing from one "depot" to another) increased. As early as 1815

FRANKLIN PIERCE

there were regular routes taken by fugitives, few in number at first, but increasing to 500 by 1860. The capture of an escaping negro in the North was attended again and again with demonstrations of public indignation. When Shadrach, a negro in Boston, was captured, he was offered the services of the most eminent lawyers in the city, and when Sims, another escaped slave, was carried by his master to the boat awaiting to take them home, they had to be encircled by a guard of three hundred men to prevent the capture of the slave. "To stay or hasten the invincible march onward of the opposing forces in that colossal conflict on slavery was now beyond the power of any man," says a prominent historian.

Such were the undercurrents in 1853 which were leading to open warfare, but men were heedless of them; as has been said, "the duties of the days were attended to as though they were of great importance, the little things were done punctiliously and religiously; men gave great attention to the unessentials and shut their eyes to the onward march of disaster."

President Pierce selected men of remarkable ability for his cabinet, all of whom remained with him the entire time of his administration. This is a distinction never achieved before or since by any President. William L. Marcy, who had been Secretary of War in Polk's cabinet, was chosen Secretary of State. Caleb Cushing, probably the most learned man in public life at the time, was Attorney-General; Jefferson Davis, second in erudition only to Cushing, was Secretary of War; James Guthrie, of Kentucky, was Secretary of the Treasury; James C. Dobbin, of North Carolina, who had delivered the ovation at the convention which brought about Pierce's nomination, was Secretary of the Navy; Robert McClelland, of Michigan, was Secretary of the Interior; and James Campbell, of Pennsylvania, was Postmaster General.

Marcy, Cushing, and Davis were unusually strong men. Marcy had been Senator and Governor of New York. Heavily built, sluggish in his movements, always absorbed in some plan, he was not considered an agreeable man. He wrote his most important papers in his library, clad in a worn-out dressing gown, at which time he would become so engrossed that persons might enter and depart without his knowing they had been there. The activity of his mind could be estimated by the frequency of his application to the snuff box. In

FRANKLIN PIERCE

fact, he was such an inveterate partaker of snuff that it is said to have ruined his voice. He did not get along well with people. Mr. Buchanan, who was minister to England, disliked him so much that he addressed his communications to President Pierce, not to Marcy. It is said that President Pierce was amused at seeing his chief cabinet officer thus snubbed and that he used to aggravate the slight by frequently sending answers to Mr. Buchanan.

One wonders if Mr. Buchanan's annoyance with Marcy was not furthered by his orders concerning the court costume. Shortly after assuming office Marcy made a stir in diplomatic circles by issuing the black coat circular. Up to the time of Andrew Jackson the regulation court dress of American ministers abroad had been a blue coat lined with white silk, gold buttons and a dress sword, white knee breeches and white silk stockings and a three-cornered hat with a black cockade held in place by an eagle. Of this diplomatic splendor Jackson cut off everything but the sword and the hat with the cockade and the eagle. Marcy, equally simple in his habits and ignorant of court customs, issued the recommendation that representatives abroad should wear the ordinary dress of American citizens, a practice which was difficult in the rigid and ceremonious etiquette of European courts. Buchanan found himself dressed exactly like the waiters and to avoid being mistaken for a servant he added to "the ordinary dress of the American citizen" a short sword which made him quite ridiculous.

There was trouble also in the State Department in Washington with ministers representing foreign countries. Mr. Crampton, the British minister, without the slightest diplomatic skill directed the recruiting of men in our country for the English regiments engaged in the Crimean War. He seemed to take a particular delight also in violating other American laws. Mr. Marcy sent all the facts to Great Britain and demanded his recall. When the English Government did not recall him he was handed his passport. No trouble with England followed, but no other minister was sent to America during that administration.

Monsieur de Sartiges, the French minister, undertook to mediate between Mr. Crampton and Mr. Marcy. He declared that the French Emperor had evinced on every possible occasion his friendship for America. Marcy said that did not coincide with other official statements which the United States had received and he read a report

FRANKLIN PIERCE

of the insulting by the French minister of war of an army commission sent out in the interest of science by the American government. De Sartiges took a hurried leave and retaliated later by making himself disagreeable, entering drawing rooms with his hat on and with a cigar in his mouth, and by shooting at rats and cats from the back window of his house and endangering the lives of passers-by. Mr. Marcy was a great card player and it is said that when he was making a reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States, he was made amenable to the wishes of the Canadians by being allowed to win at a rubber of whist each night that the commissioners were in session.

Caleb Cushing had mastered almost every branch of knowledge. His enemies insisted notwithstanding that he could never make up his mind on any subject. President Pierce, talking long afterward to his friend, Nathaniel Hawthorne, said that was because Cushing saw both sides of every question so clearly; that in truth he did need a strong positive man to direct his decisions.

Jefferson Davis had represented Mississippi in the Senate and had but recently been defeated for Governor of Mississippi by the Whigs when President Pierce persuaded him to accept a position in his cabinet. He was recluse and a scholar and undertook the duties of his position reluctantly. He was not a popular Secretary of War as he treated the heads of bureaus as if they were orderlies, acting, some said, as if he were a commander-in-chief instead of a member of a cabinet.

The cabinet members became very fond of the President. None, with the exception of Davis, who had served in the Mexican War with him, knew him before they took office with him, but all came to love him. Upon his retirement from office Marcy told him that the four years spent with him were the happiest of his whole life. Mrs. Davis, writing of Pierce and his association with his cabinet, says: "We could never understand why President Pierce was spoken of as a man of no force. He never yielded a point to his cabinet on which he had once expressed an opinion and no one of them, and they were all positive men, would have thought of presuming to dictate to him." Hawthorne says: "His judgment was wonderful and his cabinet recognized it, for though they were men of great ability he was the master mind among them. None of them were his particular friends

FRANKLIN PIERCE

when he selected them, but they all loved him when they parted. There was a noble frankness on his part that kept the air always clear among them. He had within him a subtle faculty, a real instinct that was promotive of political success. He had a magic touch that arranged matters with a delicate potency and he wrought through other minds so that none knew when and how far he was under his influence."

Owing to the prosperous condition of the country Washington society was very gay during President Pierce's administration. One of the finest entertainments was given by the Brazilian minister in honor of the birthday of his imperial master; the "at homes" of Madame Calderon de la Barca, wife of the Spanish minister and herself a writer, were always crowded; General Almonte, Mexican minister, was noted for his breakfasts. Senator Aiken, of South Carolina, who owned eleven hundred slaves, gave extravagant dinner parties, when he used a solid silver serving set. This service was "looted" during the Civil War and only one piece was recovered. The large waiter was found in a swamp propped up on stones where deserters had been cooking bacon. Jefferson Davis gave exclusive dinner parties to which he only invited Southern aristocrats and their Northern sympathizers.

And in spite of the sorrow of those two in the White House, social gaiety went on there also. During the sessions of Congress there was a dinner party of thirty-six once a week, a small dinner party on every other night, and a morning and evening reception once a week. Over these Mrs. Pierce, in deep mourning, pale, distraught, present only in the body, usually presided. These evening parties were looked forward to with especial anticipation by young people and by strangers. The fingers of the mantua makers were ever taxed to the uttermost; white gloves, camelias, and carriages were much in demand, and the hairdressers often wished they had a hundred hands apiece. When the time drew near hundreds of carriages would draw up in line before the White House, from which would alight gaily dressed women and dignified men. The ladies would repair to the private dining room which was used for a dressing room on these occasions. Returning, they would join their escorts in line and be introduced to the President and Mrs. Pierce by District Marshal Hoover, who invariably got every name wrong. But the President

FRANKLIN PIERCE

was so charming that, like Dolly Madison, he put every one at ease. The evening dresses of that day were voluminous affairs of silk and lace, ruffled and trimmed and worn over hoops. (The fashionable size of the waist was waspish and the basques were very tight. No doubt there was a great deal of "lacing.") Heavy jewelry adorned the wrists and throats and there were always flowers in the elaborate coiffures. The men were no less resplendent in blue broadcloth dress-coats with gilt buttons, white waistcoats and black trousers. Such was the popularity of these receptions that on one New Year's day the White House was so jammed that guests had to make their exits by the window. A crowd of ruffians made the rounds of the open houses that day. At Secretaries Davis' and Dobbin's they broke glasses and carried off food in their hats and at the White House they took meat from the table and tore it apart in the hall. Remembering the austerity of receptions in Washington's and Van Buren's time, one wonders if the dignity of the people had not deteriorated under too much democracy.

Edward Everett, a bright but lonely figure, was often seen at these receptions; as were John Van Buren, called "Prince John" during his father's administration, and General Winfield Scott, in the full display of his uniform and decorations. The officeholders were there also, a little nervous then as now, that things would take a different turn and others displace them. Country folk, on their first visits to Washington, came in to see how the Nation's business was run. A note of color was always added by a score or more of Indians from the West who were present with their gay leggings, scarlet blankets, pouches worked with porcupine quills, and the full glory of their war paint. In the last days of the administration the Japanese princes were also seen at these parties. They were very small but their dignity of manner and their air of intelligence impressed all who met them.

Other forms of entertainment were not lacking in those days. William Makepeace Thackeray came over to America to lecture one season. The people of Washington were delighted with him. Accustomed to the bombastic oratory of the House and Senate, they found the conversational style of this rosy-cheeked Briton very charming, even though some of the Puritanical thought his revelations of the characters of the scapegraces of the English court a little shocking.

FRANKLIN PIERCE

Thackeray himself found America very amazing. He was much interested in the trial of Congressman Herbert, of California, who had shot a waiter dead in a restaurant because he served him indifferently. Another person of interest to him was Major Lane, who had fought under Jackson at New Orleans, Houston at San Jacinto, and Taylor at Buena Vista, and who was partial to rye whiskey, ruffled shirts, gold-headed canes, and draw poker. The look on Thackeray's face as he listened to the major talk was as good as a play. Julien, the musician, came to Washington that winter with his orchestra and a galaxy of stars and gave several concerts. He was received enthusiastically by the members of his audience who on occasions forgot their dignity and rose to their feet to wave hats and scarfs in the air and shout "bravo" as the orchestra played the "National Quadrille." Harper's magazine of that period has a series of most unusual illustrations of this occasion.

Old Madeira wine was popular during President Pierce's administration, particularly with their honors, the Justices of the Supreme Court. For many years supplies were obtained from the old mercantile houses in Alexandria which had many direct importations before the Revolutionary War. During Fillmore's administration many Washington cellars were filled from the sale of the private stock of wines and liquors from the cellar of Joshua Lee, of Baltimore. At that time fifty demi-johns of various brands of Madeira were sold at prices ranging from twenty-four to forty-nine dollars a gallon. One case of twenty-two bottles commanded the extreme price of seventy-seven dollars and fifty cents a gallon.

President Pierce had none of the austerity and sense of personal aloofness that characterized some other presidents. When Congress was not in session and he had time, the President and Mrs. Pierce were used to take long walks alone in the evening for it was not thought necessary to guard the bodies of presidents until after the assassination of Lincoln. On these walks they sometimes dropped in to see old friends from New Hampshire who were serving as clerks in small departments. It was no uncommon thing for these people to go over to the White House for an informal visit and stay for dinner. At other times the Pierces would drop in at the Davis' for an unexpected visit. Once the President carried a little dog in his pocket for the children of the Davis household and no doubt he played with

FRANKLIN PIERCE

them and the little creature after his arrival. When the Davis family moved to the country in midsummer the Pierces visited them often. "Such intimate talks, such unrestrained intercourse and pleasantries exchanged, are charming memories," Mrs. Davis exclaimed years afterward. "One day the President became eloquent on the genius, the shy tender ways and agreeable conversation of his friend Hawthorne, and thrust his hands in his pockets as he paced up and down the veranda. Mrs. Pierce cast an appealing look at him, when the President said, 'No, I won't take them out of my pockets, Jennie! I am in the country and I like to feel the comfort of it.'"

Once when Mrs. Davis was very ill, near unto death, the President floundered through drifts of snow six feet deep and reached Secretary Davis' home more dead than alive from exhaustion in order to learn of her condition at the moment. He would not send a servant for he said that they would have had no personal interest to urge them on and would never have made their way. That incident was entirely characteristic of him.

A number of events took place in the Pierce administration which had no bearing on governmental affairs but are of interest to the student of that time. It was during this time that John Augustine Washington, being unable to maintain Mount Vernon on account of the vast hordes of visitors (the kind that ate Jefferson and Madison out of house and home) offered the estate for sale, but Congress could not be prevailed upon to purchase and restore the old manor. It was at this critical juncture that Miss Ann Pamela Cunningham, of South Carolina, undertook the apparently hopeless effort of raising the sum of two hundred thousand dollars necessary to purchase the mansion and a part of the estate. With courage that never faltered she solicited contributions from every quarter. It was not until 1858 that the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association was organized with Miss Cunningham as Regent. Edward Everett gave the proceeds from his lecture on Washington, which netted sixty-nine thousand dollars, to the fund. Washington Irving gave five hundred dollars. Thousands of school children gave five cents each. It was not until 1859 that the two hundred thousand dollars was collected and the estate, including the mansion, the surrounding buildings and the tomb, was purchased for posterity.

It was during Pierce's administration that the Willard Hotel was built, that hostelry which has for three-quarters of a century sheltered

FRANKLIN PIERCE

the great and the near great. The first hotel in the District of Columbia was Suters Tavern, a long wooden building located in Georgetown. Next came the Union Hotel and after that the National and the Indian Queen, kept by the Browns, father and son. Another hotel was then built nearer the White House by Colonel Taylor, but it did not prosper. One day when Colonel Taylor's daughter-in-law was traveling by boat up the Hudson she became interested in the earnest efforts of the steward to please everyone on board. Upon her return to Washington she told her father if he would engage this Mr. Willard she was sure his hotel would be improved. Colonel Taylor wrote to Willard, who with his brother came to Washington and took charge of the hotel. They soon made it a success. They always met the guests personally as they alighted from the stage coach, and when dinner was served they stood at the head of their tables wearing white linen aprons and carved the joints of the turkey and wild game. When the new hotel was built it was known as the Willard. Edward Everett made a speech on that occasion, telling of his pleasant association at the old hotel with Chief Justice Marshall, Judge Story, Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. Webster. The following verses were written of the White House, but they could apply to other houses in Washington with equal appropriateness, certainly to the Willard:

All houses wherein men have lived and died
Are haunted houses. Through the open doors
The harmless phantoms on their errands glide
With feet that make no sound upon the floors.

There are more guests at table than the hosts
Invited; the illuminated hall
Is thronged with quiet inoffensive ghosts
As silent as the pictures on the walls.

The new hall of the House of Representatives was finished about this time. It was gaily decorated throughout and the gilded ceiling fairly glittered. But it was walled in from all communication with fresh air and sunlight. Captain Meigs, of the Engineering Corps of the Army, who had been entrusted by Secretary Davis with the erection of the wings, had added to the architect's plans an encircling row of committee rooms and clerical offices. Instead of ventilating the hall by windows a system was adopted similar to that tried in the the English House of Commons of pumping air, heated in winter and

FRANKLIN PIERCE

cooled in summer, but invention had not gone far enough to accomplish artificial ventilation at this time and immense sums of money were afterwards expended upon it in an effort to secure adequate ventilation.

Experiments were made in the laying of the first Atlantic cable in this administration. In 1854 Cyrus W. Field formed a company of British capitalists to undertake the enterprise. The first attempt was in 1857, but it was not until 1858 that the cable was finally laid.

During the summer of 1853 the prosperity and progress of the country were shown by the opening of the first of our great expositions, a "Crystal Palace" held in New York and modeled after the one held in London in 1851. Though smaller than the English exposition, it was cosmopolitan in character. A private enterprise in its inception, it later received generous aid and many foreign countries contributed notable exhibits. The design of the building was that of a Greek cross with a dome in the centre; it was constructed entirely of iron and glass and was heralded as a marvel of architecture.

The Republican party was organized at Ripon, Michigan, June, 1854. The first plank in the platform recommended the abolition of slavery. The next six were criticisms of the Democratic party. The organization grew amazingly. In the Republican convention of 1856 John C. Fremont, of California, was nominated for President and William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, for Vice-President.

An expedition to Japan begun in November, 1852, resulted in the granting to the United States of trading privileges with the island kingdom. Heretofore Japan had preserved the most restrictive policy. For more than three hundred years the Portuguese, English, French, Russians and Americans had tried in vain to hold commercial relations with Japan, to travel among her people and to buy the delicate workmanship of her hands. Commodore Matthew Perry, brother of Commodore Oliver Perry, of Lake Erie fame, believed that with kindness and tact and backed by a force sufficient to impress the natives, entrance to Japan might be effected. He was given the commission to make the effort, notified the authorities at Washington of his intention to take with him specimens of mechanical products, arms and machinery; he also asked manufacturers for supplies of every description, all of which were given him. One firm furnished him with a small locomotive, cars, and rails to be laid down in Japan. A letter from

FRANKLIN PIERCE

the President to the rulers of Japan, which he carried with him, was handsomely embossed and enclosed in a box which cost a thousand dollars. At length, properly outfitted with ships and presents, the commodore sailed away. His first stop was at Napa, one of a group of islands which were a dependency of Japan. When Japanese officials visited the ship Perry would not receive them, telling them he could receive no one but the regent for the Queen and her son. After some time the regent came and Perry returned his visit with much pomp. As long as Perry remained in that harbor military and naval drills were executed every day to impress the natives. Other islands were visited in the same manner and at last the commodore came to Yeddo. When they arrived Japanese guard boats came out at once with officers, but Perry would not allow them to come on board. Then an officer of the guard boats ordered them to depart at once, but he was told by the commodore that he had a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor and that he would not confer with anyone except the highest ruler. That night fires glimmered on the hills and great bells tolled their danger signals, and Japanese soldiers in scarlet uniforms ran from garrison to garrison giving warning. The commodore was told by those in authority that he must move on to some other port to deliver his message, but he declined, saying that if the Japanese did not see fit to appoint a proper person to receive such a valuable letter he would be compelled with a sufficient force to deliver it in person, and they could take the consequences. Boats from his fleet, with white flags to show peaceful intent, were sent out to explore the harbor. When the Japanese demurred, saying it was against their laws, the commodore told them that American laws commanded these explorations and that American subjects must obey American laws. At length, however, the Prince of the realm signified his consent to receive the letter in the wonderful gold case; he even had a special house built for the occasion. The commodore was sufficiently impressive. He was preceded in his approach to the house by two stalwart seamen, two boys bearing the gold case and flanked by his bodyguard of two huge negroes. After the presentation of the letter the commodore offered his gifts, consisting of swords, muskets, telegraph instruments, the little train, three life boats, seven volumes of Audubon's books on "Birds and Quadrupeds of America," potatoes, stoves, telescopes, and agricultural instruments. The mile of tele-

FRANKLIN PIERCE

graph created interest and the grave mandarins, delighted with the little train, took turns riding on top of it as it whirled on its circular track. After many months and some delay the commodore was able to sign a treaty by which these ports were opened to trade with the United States. The marvelous development of Japan dates from that day.

The criticism of Franklin Pierce has been so severe through all years of the past since his administration that no just biographer can avoid defending him from many of the charges. The history of the time was written by Northern men and such was the heat of the time that they were unable to write with anything but prejudiced pens. They recorded Franklin Pierce as a weak man although there is not a single instance of weakness or vacillation in his whole career as President. On the contrary, he never missed an opportunity to express his views. In his senatorial days he announced his views on slavery. Unalterably a State's right man, he said over and over again that the matter must rest with the individual states. In his veto on the act of making a grant of public lands to the several states for the benefit of indigent insane persons, he insisted that the Federal Government could not be the almoner of public charity throughout the states. The distribution of charity should belong to each State within its border, and here again he states what he had often stated before: "Are we not too prone to forget that the Federal Union is the creation of the states, not they of the Federal Union? The sovereign power is in them alone, those of the Federal Government are derived ones."

Nor did he hesitate to hurl condemnation at those he thought wilfully in error. On one occasion when Congress had admitted the justice of certain claims, had conceded that payment had been wrongfully withheld for fifty years, and had proposed not to pay these claims, he rose in his wrath to say: "The refusal of the United States to pay these claims rests as a stain on the justice of our country . . . this bill, so far from relieving the past, only stamps on the present a more deep and indelible stigma. This is not, in my judgment, the way to atone for wrongs if they exist, nor to meet subsisting obligations." And as has been said, in a later message he spoke in no uncertain terms of the trouble in Kansas, declaring the Free-State movement in that State to have been treason and condemns the Emigrant

FRANKLIN PIERCE

Aid Society as the offenders. In his fourth annual message he openly accused the North of attacking the domestic institutions of the South. What constitutes a weak man in public office? Is it not a desire and effort to conciliate those opposed to him? Is it not an effort to keep ones own principles concealed from public discussion? Is it not vacillation and sometimes retraction of statements? There is not a single instance of any of these characteristics in Pierce's private life or in his public utterances.

To accuse men openly of treason is not to conciliate them. To state again and again his principles is not concealment of a man's principles. To hold consistently to these principles is not to retract or vacillate. These things he never did. He stated his views when he went into office and he held to them. Owning not a single slave, he declared the institution protected by the Constitution; it was a matter for the several states to decide, he said, not for the executive of the Federal Government.

How evanescent is popularity? Franklin Pierce, a man preëminent in his day, the most popular of all the Presidents who had preceded him, is now totally forgotten. In spite of his popularity no adequate biography was ever written of him until more than a half century had passed after his death in 1869. And for fifty years New Hampshire gave no recognition to her only President. The only place we catch his intense individual existence is in the writings of his friends, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Mrs. Jefferson Davis. And in these he is mentioned only incidentally. He did not keep a diary as did John Quincy Adams, he had no children to whom he could have written charming letters as did Tyler, and he was no assiduous correspondent as were Monroe and Jefferson. The most intimate touches of his life are unavailable.

Notwithstanding lack of material when one visualizes Pierce, it is plain to see that he suffered from frustration. Obviously he never came to his full development along the line of his talents. Indubitably he had more ability than he manifested as President. His last two years in college were marked by brilliant distinction. His legislative years were few, but such an impression did he make during those years that he was subsequently invited to fill great positions which more brilliant and prominent men than he were glad to accept after

FRANKLIN PIERCE

he had refused them. His emphatic refusal of these positions and his positive avowal never again to enter public life indicate that considerable regret tinged his actions on these occasions. Perhaps if he had accepted the nomination for Governor of New Hampshire and been elected, had gone down to Washington and served as Polk's Attorney-General, or accepted the appointment to the Senate, he would have made a more astute and capable President than he did. His experiences in these situations would have developed the prescience and political wisdom which he so much needed. With these and the miraculous intuition which Hawthorne says he possessed he would have been master of his situation. Why didn't he accept them? Something stood in his way, of course.

According to Hawthorne his election to the Presidency never seemed an accident to his friends; which can only be accounted for by the fact that they felt the presence of greatness in him, the greatness which never came to function. Certainly there was no reason to expect a great political party to pass by its active members and choose from an obscure New England town a moderately successful lawyer who had been out of national public life more than a decade.

Hawthorne continues along the same line: "I was long ago aware that he cherished a high ambition . . . as to plans I do not think he had any. Amid all his former successes I always perceived that something gnawed within him and kept him forever miserable. I cannot tell how early he began to look toward the Presidency, but I believe he would have died an unhappy man without it." Frustration seems most positively present here. He made no plans yet he desired high office and was kept forever miserable.

It was in 1859 that the ex-President and the novelist met in Rome again and walked and talked together of old times amid the ruins of that old city. Pierce's entire conversation was of his administration; probably he felt, subconsciously, that his unpreparedness had prevented his giving his best there and the memory exasperated him. His biographer says that Jane was with him in Europe, but Hawthorne never mentions her. One gathers from the comments of the writer that while Pierce at times seemed happy, he was still "restless and miserable." That he loved politics and was unhappy in private life one can be certain, for to men of his temperament the spotlight of publicity is meat and drink. He was most apparently thwarted in his destiny. Frustration and failure were the result.

FRANKLIN PIERCE

When the Civil War came he remained faithful to his old beliefs of State's rights and the strict construction of the constitution. He had had too much to do with the abolitionists to believe entirely in their assumptions. He knew that political aggrandizement and economic power were animating them as much as their so-called "hatred of slavery." He declared his opposition to the war on all occasions until at length Seward wrote him a letter accusing him of disloyalty. Pierce, furious at the charge, replied to him so indignantly that the Secretary of State apologized at once. And the accusation did not stop the ex-President's outspoken opposition to the war. In a letter to his wife he declared that he would *never* uphold this "cruel, aimless and unnecessary war."

But unfortunately, living as he did in a Northern State, his expressions made his old friends and neighbors who thought differently from him fall away from him. At last there came a time when he walked friendless and alone in the town where he had been so greatly loved and revered, where he suffered the same fate that befell Chief Justice Taney in Washington. Old associates passed them by without greeting. Only the dogs and children loved them.

In the last public speech which Pierce ever made, in May, 1869, he declared his loyalty to the Union and his belief that the Constitution should have always been strictly followed. "I was not taught," he said, "that the great work of the fathers was a 'covenant' and a 'league' with anything evil in it. Other lessons were taught at my father's hearthstone."

Jane died on December 2, 1863. Hawthorne came to him at once and on a bitterly cold day they laid her away. Hawthorne says that when he looked at her shrunken little figure in its rich coffin he felt as if she had never had anything to do with things present.

Many months of Pierce's last days were spent by the sea alone in his cottage at Little Boar's Head on the New Hampshire coast. What thoughts must have gone through his head there as he watched the restless waves dash against the rugged boulders a stone's throw from his doorway.

He spent the summer of '69 in this beautiful spot, but becoming very ill he returned in the early fall to Concord, where from his window he could see the waters of the Merrimac and the flaming glory of the dying autumn. Here on October 8, in the beauty and the calmness of the gray dawn, he died.

Religion in Essex County, Massachusetts

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IT is the purpose of this chapter to discuss the more salient points of religion with special emphasis on the contributions that were made in this country to the direction that the expression of religion had taken in New England and thus throughout the whole country.

It will be necessary to become familiar with the religious situation in England in the early seventeenth century in order to learn the background of the early settlers. It must be borne in mind that deep religious conviction is the property of a minority in any group. When that conviction becomes popular it tends to become less powerful. Therefore it is sometimes necessary for the select group to set themselves apart in order to hold their position and to increase their prestige. Such might be the explanation of the theocratic system as it was practiced in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The number of those that came to this country in the so-called "Great Migration" in the years 1620 to 1660 who possessed deep religious convictions was relatively very small. James Truslow Adams estimates that only one out of every five who went to Massachusetts was sufficiently interested in religion to become a member of the church.

It is generally accepted that the Puritans were members of the Church of England but felt cramped by its doctrine. There was not enough chance for the individual to express himself. They wanted to break away from the old feudal idea of the relationship between a lord and his vassal with its implication of union between church and state and to realign themselves as they saw fit. The individual must be freed. A democratic commonwealth was the goal of these Puritans, though they may not have recognized it as such at first.

Let us examine the three main religious-political parties, if I may so call them. The first was the Anglican, that which believed in the established church. This group represented the majority of the people in England, headed by the hereditary leaders, those of the highest social classes. In their view the church and the state were united and

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

must remain so. James I had reiterated this principle in his statement, "No bishop, no king." If the individual were allowed to worship in any way he chose, then he would want to be governed by the way of his own choosing, and the office of king would cease to exist. This Anglican group also believed that the subject citizen had been born a member of both the church and the state and therefore must recognize their unity and pay allegiance to both. Authority was of divine origin, as God had anointed both the bishop and the king. This was plainly the orthodox view.

The second group, the Presbyterian, still accepted the principle of the state church, but did not believe that God had anointed the bishop and the king. It substituted for this the doctrine of elective stewardship. Each parish was to be controlled by its elders, who were chosen by the laity of that parish. Final authority was placed in the synod. These ideas had been brought over from Geneva, where they had been formulated and practiced by Calvin.

The third group, the Separatists, did not want to be ruled either by bishop or elders, but wanted to establish groups of like-minded people and set up independent churches on a self-governing basis. This body desired to set a higher standard than they believed was held by either of the other two groups, and they wished to get away from the authority of a sinful state. They took literally the command of Paul, "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing." This doctrine led them straight to a conception of a Christian democracy. All members of the true church were equal in the sight of God, and, therefore, a system of equality must prevail in the rule of the congregation. No authority that did not accept this principle could rule the congregation. Out of this group came such offspring as Quakers, Congregationalists, Seekers, and Anabaptists.

Let us deal with each of these religious-political parties as their representatives migrated to New England and study them as they developed in Essex County.

Various attempts were made throughout the seventeenth century to establish the Episcopal or Anglican church in New England. These attempts did not meet with success until the early part of the eighteenth century, possibly because the representatives did not seem over-zealous in their task, and partly because the "Puritans" regarded

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

these churchmen as followers of the Stuarts in England. As so often happens neither the "Puritans" nor the Episcopalians understood each other. All the Puritan ministers were originally Episcopalians, because they had been ordained in the Church of England. They had been driven into the "Low Church" branch by what they considered to be over-emphasis on the part of Archbishop Laud and the High Churchmen on the Liturgy and the Episcopate. The Episcopalians differed from the Separatists, who were also Puritans, because they still believed in the union of the church and the state and in the rule of the King and the bishops by the will of God. Although they were affiliated with the House of Stuart, they, too, in this country contended for religious liberty. They opposed the Puritan uniformity here because they hoped to establish an Episcopal uniformity in religion, but they disagreed as to the authority under which all men must be brought.

In 1701 there was established in England the Episcopal "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." In 1712 this society appointed a minister to take charge of a congregation in Newbury. There had been a serious controversy among the Congregationalists there over the location of the new church. Those who objected to its being built on Pipe-Stage Hill became Episcopalians.

About 1740 there occurred the "Great Awakening" or revival movement. George Whitefield from England spent some time in this county visiting Salem, Marblehead, Ipswich, and Newbury. He was an ordained minister in the Anglican Church, but when it was discovered how far Whitefield was willing to go, he was disavowed by the church. Another great leader in the revival was Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton. These two men preached that no man was a Christian unless he had been through the experiences of a definite emotional conversion. The effect of their preaching upon the Episcopal Church was to separate its members further from the Puritans. The churchmen did not go to the revival meetings, and some people were attracted to the Episcopal Church because it did not countenance such methods of revival.

The Episcopal clergymen usually were educated in England and sent out to the colonies. Therefore, when the war of American Independence came, the Episcopal clergy were connected with England by bonds of affection, religion, and patriotism. Most of them could

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

not see the colonists' point of view, and they could not maintain their place in the community unless they did see it. The result was that when the war was over the Episcopal Church had nearly disappeared from this country. There were only fourteen Episcopal parishes left in Massachusetts.

Another result of the war was a somewhat general indifference to religion. Religion took a place second to politics in men's minds. Everyone was interested in establishing the institutions of the new government and took every opportunity to discuss them. Ministers who did not preach politics from their pulpits found the pews of their churches deserted. Many of the conversions during the "Great Awakening" had been only skin deep, and, therefore, many of these people did not continue to be church members. This indifference was also fostered by the popular unbelief that was imported from France, the influence of that country becoming stronger here after its alliance with us in 1778. Even devout religionists found it hard to argue down the so-called atheists. Oftentimes the atheists won. It was the fear of many of those interested in the Episcopal Church that it would never survive.

The first Episcopal Church in Essex County was formed in Newburyport in 1711 under the circumstances that have been given.

St. Michael's Church in Marblehead was erected in 1714, the first rector being William Shaw. According to Dolores Bacon in "Old New England Churches," this church "remains the only enduring monument to the Episcopal faith from Colonial times in New England." The members of the parish objected strenuously to being taxed to support the Congregational preachers, and finally an appeal was made to the Governor, but his attempt to restrain the selectmen and the assessors met with no success. Eventually the poor rector was forced to flee to England, and his successor, David Masson, was more successful. To quote from Dolores Bacon: "This second Rector, finding his people still serfs to the Puritan meeting house, made a successful appeal to the Governor. By this time the parish had undertaken to meet all charges resulting from the resistance on the part of the churchmen to the undesired tax levied upon them. The selectmen and assessors of Marblehead were rendered powerless and St. Michael's became an unhampered fact." During the Revolution Mr. Weeks, the rector, openly declared himself a royalist, and he read

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

prayers for the preservation of the royal family and continued to do so until a year after the Declaration of Independence was signed. The Provincial Congress closed St. Michael's, but the rector held services in private houses. Eventually he had to flee for his life to Nova Scotia. The church was again opened and chanting was introduced there in 1786, probably for the first time in America. Several prominent men now came to the support of St. Michael's, among whom was Captain Blackler, who commanded the boat on which George Washington crossed the Delaware to fight the battle of Trenton. St. Michael's was closed soon after 1818, and an attempt was made to turn it into a "Congregational Meeting House." Upon appeal of the Bishop of the Diocese to the Legislature and with the help of the Reverend Mr. Carlisle, St. Michael's status was restored, and it was on its feet again in 1833.

To Salem, John Lyford came as an associate of Roger Conant and maintained for a while the services of the Church of England. This was before Endicott and his company arrived. Among Endicott's company were some members who held services according to the Book of Common Prayer. Governor Endicott summoned these men and asked them why they did not conform to the practices of the First Church of Salem, and when they persisted in following their form of worship Endicott sent them back to England. To quote from Palfrey in the 1888 "History of Essex County": "This proceeding had first raised, and for the present issue had decided, a question of vast magnitude. The right of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay to exclude at their pleasure dangerous or disagreeable persons from their domain they never regarded as questionable, any more than a householder doubts his right to determine who shall be the inmates of his house."

In the eighteenth century there were other Episcopal Churches organized in Amesbury and Haverhill.

The First Protestant Episcopal Church of Methuen was formed about 1833 and lasted some four or five years; during this time the first Christmas service in this locality was conducted in this church.

A chime of ten bells of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, which first rang out on Easter morning, 1886, was the first chime in Lynn. Other towns or cities in which Episcopal Churches have been organized, in the order of their founding, are: Andover, Lawrence, Danvers, Ips-

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

wich, Gloucester, Beverly, Rockport, Beverly Farms, Peabody, Saugus, Georgetown, and Manchester.

It has been noticed that most of the Episcopal Churches were founded in the nineteenth century. This may be explained by the fact that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries most of those interested in establishing churches were attempting to break away from the forms and practices of the Church of England. During the American Revolution most of the Episcopal Churches were closed, as was St. Michael's in Marblehead, because they were looked upon as supporters of the royal family in England. During the nineteenth century members of the Episcopal Church were not regarded as unpatriotic, but only as wanting to establish a particular form of worship which held an appeal for them. This may indicate that Americans were becoming more tolerant and that perhaps they realized that no matter to what denomination they belonged they were all seeking to find in some established form of religion an expression of their beliefs.

The Presbyterian Church did not thrive in the Congregational stronghold of Essex County. A church was formed in Newburyport out of the First Newbury Church (Congregational) in 1746. The church building was erected in 1756, and it is here that George Whitefield lies buried in a vault beneath the pulpit.

Due to the immigration of Presbyterians from the Canadian Provinces in search of work in the mills, a Presbyterian Church was founded in Lawrence in 1854.

The German Presbyterian Church in Lawrence, which was organized in 1879, had its origin in 1872.

According to our plan of dealing with the three English political-religious groups whose representatives came to this country, we come now to the Sapatatists. In this county the chief divisions of this group were the Quakers, Baptists, Methodists, Universalists, Unitarians, and Congregationalists. They will be treated in that order except that the Roman Catholics will be treated before the Congregationalists.

The Quakers first appeared in this county in 1657. They had come to Boston in 1656 and came to Salem from there. The Society of Friends or Quakers started in England during the English Commonwealth largely as a result of the itinerant lay-preaching of George

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

Fox. After 1652 the movement gained momentum and attracted a goodly number of adherents. These Quakers—so-called because in their meetings their emotional and religious enthusiasm and feelings were expressed in physical resonance—soon were persecuted because of their unorthodox ideas toward religion and society, but the persecution only made them grow stronger and become more tenacious of their views. To quote from Rufus Jones in his chapter in the "Religious History of New England": "The movement was, from its earliest beginning, outreaching and missionary in spirit. Its exponents were possessed with a faith that they had rediscovered 'primitive Christianity' and they leaped to the conclusion that they had found a fresh and living way which could spread and become a world-Christianity. In this faith they undertook 'the hazards and hardships' of propagating it, not only at home, but 'overseas' as well."

These Quakers believed that each human soul might make its own communication with God, that it might discover its own revelation of truth, and make its own interpretation of Christ. This individual interpretation of God, Christ, and truth obviously could not be subject to any external authority.

The early founders of Massachusetts were not interested in this kind of thing, and took steps to prevent its inception and its spread. To quote from J. Duncan Phillips in his "Salem in the Seventeenth Century": "In due time the General Court forbade Quakers to enter and forbade anyone to entertain them, and, after trying simpler measures, in due time further promised that if they did come, it would put them out, and if they came again, it would cut their ears off, and if they returned a third time, it would hang them and then that would end it—but it did not, for others came. Rhode Island, Barbados, and the Dutch settlement at New Amsterdam seem to have been the advance basis for the invasion, but why couldn't the Quakers leave Massachusetts alone? At any rate, they didn't, and some of them came to Salem and stayed with Lawrence Southwick, the glass-maker, and his wife on Boston Street. The Southwicks got into trouble for sheltering the Quakers and their two friends each lost an ear. But Quakers kept coming and making trouble, and the authorities, not with any bloodthirstiness which I can discover, but because they wanted these people to keep away and stop bothering, flogged them, cut off their ears and finally hanged half a dozen." According to

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

Rufus Jones, four were hanged. Continuing from Phillips: "The chief thing they demonstrated was that that was the way to make friends for the Quakers, whereas if they had given them a soap-box on Boston Common and gone out and laughed at them it would have ended sooner."

In Salem, in 1658, a trial of the Quakers was held and several persons were fined or imprisoned. Whipping usually accompanied the fines and imprisonment. The persecutions gradually quieted down, especially after the accession of Charles II, who disapproved of it.

We must not be too severe in our judgment against the magistrates and the people of Salem for their actions against the Quakers, for little did they know the outcome of the problem with which they had to deal any more than would we in similar circumstances today. Many of our actions undoubtedly will be viewed as somewhat unwise when studied from the advantage of the history of nearly three centuries.

In 1677 a Quaker meetinghouse was erected on Wolf Hill in Lynn. In 1688 the first meetinghouse was built in Salem, while in Amesbury the earliest record starts from 1701, when a meetinghouse was decided upon and members from Amesbury, Salisbury, and Hampton met here for four years. In Amesbury the Quakers were taxed for the support of the Congregational preaching, and in 1702 the constable took two calves—valued at thirty shillings—from Ezekiel Wathen to pay his rate. John G. Whittier, the poet, belonged to the Friends Society in Amesbury. In Newbury a meetinghouse was built in 1744, but it was afterwards used by the Congregational Church in the West Parish; then the Friends built another house of worship on Turkey Hill. In 1822 there arose two factions in the church at Lynn, and it was common to hear the boys of the town shout, "Let's go and see the Quakers fight." This is interesting when it is remembered that the Quakers did not countenance physical force even in cases of self-protection. In 1832 a brick meetinghouse was erected by the Friends in Salem and when it was destroyed by the fire of 1914, a new structure was built. In Lawrence a meetinghouse was erected in 1886.

The Baptists, or Anabaptists as they were called in early New England, did not believe in the authority of the State in religious matters. In this respect they were like the other Independents or Separatists, but they differed from the others in the degree to which

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

they advocated certain doctrinal changes. The Baptists were perhaps the first to bring out in its full meaning the theory of religious liberty or freedom of conscience in one's relationship to God. They also held that baptism could be administered only to one who had confessed his personal faith in Christ, this conception excluding infant baptism. The third point in their doctrine was that baptism by immersion was the only mode prescribed in the New Testament. These tenets of the Baptists explain the hostility of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to them. The Second Charter of Massachusetts (1691) had granted equal liberty of conscience to all but Roman Catholics, but it also required each town to raise taxes to support a minister. In 1718 the General Court authorized a tax for building and repairing meeting-houses. Quoting from Horr in his chapter on the Baptists on the "Religious History of New England": "In 1728, however, Baptists and Quakers were exempted from poll taxes for the support of ministers and it became illegal to take their bodies in execution to satisfy any such material rate or tax assessed upon their estates or faculty 'provided that such persons do usually attend the meetings of their respective Societies assembling upon the Lord's Day for the worship of God, and that they live within five miles of the place of such meeting.' The names of the Baptists and Quakers who might thus escape the poll tax were ascertained by the County Court, which through its clerk sent lists of the names to the assessors of each town or precinct."

There was a Baptist Church organized in Newbury in 1682, but prejudice against the new sect was so strong that the church evidently ceased to exist, as nothing more was heard of it for over a century. The society was re-formed in 1804.

In the eighteenth century there were Baptist Churches formed in Georgetown, Methuen, Haverhill, and Danvers. The history of the Haverhill church gives an insight into the legal procedure of the time regarding the founding of churches.

In 1793 the "First Baptist Society in Haverhill" was incorporated. To quote from the 1888 "History of Essex County": "The trouble was that all persons were obliged to pay the regular parish tax unless they could obtain exemption in the manner provided by law. This society was obliged to procure certificates from three other Baptist Churches acknowledging them to be one of the regular Baptist congregations before their own officers could give to indi-

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

viduals certificates of their frequent and usual attendance at their church upon the Lord's Day, in order that they might be exempted from paying a proportionable part of the ministerial taxes raised by law in the parish. Indeed, Merchant John White, a constant worshipper with the Baptists, though not a church member, was obliged to pay his regular parish tax to the standing order at the end of an expensive lawsuit." In spite of—or perhaps because of—great opposition, the Baptist Society became very strong and contributed much to missionary work and to the founding of new churches, especially in Maine and New Hampshire. It is said of Dr. Smith, the first pastor, that no man ever accomplished more in Haverhill. There are now five Baptist Churches in Haverhill, one of which is colored.

In the nineteenth century Baptist Churches were formed in the following order in Beverly, Newburyport, Salem, Sandy Bay (Gloucester), Essex, Rockport, Lynn, Wenham, Salisbury, Rowley, Gloucester Harbor, Andover, Manchester, Merrimacport (West Amesbury), Lawrence, and West Newbury.

By the latter part of the eighteenth century the persecutions of the Baptists had ceased, and that may explain the growth of Baptist Churches in the next century. These persecutions of the Baptists as well as of the Quakers were due to their interference in political matters as well as their peculiar religious beliefs. They were regarded as a troublesome minority and, therefore, it was thought that they ought to be suppressed, but it was soon learned that suppression only made them become stronger.

Methodism had its origin in England in 1729, its name deriving from the fact that its followers led methodical lives. The two chief proponents of Methodism were John Wesley and George Whitefield, each of whom became the head of a separate party of Methodists in 1741. Methodism was brought to this country by Whitefield in 1739, when he made a preaching tour and visited Ipswich, Essex, Newbury, Lynn, Marblehead, Haverhill, and Salem in this county. As he was not allowed to preach in the churches in most places, he expounded the gospel of individuality and freedom to great crowds on the Common, in some nearby field, or in some great hall. When the authorities in Haverhill sent Whitefield a letter asking him to leave their town, he read the letter and remarked, "Pour souls, they need another sermon," and straightway announced that he would preach at sunrise



LAWRENCE—VIEW OF NORTHERN SIDE OF COMMON

Showing residences and churches

Courtesy of the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

the next morning in the same place, when many came to hear him. As has been remarked before in this chapter, the first part of the eighteenth century was one of outward religious lethargy and indifference in this country, and it was Whitefield who kindled the spark that made the people "want" religion again. Whitefield was convinced of the worth of religion in every man's life, and it was his mission to make every man realize that fact. The members of the established church in this county, as elsewhere, did not disagree so much with the doctrines of Whitefield as they did with the methods he used in expressing those doctrines. They were suspicious of the fervor and enthusiasm that he instilled in his hearers in the open meetings. That this enthusiasm was more than skin deep with many who heard Whitefield is shown by the number of Methodist Churches that were established.

Benjamin Franklin, in his "Autobiography," bears witness to the power of Whitefield: "The multitudes of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous and it was a matter of speculation to me, who was one of the number, to observe the extraordinary influence of his oratory on his hearers, and how much they admir'd and respected him, notwithstanding his common abuse of them, by assuring them that they were naturally half beasts and half devils. It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious." Gains in attendance and membership were noted by all the denominations.

Methodism as it is now taught was introduced in Ipswich in 1790 by the itinerant preacher Jesse Lee, but it was not till 1822 that the Methodist Episcopal Society was formed with twenty-two members, eight of whom were from the Baptists.

In 1790 the Methodist Church was organized in Marblehead, and in 1791 Reverend Jesse Lee founded the society in Lynn. From that society branches were established in the nineteenth century throughout the town and some of the surrounding territory.

The other two Methodist Churches founded in the eighteenth century were in Marblehead and in Lynn. In the nineteenth century Methodist Churches were formed in Saugus, Newburyport, Salem, Gloucester, East Gloucester, Byfield, Andover, Rockville (Peabody), Topsfield, Rockport, East Bradford (Groveland), Newbury, Lawrence, Beverly, Danvers, Essex, Middleton, and Methuen.

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

In Byfield in 1827 a Methodist Episcopal Church was inspired by the preaching of Reverend William French, and in 1830 a small chapel was built near the Great Rock. There were no seats in the chapel, so the women sat on stones which had been brought in from the outside, and the men stood outside and looked in through the open windows. In 1831 the chapel was finished. During the next year the society tried to raise money for the support of a minister, but \$92.15 was all they could get, though further efforts must have been more successful, because the church continued and prospered. Further evidence of the bareness of the first Methodist Churches is given by Dr. Daniel Dorchester: "The first Methodist Church buildings were simple structures made of unplanned boards, entirely without paint; often, for several years unfinished. For seats they had rough planks, laid on blocks, and no backs. The pulpit was the carpenter's bench used in the erection of the building, pushed to one end of the room and a single board nailed upright upon the front and another short board flat on its top, made a resting place for Bible and hymnbook. Even such plain meeting houses were often embarrassed with debts." In 1800 the General Conference had agreed that \$80 should be the yearly allowance of a minister and that a similar amount should be allowed his wife. For each child under seven the allowance should be \$16, and for each child between seven and fourteen it should be \$24.

In 1860 several clergymen of the Methodist Episcopal Church and ten laymen of the Lynn and Boston districts joined together and established the Asbury Camp-meeting Association in Hamilton for the purpose of holding camp and other meetings under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The first camp-meeting had been held in 1859, and the venture proved so successful that meetings have been held yearly in the month of August. The district is now known as Asbury Grove.

The Universalist system of theology was introduced in this country by John Murray in 1774 in Gloucester. Universalism was militant against the accepted Calvinistic system as held and interpreted by the Orthodox Congregationalists; in fact, it was the first organized attack on this system. The main points of the Calvinistic dogma: the trinity, the fall of man, the total depravity of the race, the governmental theory of atonement, salvation by faith alone, and endless punishment,

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

were all denied by the Universalists. The Gloucester Church has had its "trials and tribulations," but it exists today as the "Independent Christian Society of Gloucester."

The order of the founding of the Universalist Society in the towns of Essex County is as follows: Salem, Lynn, Danvers, Gloucester, Haverhill, Methuen, Hamilton, Essex, Georgetown, Salisbury, Newburyport, Marblehead, Andover, Amesbury, Lawrence, and Rowley.

The Unitarian Society seems to have had its beginning in 1820 in this country, and in 1823 the Unitarian Congregational Church of Lynn was organized with those who had seceded from the First Congregational Church, which was strictly Calvinistic, as the chief members. The principles of the Unitarians are like those of the Universalists in that they favor a liberal and all embracing Christianity. The doctrines of Calvin were too narrow for them.

In 1825 the First Unitarian Church was organized in Peabody so that there might be a place "in the South part of Danvers where an opportunity could be had of hearing sentiments more liberal and congenial with the true spirit of Christianity than is now afforded." The first church building was dedicated in 1826. The Unitarian denomination has also been represented in Beverly, Ipswich, Lawrence, and Manchester.

The Revolution of 1688 in England drove many Catholics from Great Britain and Ireland to Massachusetts and other parts of this country in search for religious freedom. But they were not welcome visitors on these shores. The Second Charter of Massachusetts, in 1691, had granted freedom of worship to all except Roman Catholics, so the Catholics migrated to Canada and New Brunswick. In 1755 the Acadians were forced out of their homes by the British, and many found refuge in Newburyport and other parts of this county. The French Revolution and the potato famine in Ireland in 1845-46 sent more Roman Catholics to our shores, and several came to Newburyport. From 1796 on Father de Cheverus, of Boston, was able to make annual visits to Salem and Newburyport. Through the latter half of the nineteenth century the increase in the number of Catholics in this county was aided by the development of industry in such towns as Lawrence and Haverhill and the immigration that accompanied this development.

There was a Catholic congregation in Salem in 1790, and in 1821 a chapel was built, this becoming the mother parish for all Essex

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

County. The earliest congregation in Lynn met in 1835, and that in Newburyport in 1844. The church that was built in Newburyport in 1848 was the second of this denomination in this county. A great deal of missionary work was carried on by the ministers of the early parishes, and the growth of the churches was greatly fostered by this interest. Churches had been established in the following order in Lawrence, Haverhill, Andover, Gloucester, Rockport, Marblehead, Danvers, Groveland, Amesbury, Beverly, Merrimac, Georgetown, Peabody, Ipswich, Manchester, and Methuen. The Parochial school aspect of the Catholic contribution appears in another chapter of this history.

Some, perhaps many, of the original settlers in this county were not Separatists from the Church of England before they left England, and such was the case with those who founded Newbury. They became Separatists because as time went on the connection with the English Church did not seem vital, and in fact some of them may not have been active members of the church. However, the functions of the church and state were very closely bound together in the minds of the New England colonists. In 1631 it was enacted in Massachusetts Bay Colony "that for time to come noe man shalbe admitted to the freedome of this body polliticke, but such as are members of some of the churches within . . . the same." Thus one's right to vote was dependent upon his membership in a church. In 1635 the court further stated that no religious companies could be formed in the Colony unless they first told the members and elders of the established church of their intention and received their approval. Reference to a feature of this law has been given in the case of the founding of the First Baptist Society in Haverhill in 1793, when the members were seeking to be relieved of paying taxes for the support of the Congregational Church. As the colonists became more involved in the political affairs of their own Colony, their political connection with England seemed less distinct and so did their religious affiliation. They had come to these shores to set up a new type of government, one in which they would have a greater share, and this meant a new type of church. The close association of the authority of the church and of the state as they developed it is what is called the theocratic system and implies the authority of the church over the state.

The working out of this theocratic system was greatly aided by the calibre of the early Puritan ministers. These men were usually highly

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

qualified by their training in Oxford and Cambridge to take part in the establishment of the civil as well as the ecclesiastical government, and they were often consulted on both these phases of government. Their advice was never unwelcome. Hence they acquired positions of great influence and respect in the Colony. They were also eminent as teachers, being masters of Greek, Hebrew and Latin, and that eminence seemed greater as very few of the early colonists were educated men. It seems safe to say that there would not have been any colleges in this country in the early days if it had not been for the interest that the ministers took in their establishment. The last part of this chapter will be devoted to the story of one of the products of this interest—The Andover Theological Seminary.

The creed of these Puritans was Calvinistic and emphasized the depravity of man, the redemption of man through Christ, the punishment for sin, and eternal chastisement of the sinner who refused to repent or of him who refused to believe. This creed so permeated the lives of all religious people that it made them scornful of those who did not believe as they did. In the middle of the eighteenth century, when adherence to this doctrine had become a bit lax, it was revived by the lucid teaching of Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton, who did more than any other to bring an immediate sense of God's presence into the lives of all the people of New England.

There is so much to be said of the history of the Congregational Churches that I shall limit myself to the first ten churches that were founded.

The history of the Salem Church, the first church founded in this county, established the principles and aims that guided the founders of the earlier colonial churches. On the twentieth of July, 1629, the church met as a body and elected its pastor and teacher. "Every fit member wrote, in a note, his name whom the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor, and so likewise, whom they would have for teacher" So the most voice was for Mr. Skelton to be pastor and Mr. Higginson to be teacher; and they accepting the choice, Mr. Higginson, with three or four of the gravest members of the church, laid hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayers therewith. This being done then there was imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson, thus establishing the close relationship between church and school which was to persist for many years. Thus the assembly of the people in Salem

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

ordained and installed the minister and teacher. On August 6 the reading and signing of the covenant by those who thus formally became the members of the church took place before Governor Bradford and his associates from Plymouth.

The Salem Church was very proud of its independence and meant to preserve it. It established the principle that the congregation was the unit of human authority in ecclesiastical matters. Each such congregation should manage its own affairs and should acknowledge no earthly superior. It would be glad to recognize any other Christian congregations, but each church was to constitute a dominion of its own. According to this principle the members of the Salem Church had unmade the before-ordained ministers that it found within its midst and had made them ministers of its own creation and had invested them with the right and title of the office. Thus the Salem Church set the standard for the independence of the Congregational Churches.

The officers of the Salem Church were pastor, teacher, one or more ruling elders, and deacons and deaconesses. There was no distinction of precedence between pastor and teacher as their duties naturally overlapped. The duties of the ruling elder were not clearly defined, but he had some control over the minister and teacher and the administration of the affairs of the church. Although the churches continued to elect the ruling elders for some one hundred and fifty years, the office existed only in name after the first twenty-five years, when the fear of usurpation of power by the minister had died away. The deacons received and distributed the church offerings, and aided the pastor at the communion service. The deaconesses were usually widows of sixty years of age, or more, who aided the pastor in calling on and administering to the sick, the poor, and the distressed.

Roger Williams had arrived in Boston in February, 1731. In April of that year he was invited by the Salem Church to be the assistant to Mr. Skelton, as Reverend Francis Higginson had died in 1630. Mr. Williams, however, had already incurred the animosity of the Massachusetts Court through his separatist teachings, and now the court prevented his coming to Salem. Consequently, Mr. Williams went to Plymouth, where he served as assistant to Reverend Ralph Smith for awhile, and then devoted himself to manual labor, to learning the language of the Indians, and to further study of his principles

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

regarding church government and the responsibility of the individual in state and church affairs. In 1633 Mr. Williams obtained a dismissal from the church in Plymouth and returned to Salem, where he became the assistant to Mr. Skelton, though he was not ordained. In 1634 he was ordained upon succeeding Mr. Skelton as the pastor of the church.

Mr. Williams held this office until October, 1635, when he was ordered by the General Court to leave Massachusetts because he had "broached and divulged divers new and dangers opinions against the authority of the magistrates, and also writ letters of defamation, both of magistrates and churches." To use the quotation that is given from Bancroft in "The Beginnings of New England": "The views of Roger Williams, if logically carried out, involved the entire separation of church from state, the equal protection of all forms of religious faith, the repeal of all laws compelling attendance on public worship, the abolition of tithes and of all forced contributions to the support of religion." These ideas were so contrary to those of the founders of the established church that it is easy to see why the court considered Williams a dangerous character. It is hard to understand why the Salem Church welcomed him as its pastor. When Williams learned that he was to be sent to England, he escaped from the bounds of Massachusetts supervision to the banks of the Seekonk River, where he founded Rhode Island and laid the foundations for the Baptist form of worship there.

The successor to Roger Williams as the pastor of the church at Salem was Reverend Hugh Peters, a clear thinker and an eloquent and forceful preacher. Without neglecting his duties as pastor he gave a great deal of time and thought to promoting the business, social, and political interests of the townspeople. He aided in the reform of the police system, encouraged commerce, introduced new arts and forms of employment, encouraged the building of a water-mill, a glass house, and salt works. As a result of his interest the planting of hemp was begun and a market established, and a plan for carrying on fishing was made and also one for coasting and foreign voyages. Many new citizens were attracted to Salem, and the church prospered greatly. In 1641, against the protestations of the people of his church, he was sent to England as a member of a commission in the interests of the colonists in regard to the laws of excise and trade.

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

While there he became involved in the revolution which ended in the death of Charles I. He became the counsellor and favored friend of Cromwell, and as such was one of those to be beheaded when the Restoration came in 1660.

In 1660 Reverend John Higginson, the son of the first teacher of the Salem Church, was ordained as the minister and continued in this capacity for forty-eight years till his death in 1708 at the age of ninety-two. In 1683 Reverend Nicholas Noyes became his colleague. It had been the custom as occasion arose to change or add to the covenant of the church, and now in 1660 the following was appended: "When also considering the power of temptation amongst us by reason of the Quakers' doctrine to the leavening of some in the place where we are, and endangering of others, (We) do see cause to remember the admonition of our Saviour Christ to his disciples. Math. 16: Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and do judge so far as we understand it that the Quakers' doctrine is as bad or worse than that of the Pharisees; therefore we do covenant by the help of Jesus Christ to take heed and beware of the doctrine of the Quakers." This covenant shows the feeling of the church and of Mr. Higginson towards the Quakers. I have referred before to the persecutions of the Quakers in Salem.

In the chapter on Witchcraft in this history reference has been made to the share that Reverend Nicholas Noyes had in the prosecution of the so-called witches. It seems fitting here to quote the words of Bentley concerning Noyes after the mania had spent itself: "Noyes came out and publicly confessed his error; never concealed a circumstance; never excused himself; visited, loved, and blessed the survivors whom he had injured; asked forgiveness always, and consecrated the residue of his life to bless mankind. He never thought, in all these things, that he had made the least compensation, but all the world believed him sincere." The following also from Bentley deserves to be quoted: "As soon as the judges ceased to condemn, the people ceased to accuse. Just as after a storm, the people were astonished to see the light at once break out bright again. Terror at the violence and the guilt of the proceedings succeeded instantly to the conviction of blind zeal, and what every man had encouraged all professed to abhor. Few dared to blame other men, because few were innocent. They who had been most active remembered that they had been

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

applauded. The guilt and the shame became the portion of the country, while Salem had the infamy of being the place of the transactions. Every expression of sorrow was found in Salem. And after the death of Mr. Higginson, whose only fault was his silent consent, the church, before the choice of another minister, publicly erased all the ignominy they had attached to the dead, by recording a most humble acknowledgement of their error. After the public mind became quiet, few things were done to disturb it. But a diminished population, the injury done to religion, and the distresses of the aggrieved were seen and felt with the greatest sorrow."

Limitations of space do not allow further treatment of the Salem Church.

The church in Lynn was formed in 1632, when Reverend Stephen Bachiler arrived with six members of his church in England and began services without installation. Soon there were disturbances within this church that caused the General Court to insist upon Mr. Bachiler's leaving town; he did so in 1636. His successor was Reverend Samuel Whiting, who made a great name for himself through his interest in education, agriculture, industry, trade, and all other things that tended to help the community. By him the disturbances of the former pastorate were smoothed out, and the whole community gathered around him in confidence and trust. Here is another instance of a minister making himself indispensable to a town. No wonder that such men were highly respected; theirs was a life of unselfish service for which we cannot give them enough credit.

The origin and methods of the Ipswich Church are interesting. Quoting from Mr. Perley in the 1888 "History of Essex County": "The church at this time was the object and the end of government; and there can be no doubt that the organization of the government here and an organization for religious instruction and worship were practically simultaneous." In April, 1634, Reverend Wilson, of Boston, went to Agawam (Ipswich) to preach because the people wanted a minister. Mr. Parker and Mr. Ward went to Agawam separately in the next two months, and according to James Cudworth, the church was established in 1634 with Mr. Ward as minister and Mr. Parker as teacher. Again Mr. Perley deserves to be quoted: "The Sabbath service ran thus: The pastor began it with prayer; the teacher then read and expounded a chapter; the ruling elders announced a Psalm,

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

which was sung; the pastor read a sermon, and sometimes followed it with an extemporaneous address, consuming frequently an hour or more; singing followed; then a prayer and a benediction. In the afternoon service, just before the benediction, the congregation recited: 'Blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it!' The singing was peculiar. One of the ruling elders read a single line of the Psalm, then such of the congregation as could sing, rose in different parts of the house and sang it; then other lines were successively read and sung till the conclusion of the Psalm. When elders were not chosen the deacons performed their duty, which gave rise to the phrase, 'Deaconing the hymn.' About 1790 the whole stanza was read at once, and about three years later the whole hymn was read at once by the pastor. Singing choirs began to be formed as early as 1763, when seats were assigned them, but they were not elevated to the gallery till about 1781. A contribution every Sunday was the rule till some part of 1763. To deposit the offerings, the magistrates and chief men first walked up to the deacon's seat, then the elders and then the congregation. There was also weekly service, which was as carefully observed as the service of the Sabbath. It was called the 'Lecture,' and was attended each week on Thursday, which was known as 'Lecture Day.' It consumed the best part of the day, beginning at eleven o'clock. It became monthly, in 1753, and our weekly prayer-meeting is its successor."

Obviously the above did not apply only to the Ipswich Church but was the general practice throughout the churches. It is opportune here to say that the Puritan Sabbath lasted from sundown on Saturday night to sundown the next day. Nothing was allowed to interfere with the keeping of that time in fitting sacredness. The so-called "Blue Laws" were enacted to provide for a quiet Sabbath. One stated that a man could not kiss his wife on Sunday. A tithing-man was appointed to see that the Sunday laws were enforced, that people should not travel or work or in any other way transgress the Sabbath and to see that people went to church and behaved themselves while there. Equipped with a long tapering rod, it was his duty to "quiet the restlessness of youth and to disturb the slumbers of age." The journal of Obadiah Turner tells of what happened in Lynn: "June 3, 1646. Allen Bridges hath been chose to wake ye sleepers in meeting. And being much proude of his place, must needs have a fox taile

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

fixed to ye end of a long staff wherewith he may brush ye faces of them yt will have napps in time of discourse, likewise a sharpe thorne whereby he may pricke such as be most sound. On ye last Lord his day, as hee strutted about ye meeting-house, he did spy Mr. Tomlins sleeping with much comfort, hys head kept steadie by being in ye corner, and his hand grasping ye rail. And soe spying, Allen did quickly thrust his staff behind Dame Ballard and gave him a grievous prick upon ye hand. Whereupon Mr. Tomlins did spring upp much above ye floore, and with terrible force strike hys hand against ye wall; and also to ye great wonder of all, prophanlie exclaim in a loud voice, curse ye woodchuck, he dreaming so it seemed yt a woodchuck had seized and bit his hand. But on coming to know where he was, and ye great scandal he had committed, he seemed much abashed, but did not speak. And I think he will not soon again goe to sleepe in meeting."

In 1635 Reverend Thomas Parker and some of his friends moved from Agawam (Ipswich) to Newbury and established a church there in that year. In 1638 the First Congregational Church was founded in Salisbury, two years before the incorporation of the town. The next church founded in this county was at Rowley, in 1639, with Reverend Ezekiel Rogers as the first pastor. There had been a church building on Cape Ann as early as 1633, but the church of Gloucester was formed in 1642 by Reverend Richard Blynman. In July of 1661 the salary of the pastor there, Reverend John Emerson, was fixed at sixty pounds a year to be paid in "Indian corn, pease, barley, fish, mackerel, beef or pork." Eleven years later it was voted that one eighth of the salary should be paid in money. In 1641 Reverend John Fiske, who had assisted Hugh Peters in Salem, settled in Wenham, but it was in 1644 that the church was established and Mr. Fiske installed as pastor. In 1655 Mr. Fiske and many of the settlers moved to Chelmsford, and the church and the town languished, but the church was revived in 1657 by Reverend Antipas Newman and has continued its work of service. A conference of the churches which was held at Rowley in 1644 appointed two churches to be formed, one at Haverhill and one at Andover (North Andover it is now called). The church in Haverhill was therefore established in 1645, the year of the incorporation of the town, and in three years a log building was erected as the meetinghouse. The heads of slain wolves were

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

nailed on the front of this house, and here it was that public notices were always posted. The trials of offenders were held in the meeting-house after services.

In Haverhill in 1651 it was voted "That Abraham Tyler shall blow his horn in the most convenient place every Lord's day for about half an hour before meeting begins." For this service he was to receive a peck of corn from each family. The next year this signal was abandoned and the beat of a drum again became the method of calling the people to worship until a bell was purchased.

There was a law in Haverhill which compelled a man to marry. One John Littlehale was called to account for the violation of this law, and it was required that he give up his "Solitary life" and live with some family. The spirit as well as the word of the law was carried out when John married at the age of sixty-six and became the father of two children. By the terms of another "Blue Law" in Haverhill two daughters of Hanniel Bosworth were fined ten shillings in 1675 because they wore silk, but the fine was remitted in 1677. Unless people owned a certain amount of property they were not allowed to wear gold or silver lace or other types of ornament.

The conference of 1644 had ordained Reverend John Woodbridge as pastor of the church in Andover, and a meetinghouse was probably erected in the next year. In Andover special laws were made for the punishment of Sabbath breakers, and the offenders were confined in cages. The minister reproved them in public, and they were heavily fined.

It is interesting to note that marriages and funerals were not considered as church affairs at first. In Bradford's "History of the Plymouth Plantation" occurs the following statement: "May 12 (1621), was the first marriage in this place, which, according to the laudable custom of the Low Countries, . . . was thought most requisite to be performed by the magistrate, as being a civil thing, . . . and nowhere found in the Gospel to be laid on the minister as a part of their office." This custom was long followed by the Congregational churches of New England. No evidence of a prayer at a funeral has been found before 1685, and no instance of a marriage by a minister before 1686.

In 1810 the first Sunday school for the religious instruction of the young was started in Beverly by Hannah Hill and Joanna B. Prince.

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

Another form of religious expression that has attracted considerable attention in recent years is Christian Science. Mary Baker G. Eddy, the founder of this movement, was born in Bow, New Hampshire, five miles from Concord, on July 16, 1821. From the book entitled "The Life of Mary Baker Eddy," written by Sibyl Wilbur, we gather that the movement received its inception in Swampscott in 1866. Here it was that the doctrine of "Mind-science" as taught by Mrs. Eddy was evolved and tried out and it was also here that her manuscript of "Science and Health" was completed. In the winter of 1869 and 1870, in Amesbury, Mrs. Eddy completed a manuscript which she entitled "The Science of Man." Although this movement has been the subject of much controversy, it must be recognized as one of the great religious movements of the twentieth century.

It would be difficult to overestimate the contributions that the Andover Theological Seminary has made to the religious and intellectual history of this country and of the world. Essex County may well feel proud of this great institution. It is with temerity that I attempt to write of this seminary, whose accomplishments have been so great.

The Great Awakening in the middle of the eighteenth century was followed by a period of indifference that affected all branches of the Christian Church. Men's energies were being directed into different channels such as industry and commerce and the development of new lands. Men's minds were absorbed by the Revolutionary War and the subsequent tasks of establishing a new government, of repairing the damages of the war, and of the economic readjustment that was necessary. Many people were frankly skeptical. Religion still had its place in the minds and hearts of the people, but it was too formal. If religion were to retain or perhaps attain its proper place, it must be made more vital. Something must be done to make religion seem more necessary.

An attempt to do just this was made by what was termed the Evangelical Reawakening at the end of the eighteenth century. Revivals spread throughout Massachusetts and Connecticut as well as in other parts of the United States, and local ministers rekindled the spark of religious enthusiasm. The effects of these revivals were shown in a new interest in missionary work at home and abroad, in evangelism, and in an increased interest in Christian education. Colleges and

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

academies were established, and soon dotted the landscape of New England.

As early as the founding of Phillips Academy in 1778 the Reverend Jonathan French, the instructor of certain students in divinity at the academy and the minister of the South Parish in Andover, made a suggestion for a seminary. In a letter to Nathaniel Niles, of Vermont, he wrote: "The students should be such only as have been graduated at some college or are otherwise qualified to enter upon the study of divinity; should tarry three years at the academy and be boarded in common. None should be allowed to enter but persons of sobriety and good morals. The president should be the first in the land for good principles, learning, and piety, if to be had; the best of libraries for the purpose be procured, and a whole course of divinity be studied, and everything practicable that may assist to qualify young gentlemen for the work of the ministry be taught."

By a clause in the will of Dr. John Phillips a sum of money was left to establish instruction in the two academies at Andover and Exeter in the study of divinity under "some eminent Calvinistic minister of the Gospel" until a regular Professor of Theology could be employed. Mr. French was the provisional incumbent of the position in Andover from 1796 to 1807. During that time twenty-some young men studied for the ministry.

Mr. Samuel Abbot, of Andover, had made money in the mercantile business in Boston. He was deeply interested in religion and shared his wealth with Harvard students and with the ministry. In 1803, upon consultation with Dr. Eliphalet Pearson and Dr. Tappan, who were also trustees of Phillips Academy, he decided to leave his money to Harvard, stipulating that it should be for the use of theological students. In 1805, when he had become convinced that the trend in Harvard was toward Unitarianism, he made a codicil to his will directing that his entire estate should be left to the trustees of Phillips Academy: "to be appropriated to the support of a Theological Professor in said Academy, of sound, orthodox, Calvinistic principles of divinity, and for the maintenance of students in divinity."

Now the time was ripe for some leader to give a definite form to these plans. Such a leader was found in Dr. Pearson. He had been the first principal of Phillips Academy and had been called to Cambridge to accept a professorship in 1786. There he made a name for

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

himself. Leonard Woods, one of his pupils at Harvard, said of him: "I have ever considered his instructions as constituting half of my collegiate education. No other officer in the college had equal influence in promoting improvement in literature, and the higher interest of morality and piety." When President Willard died in 1804, Dr. Pearson became acting president for over a year. He may have wished to succeed Willard, but when Professor Weber was chosen president, Dr. Pearson resigned and returned to Andover. He had become convinced, along with Samuel Abbot, that Harvard was becoming too liberal, and was determined upon his return to Andover to do all within his power to defend orthodoxy. He began to plan for the establishment of a theological institution "which should maintain the doctrines of the fathers of New England against the threatened apostasies of the times."

Due to the persuasive power of Dr. Pearson, Samuel Abbot saw that it would be advantageous to found such a school at once instead of waiting until after his death. While Dr. Pearson was busy with his project a movement was on foot to found an independent divinity school in Newburyport. This movement was headed by Dr. Samuel Spring, the minister at Newburyport, who represented a distinct branch of Calvinism known as the Hopkinsian branch, because it held the tenets that had been advocated by Dr. Samuel Hopkins. It is not necessary here to go into the dogma involved.

Associated with Dr. Spring was Leonard Woods, a young minister of West Newbury, and three wealthy laymen, William Bartlet, a successful merchant of Newburyport; Moses Brown, an importer of sugar and molasses in the same city, and John Norris, of Salem.

Soon Woods of one camp, and Morse of the other, discovered each other's enterprise. I am quoting from Rowe in his "History of the Andover Theological Seminary": "Immediately it was apparent to both that the two groups ought to combine forces. Both were Calvinists and equally hostile to the liberal movement in Massachusetts, and they were agreed in their purpose to provide orthodox training for the Congregational ministry. It was to require patience, long discussion, sweet reasonableness, and perseverance, before the two parties could be brought to arrange a merger."

On December 1, 1807, Spring, Pearson, and Morse met at Charlestown and agreed on an "Associate Creed," forming what was known as the "Visitatorial System."

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

The two factions were finally reconciled by the terms of the agreement, which are quoted from Rowe: "The compromise which was reached provided that the Seminary should be located at Andover, and the Trustees of the Academy should hold and administer the endowments under their charter. The original Constitution of the Founders was to stand, and the Associate Statutes of the Hopkinsians to be of equal authority. Every occupant of a chair endowed by the Associate Founders was to be a Hopkinsian. Madame Phillips and her son were to erect the building for the Seminary, Phillips Hall, and the donations offered were accepted, twenty thousand each from Abbot and Bartlet and ten thousand each from Brown and Norris, the last three gifts constituting the Associate Foundation and the donors constituting the Associate Founders. A self-perpetuating Board of Visitors was given the power to revise the acts of the Trustees, to interpret the Creed and the Associate Statutes, as occasion might arise, and to preserve the orthodoxy of the Seminary. Appeal might be made from the Visitors to the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, if they 'should exceed the limits of their jurisdiction and constitutional power,' or 'act contrary to' the statutes of the Seminary. The visitors were intended, as it was phrased, to be the censors of the school as long as the sun and moon endure, visiting it at least once a year, and to see that the true intentions of the Founders of the Seminary were carried out."

It was provided by the Associate Statutes that upon the day of his inauguration each professor appointed on the Associate Foundation should make publicly a statement of his faith "in divine revelation and in the fundamental and distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel" as stated in the creed and that once every five years he should repeat his statement and should include the following: "I do solemnly promise that I will open and explain the Scriptures to my pupils with integrity and faithfulness; that I will maintain and inculcate the Christian faith as expressed in the Creed by me now repeated, together with all other doctrines and duties of our holy religion, so far as may pertain to my office, according to the best light that God shall give me, and in opposition not only to atheists and infidels, but to Jews, Papists, Moham-medans, Arians, Pelagians, Antominians, Arminians, Socinians, Sabelians, Unitarians, and Universalists, and to all other heresies and errors, ancient and modern, which may be opposed to the gospel of

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

Christ or hazardous to the souls of men; that by my instruction, counsel, and example I will endeavor to promote true piety and godliness; that I will consult the good of this institution and the peace of the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ on all occasions; and that I will regularly conform to the constitution and laws of this Seminary, and to the statutes of this foundation."

On October 1, 1807, Mr. Woods, of Newbury, had been nominated by Samuel Abbot, of Andover, as his first Professor of Christian Theology. This endowment of a chair in Theology was the first in America outside a university. When this courtesy was reciprocated on March 2, 1808, by the appointment of Dr. Pearson as the first Professor of Natural Theology on the Associate Endowment, it was acknowledged that each side had accepted the tenets of the other and that thus the affiliation was accomplished.

On September 22, 1808, the seminary was formally opened with appropriate exercises at the South Parish Church. Dr. Pearson showed that the seminary was a logical outgrowth of the academy, and that the two institutions should work in coöperation. It has been noted that the trustees of the academy were also the trustees of the seminary.

At the afternoon session of the opening exercises, Dr. Pearson, who was a layman, was ordained, and he and Mr. Woods were installed in office. The professorship did not agree with Dr. Pearson's liking, so he resigned at the end of a year.

Due to the generosity of the Phillips family, William Bartlet, Samuel Abbot, John Norris and his wife, and Moses Brown, the seminary was established on very firm financial foundations. During the first half century of its existence some \$450,000 were available for buildings and endowment. The wealth of the institution made some feel that the seminary would overshadow the academy, and others felt that this wealth was not compatible with a theological school.

The establishment of the seminary was a very important event in American church history. Two theological groups had been united, and this augured well for the future. But all were not pleased, especially the Liberals. There was very little—if any—leeway on matters of doctrine as stated in the creed. Events were to prove that this characteristic would be a handicap when professorships became vacant. But the Founders and Associate Founders, interested

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

as they were in establishing permanent foundations, cannot be blamed for not being able to see what the future had in store. There had been enough changes. They had agreed on one definite set of opinions, and they were determined that that set should endure.

The Congregational Churches and most of the ministers were in favor of the establishment of such a theological school, as they believed in the principle of theological education. Classes at the seminary averaged approximately fifty men during the first ten years. Continuing from Mr. Rowe's account: "The Seminary marked a distinct stage of advance in theological training, and spurred the Congregationals to establish other institutions for theological education. Bangor Theological Seminary was opened at Hampden, Maine, in 1816, for students without college training, and was removed to Bangor three years later. Yale Divinity School was founded as a distinct department of the University in 1822, as Harvard Divinity School had been at Cambridge in 1815. Other denominations were seen establishing their own schools on the Andover model."

"The foundations at Andover were laid firmly. The superstructure was to be built into the lives and character of generations of theological students, and the influence of the Seminary on the Hill was to be felt around the world. For the first half century it was to train most of the pastors of the Congregational churches of Massachusetts and nearly all the foreign missionaries of the American Board, and many Presbyterians who found their field of labor in the Middle and Western States. Because of its high standards, competent instruction, and thorough discipline, Andover became a recognized leader in theology, in Biblical research, and in general contribution to the study of religion." This is indeed a noble tribute to the seminary.

The first building in what came to be called "Brick Row" was Phillips Hall, the gift of the Phillips family. The second was Bartlet Chapel, the gift of William Bartlet, of Newburyport. The third was Bartlet Hall, also erected by Mr. Bartlet. The first and third were used as dormitories, while the second contained the chapel, the library, and three class rooms.

The rude simplicity of the living conditions at the seminary was a fitting preparation for the hardships of a small country parish as for the far off mission fields. Expenses were small. There was no tuition, rent ran from two to four dollars a year, and board in Com-

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

mons was cheap. The students had to heat their own rooms, and once a year a committee was appointed to provide for the wood. There was no running water, but there was plenty of water in the wells, which the students could carry up to their rooms in pitchers. There was no heat in the dining room at all, and complaints were frequently made about this state of affairs, but I cannot find that the situation was remedied. Students had more reason to grumble about the food than they have now. Economies often seemed necessary and food often seemed to suffer in consequence. At one time molasses was substituted for meat. The story is told that one student became ill, and when a doctor was called and performed the customary operation of letting the blood, the poor sufferer oozed not blood at all—only syrup. At one time warm bread was permitted for breakfast in an attempt to compensate for the frigidity of the room, but that practice was finally ruled out because the professors thought that warm bread was not good for the students. Soon after the Commons was established, the students voted the following bill of fare: "Resolved, that for breakfast we have milk, prepared in any method most agreeable to each brother, bread and baked apples, or a substitute. For dinner one kind of meat, bread, and a sufficient quantity and variety of vegetables. For supper milk, bread, and butter." After six weeks of this it was resolved "That those brethren who cannot eat milk in the morning be furnished with water and butter instead of it." Tea and coffee were soon added to the morning repast after a vote had been taken and a member of the faculty had acted as mediator. Commons ceased to exist after 1845.

Realizing that exercises was essential to health, as well as to a muscular Christianity, the trustees demanded that the faculty should require the students to work for one or two hours a day on the land of the seminary. After twelve years a workshop was built, a stone structure in which the students fashioned, as Mr. Rowe says, "coffins, wheelbarrows and other useful articles." Of this building Sarah Stuart Robbins, in her "Old Andover Days," says further: "Thither were led—for I am sure very few went there of their own accord—the Juniors, Middlers, and Seniors, to grow into the full stature to a glorious, rounded manhood. And what do you suppose the authorities chose as among the chief objects, in the construction of which the theological students, weary, perhaps, from a lecture on the future of

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

the wicked after death, should relax their minds and invigorate their bodies? You will hardly believe me when I assure you that they were set to making—coffins! There you have a theological consistency worthy of John Calvin himself!

"Very ludicrous pictures come up before me, of scenes which we children used to see there, when we stole in during work hours, to adorn our straight hair with the beautiful shining curls of shavings. There were pale, puzzled, weary faces, bending over corners that wouldn't fit, and over boards that were too long or too short, too narrow or too wide. There were failures to hit nails on the head; there was dulling of saws, breaking of hatchets, and rasping of files;—oh, the ignorance and incompatibility are as funny to remember as they must have been hard to bear! To the participants there was nothing amusing about the scene. Each man was as solemn as if the coffin he was making were his own. We hear of theological workshops! Here was one, the like of which had never existed before, and probably can never exist again. Hammered in were the Greek and the Hebrew, homiletics and ecclesiastical history, election, free grace, natural depravity, and justification by faith—hammered down tight, and the nail clinched on the other side."

This building was later remodeled for the home of Professor Calvin E. Stowe. It was in this house that Harriet Beecher Stowe, his wife, wrote "Dred," and "The Minister's Wooing."

A typical day in the life of a student in 1819 is described in the letter of one of them to a girl of his acquaintance: "We are at present in a very small business, that is, reviewing the Greek grammar. Besides this we have the Hebrew alphabet to learn. But I have quartos around me enough to frighten a very timid man out of his senses. Our living is quite as good as I expected. . . . That you may know how much a slave a man may be at Andover, if he will follow the rules adopted by the majority, I will give the order of the day. By rising at the six o'clock bell he will hardly find time to set his room in order, and attend to his private devotions, before the bell at seven calls him to prayer in the chapel. From the chapel he must go immediately to the hall and by the time breakfast is ended, it is eight o'clock, when study hours commence and continue till twelve. Study hours again from half past one to three. Then recitation, prayer, and supper makes it six in the afternoon. Study hours again

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

from seven to nine leave just time enough for evening devotion before sleep." One wonders when the students found time to work on the seminary grounds or in the carpentry shop unless it were before six o'clock in the morning.

Several of the early professors at the seminary deserve a much fuller treatment than I can give them in this brief account. In attempting to deal with them fairly I shall quote frequently from Rowe. Eliphalet Pearson was the man largely responsible for the range of studies at the seminary, and "he established the high intellectual standards for which Andover became noted." "But the qualities that had made him a successful principal of the academy and an acceptable professor at Harvard did not fit so well the temper of a theological school, and he resigned the year after the seminary opened, though he lived fifteen years longer."

Leonard Woods, the man who with Dr. Pearson had labored incessantly to bring about the affiliation of the Andover and Newburyport schools, as a member of the faculty reconciled the two schools of thought represented in the seminary as far as possible. He charged his pupils to keep close to the Bible as the test of doctrine, for he believed that it was the immediate gift of the Holy Spirit, and so infallible and of divine authority. He was equally sure that Calvinism was essential to the prosperity of the church and nation, and that a theological school with any other system of doctrine would be a curse rather than a blessing. It is symbolic of Andover's staunch theology that the first book to be drawn from the seminary library was a volume of the works of Jonathan Edwards. That Professor Woods was loyal to the Hopkinsian principle that one should be willing to be damned for the glory of God, appeared when on the occasion of the birth of his fifth child he was in doubt whether he should ask God to save all his children."

The field that he was asked to cover in his teaching was vast and perhaps somewhat hard to comprehend by the average layman today. "He was enjoined by the Andover constitution to lecture on divine revelation, on Biblical inspiration as proved by the miracle and prophecy and by internal evidence and historical facts; on the great doctrines and duties of religion, and the refutation of objections, 'more particularly on the revered character of God'; on the fall of man and human depravity, the nature of grace and the atonement of

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

Christ; the Holy Spirit; the Scriptural doctrines of regeneration, justification, sanctification, repentance, faith, and obedience; on the future state; on the positive institutions of Christianity; and on the nature and interpretation of prophecy."

Professor Woods believed that the students should be guided in their personal religious life, and so he originated a Wednesday evening meeting which all the students were expected to attend and at which all questions pertaining to Christian doctrine were discussed.

Professor Woods died in 1854 and was buried in the plot of ground east of the campus which had been set aside by the trustees in 1810 as a burying ground for those who were connected with either the seminary or the academy. "It has been remarked that there are more brains to the square foot in Chapel Cemetery at Andover than in any similar plot of ground in America."

When a successor to Dr. Pearson was needed, the seminary was fortunate in obtaining the services of Dr. Moses Stuart, who had been since 1806 the pastor of the First Church in New Haven. "Stuart came to Andover to lecture on the form, the preservation and the transmission of the Bible; on the original languages, including the Septuagint version; on the history, character, and authority of other versions and manuscripts; on the authenticity of Scripture; on the Apocrypha; on modern translations; on the canons of Biblical criticism; and on the various readings and difficult passages in the Bible."

Dr. Stuart was appointed to the chair of sacred literature, but he knew neither Hebrew nor German. He set himself to the task of learning these languages and became so proficient at Hebrew especially that he has been called "the father of Hebrew literature in America." When he could find no one who knew how to set the Hebrew type which he had imported, he set it up himself on his little printing press which was installed in Shipman's store. He soon taught others how to set the type and was responsible for the first Hebrew grammar printed in this country.

Dr. Stuart mastered German literature and became thoroughly acquainted with German scholarship. "He introduced his students to modern critical literature in German, to the alarm of certain conservative brethren, but he was admired and trusted by his pupils, and he was popular because of his earnestness and his pleasantries in the classroom." It must have been a keen pleasure to sit at the feet of a

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

man who could make interesting the task of learning Hebrew grammar. "The Bible under his keen and inspiring investigations seemed to glow with new light and beauty."

At the beginning of each year Dr. Stuart would lecture his students about regulating their lives so as to get up at five and to go to bed at ten, and would tell them to make notes about what they ate so that they would learn just what agreed with him. He even prescribed their exercise and study. Even though he was honored abroad as well as at home for his scholarship, he always had time for his students, except at his morning study hours. He divided the Wednesday night sessions with Dr. Woods.

At the semi-centennial of the seminary, Leonard Bacon said of Dr. Stuart: "It was his teaching and influence that gave celebrity to Andover as a seat of sacred learning." Continuing from Rowe: "It was because of this that he became recognized as the prince of Biblical learning in America. It was he who set the standards and fixed the methods of Biblical study for the next generation, for he remained at his post in Andover for thirty-eight years until 1848. Men who sat at his feet went to imitate him in their teaching at other seminaries, not only in the Bible, but in the classics as well, for his sound philological methods gained general approval." Dr. Stuart's influence was felt on the mission fields, too. "Miron Winslow, class of 1818, translated the Bible into the Tamil tongue of India and compiled a Tamil-English lexicon, and Samuel A. Worcester, class of 1823, translated parts of the Bible into the language of the Cherokees in America, setting an example to other missionaries."

Dr. Ebenezer Porter, a graduate of Dartmouth, was appointed in 1812 to succeed Dr. Griffin as professor of sacred rhetoric. He had a very pleasing personality, which attracted his students, was very methodical in his methods, and so industrious in his studies that his health was impaired. He refused the presidencies of the University of Vermont and the University of Georgia, and was considered for the presidency by Hamilton, Middlebury, and Dartmouth. Perhaps these calls suggested to the trustees that the office of the president of the seminary should be created. Dr. Porter was elected to this office in 1827. He resigned his professorship in 1831, but remained president until his death in 1834.

It is no wonder that a school which had such a group as Stuart, Woods, and Porter as members of its faculty in its early years should

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

have attained such a reputation. It would have been remarkable if it had not.

The early curriculum of the seminary is interesting and I shall quote from Mr. Rowe's book: "It remained an accepted principle of the Seminary instruction that the main consideration of the first year should be the study of Biblical languages and literature, that the second year should be devoted almost entirely to theology, and that the third year should provide training in homiletics"—the art of preaching. "This arrangement gave to each professor an opportunity to monopolize the attention of the student during his allotted time. During the reign of the triumvirate, Woods, Stuart, and Porter, this general scheme was modified slightly, but as late as 1839 the curriculum of the Junior class was: Stuart's Hebrew Grammar; *Chrestomathy*"—the study of choice passages—"written exercises, including translations from English into Hebrew; study of the Hebrew Bible; the principles of Hermeneutics"—the interpretation of Scripture—"New Testament Greek and exegesis of the Four Gospels; lectures preparatory to the study of theology; natural theology; evidences of Revelation; inspiration of the Scriptures; Hebrew Exegesis; Greek; Pauline epistles twice a week; criticism and exegetical compositions.

"The Middle class met five days a week for instruction in Christian theology. Compositions on the principal topics of theology were examined in private. Exegesis of the New Testament was continued once a week, to keep the student in training, and there was instruction on special topics in sacred literature. It was natural enough that so much attention should be given to theology. The Congregational and Presbyterian churches were indoctrinated in Calvinism to such a degree that a minister needed to be a master. He was expected to preach doctrinal sermons, and he must be ready to defend the faith against all comers. Always there was danger that the emphasis on sound doctrine in the Seminary should divert chief attention from religion itself to the science of religion. This was counteracted by the religious influence of the professors and particularly by the Wednesday evening conferences, by Sunday worship, and by the mutual fellowship of the students.

"The Senior class had as the major part of the curriculum lectures on the philosophy of rhetoric, sermons, and the preparation of their

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

own, with criticism from the professor of sacred rhetoric both in public and in private. But lectures on the history of Christian doctrine kept up the study of theology, and critical and exegetical lectures on the Hebrew and Greek Testaments still had a place. For all classes there was public declamation once a week, and private lessons in elocution. Lectures on the Apocalypse were given every three years, that each generation of Seminary students might know how to interpret that puzzling Scripture.

"The climax of the scholastic year came at the Anniversaries, when every class was examined publicly before the assembled Trustees, Visitors, and the public, both lay and clerical, who packed the available space in Bartlet Chapel. Many persons stood throughout the exercises; some could not get into the chapel at all. The crowds were so large that the sheriff and the constable were requested to aid in preserving order. The Junior class was examined in Hebrew and Old Testament and New Testament criticism, the Middle class exhibited essays on theological subjects, the Seniors exhibited similar essays and were examined in sacred rhetoric. The examinations were thorough. Professor Park's examination in theology is known to have lasted all day. But they did not include all the subjects that had been discussed during the year. A student had a chance to distinguish himself before an appreciative audience, or he might get a reputation that injured him for years to come. The exercises closed with an address from a member of the Senior class. The written papers that were submitted were considered worth preserving in the Library."

This curriculum is interesting because it shows the emphasis that was placed on the fundamentals. A graduate of the seminary would be well grounded in his facts and have the ability to express these facts. He would be equipped to defend his beliefs and doctrines against disbelievers. He would be a powerful champion of the church. This genuineness cannot escape anyone who searches for the reason why this seminary attained such a high place in religious circles or why added prestige was his who was a graduate of this seminary.

As one studies the history of the seminary he is impressed with the ability of its professors. I have dwelled at some length on four of them, but the limitations of space do not allow treatment of such men as Dr. Edward D. Griffin, Dr. James Nurdock, Dr. Justin Edwards, Bela B. Edwards, Austin Phelps, Calvin E. Stowe, W. G. T. Shedd, and Elijah Barrows.

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

During the Civil War the seminary, of course, gave its support to the North. A society for the abolition of slavery had been formed some fifteen years before the war broke out. Students enlisted in the army and graduates joined as chaplains or soldiers until the seminary was represented by sixty-five men.

As time went on abundant financial aid was given to allow the seminary to acquire more professors and increase the salaries, to build a library, Brechin Hall, which was completed in 1866, to provide scholarship funds, and to build a new stone chapel which was dedicated in 1875. By 1877 eight professors were on the roll. The curriculum remained much as it had been. To use the words of Mr. Rowe: "Exegesis was still the normal grist of the first year, dogmatic theology of the second, and homiletics or history of the third."

When the migration toward the west began, the students at the seminary were quick to respond to the challenge. "To lay out the streets and plant the foundations of literature and religion and to give shape to the institutions of society." Rowe continues: "It was this sense of responsibility that led three Andover students to discuss the plan of a national home missionary society, as they were riding in a stagecoach to a funeral at Newburyport, and that evening to talk it over at the house of Professor Porter. Nathaniel Bouton, who originated the idea, Aaron Foster, and Hiram Chamberlain were the students. Not long afterward Foster discussed the matter before the Porter Rhetorical Society, advocating the settlement of local pastors as well as the itineracy of evangelists. His appeals were seconded by John Maltby at a special meeting of the Society. He urged planting in every little community that is raising up men of learning and influence, to impress their characters upon those communities—a system that shall gather the resources of philanthropy, patriotism and Christian sympathy throughout our country into one vast reservoir from which a stream shall flow to Georgia and to Louisiana, to Missouri and to Maine! The result was the application of six seniors for ordination as home missionaries. This resulted in the organization of the American Home Missionary Society in 1826."

Andover men founded churches in Chicago and St. Louis, and established missions in the districts of Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, and Ohio. A testimony to the hardships that were endured and to the help that was rendered is given in a letter that was written by Ferris

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

Fitch, who had founded a settlement at Lower Sandusky, Ohio: "During the summer the water is stagnant, and the land through which the river passes in its passage to the lake is prairie. When the vegetation begins to decay and the north wind to blow in the fall of the year, it rolls up the very quintessence of swamp miasma. In a village of one thousand people I have counted rising of five hundred at once. I have spent three months in visiting the sick without asking till Sabbath morning what I should preach. My hearers of course at such a time are few. I have had eighty die within the bounds of my parish in one year. I have lived one month without taking off my clothes save for washing, or without lying down on a bed but once, then only for a few hours. I would get a little rest at night on a sofa in a sick room. I was often abroad at midnight, out at all hours. My family were sick, but amidst it all I enjoyed good health, and hardly knew what it was to be weary." There was no task that most of these missionaries would not or could not do.

Every Andover class between the years 1826 and 1858 except one sent at least one representative to the missionary work in the West. These men went into thirty-three states from Maine to Texas. To show that the enthusiasm for such work did not lessen during the last part of the nineteenth century, we note that sixty-five men went from Andover between the years 1873 and 1900.

Rowe tells the story of the founding of the Iowa Band: "In the class of 1843 at Andover twelve men fell into the custom of meeting in the Library by moonlight for prayer. The need of the frontier people for spiritual help weighed upon their hearts. One of the number, Horace Hutchinson, had spoken a suggestion that was bearing fruit. 'If we and some others,' he said to two of his classmates, 'could only go out together and take possession of some field, where we could have the ground and work together, what a grand thing it would be.' The prayer group in the darkness was seeking for light on the future. After considering the possibilities of different sections, they decided to plan for a coöperative enterprise in Iowa." This Iowa Band retained their Congregationalism and changed the course of denominational history. Before this time many who had gone out West as Congregationalists became Presbyterians, and thus the former denomination was weakened by the very movement which should have made it stronger.

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

In 1866 there was organized the Kansas Band. One of the men, Sylvester D. Storrs, organized more than one hundred Congregational churches in twelve years. Another, Grosvenor C. Morse, established a State Normal College. In 1892 the Maine Band was founded by five members of that class.

About two hundred and fifty men belong to the Andover Roll of Honor as home missionaries. Rowe pays them the following tribute. "They helped to build that interior empire which has become the heart of America, saved to Christianity and a cultured civilization by the churches and schools that they established."

No words can better express Andover's part in foreign missionary work than those of Mr. Rowe: "It is Andover's pride that her sons were pioneers in the foreign mission enterprise of the American churches. It was they who challenged the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts to find a way to send them as their representatives to the pagan people on the other side of the world. Out of Andover Theological Seminary went some of her firstborn to plant Christianity in Burma and peninsula India. A few years later others were making Palestine and Syria their goal, planting the banner of the Cross where the Crescent held the right of way. Soon still others were sailing to the heart of the Pacific and wresting Hawaii from grossness and idolatry. So splendid was Andover's contribution that the history of the missions of the American Board for the first quarter of a century is the story of Andover men and their sacrificial service. Repeatedly that service was the surrender of life itself, but as soon as one in the front line fell another was ready to step into his place. No more compelling is the call of the South to the waterfowl when the summer wanes, than was the Macedonian call from heathendom to the dormitories and classrooms on Andover Hill. They became preachers and teachers, writers and translators, advisors and administrators. They entered Asia from the west and from the east and dared the hostility of the Turks and Chinese in the hinterland. They risked fevers on the tropical west coast of Africa and cholera in India and Persia. They created civilization in the Sandwich Islands, and they saw paganism crumble slowly in Ceylon. They planted schools for Greeks and Bulgarians, and healed the wounds of Armenian refugees. They threaded ways that are dark in China, and tried to penetrate behind the polite exterior of Japan. They were all things to all men if by any means they might gain some."

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

The Society of Inquiry on the Subject of Missions was organized at Andover on January 8, 1811, with the expressed purpose "to inquire into the state of the heathen; the duty and importance of missionary labors; the best manner of conducting missions and the most eligible place for their establishment; also to disseminate information relative to these subjects; and to incite the attention of Christians to the importance and duty of missions."

It was necessary for the would-be foreign missionaries to interest the ministers in their enterprise. After a discussion with Dr. Stuart four of the six Andover students went before the General Association of Massachusetts which was meeting at Bradford, and told the association their plan. The association was quick to accept this plan, and by unanimous action organized the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This board was originally composed of nine men, all from Massachusetts, but the next year four of the nine representatives were from Connecticut, and in two years the Presbyterians joined in the enterprise. Thus Andover Hill had been the home of the origin of missionary work both at home and abroad.

The first group of missionaries who sailed in 1811 for India included Adoniram Judson, who became a Baptist and accomplished much in Burma. In 1819 a mission was sent to the Sandwich Islands when Bingham and Thurston, Andover 1819, sailed in the fall of that year. Bingham stayed thirty-five years before he returned, and Thurston stayed forty-eight. For several years Daniel C. Greene was professor of New Testament exegesis in Doshisha College. Doshisha is one of the monuments that American education and religious fervor has built. Its founder was Joseph Neesima, who had studied at Andover.

Elias Riggs left the seminary in 1832, first saw service in Greece, and then he worked among the Greeks in Smyrna. The Armenians next claimed his interest and then the Bulgarians. In Constantinople he translated the whole Bible into Bulgarian. Here in his workshop he turned out all types of religious literature in Armenian, Turkish, Bulgarian, and Chaldee.

Daniel Bliss went out from Andover and founded the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut. In thirty-six years he saw it grow from sixteen to six hundred students.

The story of Andover's missionary enterprise would not be complete without mentioning Robert H. Hume. He was born in Bom-

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

bay, the son of a missionary. He completed his theological preparation at Andover after two years at the Yale Theological School, and then went to India. I shall again quote from Rowe: "Locating at Ahmednagar, he made that city his future home and there he established and built up a theological seminary. His constructive labors in that school and the variety of his active leadership made Hume the outstanding missionary in India. Besides his care of the seminary he had the superintendency of the Parner district west of the city for forty years. He sent out more than two hundred personally trained evangelists and teachers, and many churches and schools and one thousand conversions were the result. He was at one time or another principal of boys' and girls' schools, and editor of the Anglo-Marathi periodical. In addition to his service of his own denominational mission he sustained the common cause of Christianity, serving on committees of various organizations, and frequently as an officer. He was district secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, president of the All-India Christian Endeavor Union, and the first moderator of the United Church of Northern India, of which the Congregationalists were a constituent member. For his service in his administration of funds for famine relief in the closing years of the century he received the Kaiser-i-Hind medal from the British Government. Altogether Hume saw fifty-two years of service. He was one of the far-sighted leaders who helped the missionaries make the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century."

Much more might be said about the missionary work originating in Essex County, but I have tried to give enough examples to portray something of the work that was done and to list the contributions of some of the missionary motive. Henry C. Haskell, who had been a missionary in Bulgaria for twenty-five years, wrote to the Society of Inquiry at Andover that though the Bulgarians had had a nominal Christian background for over a thousand years, their moral and spiritual condition showed that their form of religion was utterly incapable of bringing the people into fellowship with God. The American Congregationalists interpreted that as a justification of all their efforts. These workers attempted to teach the people to live their lives more fully, to educate them, and to help them to come in closer, more meaningful contact with their Creator. Among the Indians in this country the task of the missionaries was to teach them

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

to do useful things with their hands, to educate them as well as to teach them the truth about religion. It was not necessary for the missionaries to teach or preach religion if they practiced it and showed the people that it would work and that they could not get along without it.

At the one hundredth anniversary of the American board in Boston a visit was made to Andover and the following inscription was placed on a boulder as a memorial to those missionaries who had carried Andover's message around the world:

"In the 'Missionary Woods' once extending to this spot
the first missionary Students of Andover Seminary
walked and talked one hundred years ago, and on
this secluded knoll met to pray.

In memory of these men

Adoniram Judson	Samuel Nott	Samuel J. Mills
Samuel Newell	Gordon Hall	James Richards
	Luther Rice	

whose consecrated purpose to carry the Gospel to the
heathen world led to the formation of the first
American Society for Foreign Missions.

In recognition of the two hundred and forty-eight
missionaries trained in Andover Seminary and
in gratitude to Almighty God, this stone is set up
in the centennial year of the American Board.

1910."

Professor Edwards A. Park has been called the champion of orthodoxy, of Calvinism with its theory of original sin, atonement through Christ, and reconciliation. Men of his stamp believed that certain truths abide in the very nature of things and these truths do not change. Hence a doctrine founded on those truths cannot change. Park was the "last of the old guard" of this system of theology. He was not interested in Biblical criticism or scientific theory because he saw no place for them. An arrangement was made by the trustees that Professor Park should publish his theological ideas. He would be relieved of active teaching, receive a salary of twenty-five hundred dollars a year, and retain his residence as long as he lived. Thus he retired in 1881.

This was just the time when the "new theology," a desire to make religious doctrine more social and more human, was making itself manifest. So it was natural that difficulties of a theological nature

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

would arise when a successor to Dr. Park was sought. It would be practically impossible to find a man with the same conviction and with the same ability to state those convictions, one who would be a champion of the faith for which Andover had stood. The trend in theology was changing. The faculty recognized this change and suggested to the trustees the name of Newman Smyth, but the trustees would not agree to his appointment because, as Rowe says: "Smyth had criticised the New England theology as essentially rationalistic and mechanical, and preferred a philosophy which should find room for 'the relation of the whole man through the person of Christ to the whole God.' Theology should be cristocentric and its spirit less static. Experience rather than reason, a theology resting on Biblical criticism rather than anybody's logical interpretation, an ethical rather than a dogmatic emphasis—these were the dynamic principles of his art. Others had been saying the same thing."

Of the new professors at Andover at this time William Jowett Tucker "was among the first to see the social implications of the Christian religion." I am quoting from Rowe: "His pastoral experience had made him understand and sympathize with the aspirations of the working folk. He faced the new period that was dawning with a realization that theological concepts and formulas must be changed. He was an interpreter of a dynamic Christian thought, as Park was of a static theology. But it was his moral leadership which made him a power in pulpit and classroom. In his department of homiletics he taught what he exemplified, that it is the consecrated personality of the preacher which makes his sermons effective. He joined heartily in the modernizing process through which the Seminary was passing, and his courage and strength, with his ability to make the Congregational constituency see the reasonableness of the Faculty, were a bulwark to his colleagues in a time of stress."

In 1883 five new professors were added to the faculty. Some of them like Professor Harris represented the new type of theology. Soon after this five of the faculty became a board to edit the "Andover Review" for the purpose of explaining the new philosophy, the "progressive orthodoxy." The new spirit manifested in this term is explained by Rowe: "The Andover Faculty would put life into the dry bones of orthodoxy, not destroy it. They found inspiration in a Bible that was a progressive revelation of God's dealing with men, in

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

a Spirit patiently wooing humankind to allegiance to the highest ideals, in a hope that God's purpose for the world would not be defeated by paganism, but that in His good way and time He would get His appeal to them and win their response. They were not skeptics or Unitarians, but it was difficult for those who held the old point of view to see anything but heresy in the new."

The whole doctrinal controversy was brought to a head by charges of heresy that were brought against the five editors of the "Andover Review" in 1886. Professor Egbert C. Smyth was singled out for judgment because of his unorthodox theological ideas. The charges against the four other professors, Hincks, Tucker, Harris, and Churchill, were not sustained since the secretary of the Board of Visitors declined to vote except in the case of Professor Smyth. The trustees found the charges against Smyth ill founded and they therefore supported him with legal counsel. The case was brought before the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts in 1890 and again in 1892, but was dismissed because the visitors did not see fit to carry it further.

The case had been a severe strain upon the members of the faculty, who although handicapped, had carried on their teaching without a break. The case had also resulted in a decline in attendance at the seminary, because students did not want to go to a school where they might be involved in such issues; moreover, it might be hard for them to get a parish if they were tainted with heterodoxy. The hands of the Liberals had been strengthened, but at a real cost to the seminary.

In 1896 the faculty suggested to the trustees that the seminary should grant the degree of Bachelor of Divinity to "students who had had College training and who had completed the full course at Andover." The trustees agreed, and the Massachusetts Legislature granted the privilege.

About the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century anxiety began to be felt about the future of the school. To quote from Rowe: "Since the new century opened the conviction had been growing that something more was necessary than to hope for the rejuvenation of the old school. The controversy of twenty years earlier had weakened the Seminary seriously. The new temper of the age which was finding in life rather than in theology the best expression of religion, was impatient of outworn creeds and doubtful of the value

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

of institutions that were based on such creeds. Particularly were college men shy about connecting themselves with a school that had a reputation for theological difficulties and still required its faculty to give lip service to ancient symbols. Recovery from the theological depression had been discouragingly slow. It began to seem as if the school might not live much longer unless something radical was attempted." The reason for the founding of the seminary and the reason for its decline was essentially the same—indifference to the set form of religious doctrine and of man's relationship to God. Andover had attempted to adopt a vital form of religious doctrine and expression, but had made that form so rigid that it was not accepted at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In spite of the unfriendly relations between Harvard and the seminary at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it seemed feasible to some of the trustees that Andover and the Harvard Divinity School at Cambridge should be affiliated if a suitable plan could be arranged, but no such plan was apparent. The alumni of Andover were not in favor of such a move.

It had also been felt that the seminary should have a board of trustees which should be independent of the academy board of trustees. It was necessary to obtain the consent of the Massachusetts Legislature for such a move. "In 1907," quoting from Rowe, "the Legislature accordingly incorporated the persons then constituting the Trustees of Phillips Academy as the Trustees of Andover Theological Seminary, to be governed by all the provisions and regulations as to organization, membership, etc., by which the Trustees of Phillips Academy were governed, and to hold all the property then held by the Academy Trustees for the benefit of the Seminary 'subject to all trusts and conditions upon which the property had been held by the Trustees of Phillips Academy.' Upon the establishment of the new corporation the Trustees of Phillips Academy transferred to it the land and buildings occupied by the Seminary, together with all invested funds held for the benefit of the Seminary. Most of those who were trustees of Phillips Academy when the act of 1907 was passed and who under the act became the first trustees of Andover Theological Seminary resigned, and their places were taken by men who were primarily interested in the Seminary, thus recognizing the fact that the Academy and the Seminary had grown apart and that one governing body was no longer suitable."

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

A committee of alumni had been appointed to sound out the alumni on the question of the affiliation of Andover with Harvard and the removal to Harvard. The committee reported that the consensus of opinion was against affiliation and removal because it was felt (to quote from Rowe) "that the small number of students at the Harvard Divinity School over a period of twenty-five years did not give much encouragement for an increase in attendance near the University. The decline of interest of students in the colleges regarding the ministry as a profession was by no means limited to the Andover constituency. One man said, 'An empty Seminary is as well off at Andover as at Cambridge.'"

But the trustees saw advantages in the affiliation that would offset the objections. Using Rowe's words: "It was expected that the Seminary would have increased facilities, that the Faculty would be given equal standing with the Faculty of the Harvard Divinity School, and that Andover would retain its full independence. It would be possible to have a plant that would house the library adequately and that would be modern in every way. Most important of all was the opportunity to acquaint the students with the values of psychology, sociology, and ethics, and other sciences of recent development, which could not be provided at Andover with the limited resources of the Seminary. The social passion, which had been felt at Andover and had led to the foundation of Andover House as a social settlement in Boston, could be fostered and guided in the new environment. The trustees recognized in Cambridge the historic shrine of education in America. The University enjoyed freedom of thought and discussion. It could furnish the highest type of intellectual culture along with the theological discipline. And that was a Congregational tradition." The trustees finally voted for removal on March 12, 1908.

In 1908 the Reverend Albert Parker Fitch had been chosen as Bartlet professor of sacred rhetoric and president of the faculty of the seminary. Due to his energy and influence the eight years of his administration was a period of growth in student attendance and in expansion of the seminary. Thirty-four students were on the roll at the end of his third year, while only twelve had been enrolled at the beginning of his first. About that time affiliation had been established with the Episcopal Theological School of Cambridge. In 1911 Andover Hall was dedicated, and thus the necessary physical equipment was provided.

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

But things had not gone well with the school. The war had interfered and in 1918 one student graduated and only thirteen were enrolled. In 1922 an arrangement was attempted for the closer affiliation of Andover and Harvard, and the name of the joint institution was to be "The Theological School in Harvard University." This plan was set aside by a decision of the Judicial Court of Massachusetts in 1925, because such an affiliation was not allowed by the original constitution, associate statutes, and other fundamental doctrines, although it "had become impossible for any theological scholar to subscribe to the Creed if literally interpreted." In 1926 the faculty resigned and instruction was suspended by vote of the trustees.

It did not seem right that the seminary which had rendered such wonderful service should be allowed to die, so proceedings were instituted by the trustees and visitors before the Supreme Judicial Court. "On April 10, 1931," according to Rowe, "the Court entered a decree reciting that it had become impossible to carry out the purpose of the founders and the subsequent benefactors of the Seminary so long as the creedal requirements of the Constitution and Statutes were strictly enforced, and relieving the Trustees and Visitors from the necessity of complying with these requirements except to the extent of seeing to it that the theological views held by the professors and by the members of the Board of Visitors are in conformity with those obtaining among Trinitarian Congregationalists generally."

But still the seminary was in a dilemma. Andover lacked the endowment to resume instruction alone, her old buildings at Andover had been sold to Phillips Academy, and Andover Hall in Cambridge was not available. And then a way out appeared. Andover had received an invitation from the Newton Theological Institution to join forces. Andover was Congregational and Newton was Baptist, but that did not matter, for denominational lines no longer set up the barrier that they formerly had.

In 1930, while the Court proceedings were going on, the invitation was formally accepted by the proper authorities, and undergraduate instruction was resumed at the beginning of the year 1931-32. The name of the new school was to be the "Andover Newton Theological School," and it was to be located at Newton Centre. The affiliation has been most friendly and it is hoped that it will remain so. At last a quarter of a century of unrest had resulted in an amicable and profit-

RELIGION IN ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

able arrangement, thanks to those who had kept the purpose of and the interest in the seminary ever before them.

We have thus seen the vital part that Essex County has played in the development of organized religion. The first Congregational Church founded on the soil of this country was in Salem in 1629, and the first Sunday school was founded in Beverly in 1810. It was in this county that George Whitefield did so much to revivify religion and it is in Newburyport that his body rests. Here it was that in 1808 the Andover Theological School was founded in which the impetus was given for the beginning of missionary work at home and abroad and where most of the Congregational ministers of the first half of the nineteenth century in Massachusetts received their training. Well may the accomplishments of Essex County, in religion as well as in many other matters, be admired.

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"Old New England Churches and Their Children"—Dolores Bacon, New York, 1906.

"Old Andover Days"—Sarah Stuart Robbins, Boston, 1908.

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"The Founding of New England"—J. T. Adams, Boston, 1927.

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The above article constitutes a chapter in "The Story of Essex County," of which Claude M. Fuess, Ph. D., Litt. D., is editor-in-chief, and Mr. Paradise is compiler. The history is to appear later in the year from the press of The American Historical Society, Inc.



A Ritual Parchment and Certain Historical Charts of the Bois Fort Ojibwa of Minnesota

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WHILE the writer was curio collector and ethnological contributor to the National Museum (the then Victoria Museum) of Canada, while Indian Agent of the Bois Fort Ojibwa at Nett Lake, Minnesota, 1909-14, he obtained several birch-bark ritual and historical charts. Among these were the ritual and historical charts of this paper.

FARMER JOHN'S RED MEDICINE DANCE WIGWAM PARCHMENT

Explanation of Figures—The name of the ceremony this chart represents is O-nah-man-ne me-dahwiwim or Red Medicine Dance.

E is used to indicate that that end of the parchment is east in the drawing.

The post in the wigwam is 8 feet high and has the effigy of an owl on it. Figure 1 is the sun; 2 the morning star; 3 the moon; 4 is the outline of Lake Superior out of which the sun, moon and stars rise; 5 is the home of the gods; 6 is the journey of the medicine god who taught the Indians the mystery of the order. Figure 7, the interpretation of this figure is not now known (this parchment belonged to Farmer John, who is now dead, having died August 13, 1910, at the age of 105 years); 8 (which includes all the large circles) is the sweat houses of the gods, one toward each of the four winds; 9 is the lodge house, or dance hall; and 10 are figures of snakes.

Description of Dance, Etc.—The Red Medicine dance represented by this parchment, is had to cure the sick. Many years ago, my father, Farmer John, was sick, so he gathered together many blankets, traps, guns, and other valued Indian things. He gave all these to the medicine men and they gave him this "map of medicine." It was then old like it is now. It was my father's father's map. It

A RITUAL PARCHMENT

depicts a medicine ceremony which is a modification of the second degree in the Grand Medicine Lodge. The first time my father's father was sick he gave a big dance to the medicine men (that is, furnished the feasts, took the degree, etc.), the second time he was sick he got this map (he had to take two degrees to get it). My father later gave it to me.

Requisites for the degree represented by the parchment:

For one who is initiated in this degree, he must furnish 4 dogs for the feast, 8 blankets, 200 yards of goods, 3 pails, and a twist of home-made tobacco eight feet long (each medicine man is given a piece eight inches long). A feast of two pails of eatables each for ten days is also to be furnished by him.

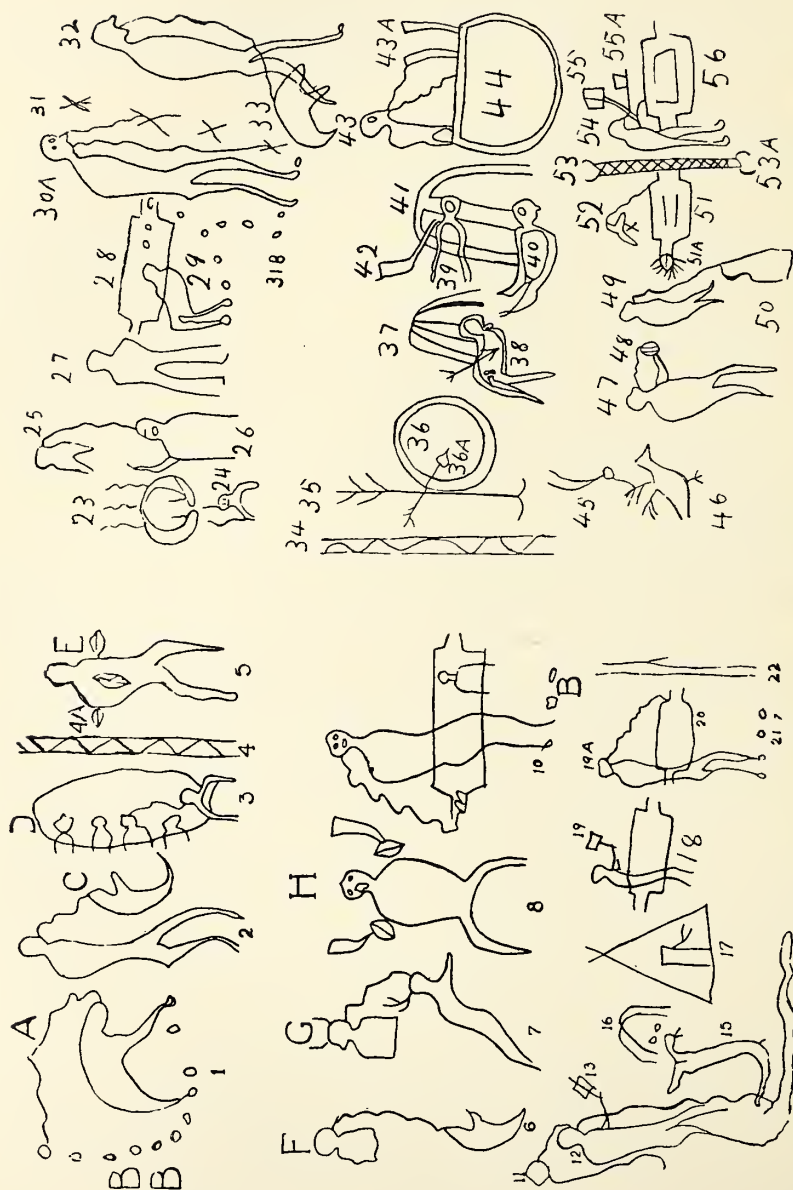
In this dance four old men dance as principals; 16 other actors "shoot the shells." Each actor also carries as a token the skin of a little young bear. Then after the dance everyone goes to the sweat house for purification, a ceremony in which about 50 rocks are used in the steam-heating process.

Remarks:

The writer has not seen this dance, but has seen where it had been had. At Farmer John's Landing on Pelican Lake there are remains of this sort of a dance in the lines of mounds and trenches. There is also another remain in the vicinity of Rainy Lake City, on Way-we-zhe-quam-aish-kung's allotment No. 247, on the Lot 5, Sec. 33, T 71, R. 22 west, of Duluth Land Office District. Here the sweat houses are shown very distinctly. As at Farmer John's Landing on Pelican Lake, the sites are here marked by heaps of earth in mound fashion around which a trench has been dug (No. 10 in the drawing of the parchment, the trench there said to represent a snake). The earth-works of both of these sites are recent, neither appearing to be over two decades old. It would further seem that these sweat houses were entirely of earth, or the mounds which now make up the respective sites were raised platforms on which the sweat houses were erected. This might also account for some of the other mounds in the region.

I have been advised by Indians that this dance is first had in the "home of the gods," number 5 of the parchment, then around the circles (No. 4) which represents the Great Lake (Superior) from out of which the sun, moon and stars rise. These ceremonies are secret and cover many days. Here the rites and mysteries of the degree are

A RITUAL PARCHMENT



14
CHIEF MOSES DAY DAYWAYWAINDUNG'S MEDICINE BARK (HISTORY CHART) PARCHMENT
PLATE 1

A RITUAL PARCHMENT

taught the novitiate. Then follows the open dance in the wigwam (No. 9), where all may look on but only the initiated may enter the inclosure. After the "inside" dance is completed a one-day dance is held in the open wigwam in which every participant partakes of the sweat bath ceremonies, amid chantings of the medicine men.

AN HISTORICAL CHART OF THE MIGRATIONS OF THE BOIS FORT INDIANS

As we know, the Bois Fort Indians (Dugahwinninewug—men of the thick fir and hard woods) came from the vicinity of the Sault St. Marie and the Straits of Mackinac around the north shores of Lake Superior in historic times; and just prior to the coming of the white man they, no doubt, lived still farther eastward. By many it is believed that their westward journeying began on the shores of the Atlantic. They have historic charts of these migrations. A copy of one of these is here appended, an historical sketch and explanation of this chart having been obtained from Ta-ta-gaush-eke (Mrs. Farmer John) and other Bois Fort Indians, the chart itself having been obtained from Chief Farmer John.

This is the chart of the journeying of our people (Mrs. Farmer John talking). Once we lived on the other side of the second big lake toward the rising sun. But our journey has been by the lakes toward where the sun goes to rest at night. The figures on the parchment are:

1. Lake Huron.
2. Lake Superior.

We now consider them as good Manido (Manito). They are gods and are represented as talking to the people (Indians) in the drawing. The four men standing on the margin of the lake are given power to talk for the manido.

No. 4 is the south skyline, the trail of the sun through the heavens. The east wigwam on the skyline is where the sun starts in the morning, the middle one is where he stops at mid-day, and the one in the west is where he stops to rest at night. 7, is a manido smoking a pipe. He is the peace manido; 9, in the center of Lake Huron, is a big rocky island where big molluscan shells are to be found; 13, in Lake Superior, is also a big rocky island with big shells. When the ice is frozen over the lakes the gods walk across to these islands with the big shells.

A RITUAL PARCHMENT

The men, shown on the outer circle-line of each of the Great Lakes, are the Oskah-bais men and are the same on both sides of the lakes. They are the chief manido and are directly represented by the chief performers in the medicine dances, who are also the ushers and the distributors of gifts.

10 and 11 are lakes.

The bear below the lakes in the drawing (not marked) has a trail around the lakes as is shown by his tracks. He journeys continually westward, as does the bear above them. These are the originators of the medicine lodges and the ceremonies performed in them. They are the medicine manido.

12 are pillars representing the stopping places of the gods, halfway between the two lakes.

14 is a young lion. He is the mountain lion manido, the manido of strength. 15 is a half-otter and a half-fish animal, its tail-part is fish. This half-otter, half-fish animal and the mountain lion guard the entrance to the lodge from the front or eastern entrance, guarding it so that no evil thing, evil person or an unbeliever can enter the lodge.

16 is a medicine man, while 17 is the chief medicine man who shows the people the ceremonies.

18 is a big rock placed near the sweat house next mentioned. 20 is a sweat house in which there is the manido bear (mugwa or muk-wah), while 18 is the rock the bear is to use to make "sweat" in the sweat house.

21 is a big partridge (turkey). It is standing on the sweat house and is the god that oversees the sweat bath purification ceremonies.

22 is the next medicine wigwam or western wigwam of the journey of our race. 23 is the eastern wigwam or the place of our first home after crossing Lake Superior. These are both dance halls, typical of the two homes. The center post in wigwam 23 has a kingfisher token on it. The marked line in this wigwam shows how the people dance around in the lodge, showing the winding movements of our tribe in their western journey at that time. Lodge No. 22 should have been west of lodge numbered 23, but the parchment was too short and my grandfather's grandfather placed it above the other drawings toward the skyline. It typifies our present home.

The other circular figures are small lakes along what is now the boundary line between United States and Canada. We called them

A RITUAL PARCHMENT

Kojejewinnewug, 25 being the Lake of the Woods. The figures in each lake are the manido of that respective lake. Lake of the Woods has a mountain lion for its manido called Meshchezhe by us. It is the god of strength.

24 is a rock placed close to the door of the wigwam. Another rock is placed just west of this one.

The dance represented by this parchment is called Tsa-ga-ma-me-day-me-gwan. It is almost the same as the medawin (Grand Medicine Lodge Dance); but it is not a dance to cure the sick. Instead it is a talk dance. It is our origin or historical dance. It is an interesting ceremony, in which the medicine chiefs tell the Indians the story of our migrations. It is a one-day dance at which no dogs are eaten and there is no "big eat." Four chief medicine men have charge of the ceremonies. Four other medicine men carry tokens and little shells in their right and four little weeds in their left hands called shingussee-wayon, in Indian.

The dance is a talk to gods and to people.

As said, this dance covers, in ceremonies, the journeys of our people. We came from beyond the second big water toward the morning (Lake Huron). Our people crossed that lake. They stopped on the island where the big shells are in that lake (it is quite likely that this island is the lower peninsula of Michigan between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan). Here they staid a long time. Then they came to the middle place between the two lakes (likely the Straits of Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie). Here they again stopped a long time. At this place they journeyed back and forth much and made their journeying in a north and south direction, as is shown by the north and south posts in the drawing.

Then our people migrated to the big island in Lake Superior (likely the Upper Peninsula of Michigan between Lake Superior and Lake Michigan). Here on this island they again found the big shells. Here they sojourned a considerable while. Then they followed the sun westward to the west shores of Lake Superior and established our habitation in the peninsula north of the west end of that lake. Here we lived a long long time, as is shown by the big wigwam which represents the village (or villages) of that sojourn. Then we pushed westward along the Rainy Lakes year by year till our people had reached as far westward in making homes as the Lake of the Woods.

A RITUAL PARCHMENT

We have been in this section (where we now live) only a short time. Our stay here is represented by the small wigwam, No. 22. Had the white man not come, we would have still been journeying westward. Our hearts are as strong as the mountain lion's and we were still conquering when the white foes stopped our journey.

The drawings of the men, animals and birds are the pictures of the manido that watched over us and guided our destinies throughout the long journey. The lakes represented by the circles are also good manido. Their spirits furnished food and safe canoeing. All these are our gods.

CHIEF MOSES DAY DAYBWAYWAINDUNG'S MEDICINE BARK (HISTORY CHART) PARCHMENT WITH HIS INTERPRETATION OF THE GLYPHS ON SAME

Along with other things obtained from the Indians at that time was a history chart which belonged to Chief Moses Day Daybwaywaindung, also obtaining his explanation of the glyphs thereon, as follows. (The figures as given from sheet to sheet of the birch bark are here numbered as per the number of the drawing of same, the numbers being added on the drawings for the sake of convenience in referring to same.)

1—This figure represents the bear god, Mokwa, going across the ocean in the undersurface of the water, apparently under a log. The medicine man says that he came out at a "big water" lake. From here he walked about much as is shown by the dots which represent his footsteps. He came from the East, it is alleged, beyond the Big Water and placed his religion in different localities as is shown by his tracks.

2—When Mokwa came to this country he met Men-a-busha, the giver of all power. These two gods talked much about organizing another religion. Menabusha is the Great Spirit. Everything whatsoever that was to be accomplished on the earth and with men was placed in his hands, in this figure the line from his mouth represents the road along which he went to meet another great spirit, Mah-konz or Little Bear.

3—When Mokwa came over the Big Water, he met eight other spirits whom he also taught his new religion. Four of these spirits are invisible. The other four are shown in the picture. They live

A RITUAL PARCHMENT



CHIEF MOSES DAY DAYBWAYWAINDUNG'S MEDICINE BARK
(HISTORY CHART) PARCHMENT
PLATE 2

A RITUAL PARCHMENT

under the same bank shown in the lower part of the picture. The lines coming out of Mokwa's mouth are the things he is saying to these gods.

4—This drawing shows a great water-rapids in some stream which caused Mokwa to land. The old chief said it was Lachine rapids.

5—The god which Mokwa left at Detroit. The figures at the right and in the center represent jewels. These are the gifts of the eight gods whom Mokwa taught his new religion; they are the owners of all jewels and treasures in the whole world.

6—Coming toward the going-down sun from Detroit, Mokwa found another god called "God of the Bended Trees." The line from Mokwa's mouth here represents the trail he traveled. As he thus journeyed he came to a tunnel. Mokwa had here to crawl laboriously to get through the tunnel. In so doing he rubbed off his jewels.

7—Mokwa then came to Michicotton. Here he located the Two-Horned God. From here he then went on to the "Soo," the lower god in the figure looks after that place. He is part panther and part fish and has three pronged horns.

8—At "Soo" Mokwa again dove under the water and later came out at LaPoint, Wisconsin, at the little Islands near there. Here he found another god whose name was Wa-sah-wah-ko-nah-yah (the brown haired man, to interpret the name). "H" is the trimming of his clothing which shines like the Great Spirit's clothes do. This god is the religious overseer of all that region. For many generations the headquarters of his religion was at this place, then it spread to all parts of the adjacent lands. He has a medicine bag.

9—On his journey Mokwa came to the biggest lake of all the country. Here he found a god named Gah-Yah-ha-wah. This god is the reprimander or accuser. He is a bad man. It is on this account that some of the religion as taught results in evil. From his wigwam to his mouth extends a line and is known as the line of his life. The big lake (Superior?) is his wigwam. It is the house of evil. In this house hangs a medicine bag. Should anyone step on this house some of this god's jewels (sea shells) will break off, as is seen in "B." This god makes trouble for the Indians.

10—Mokwa still continuing his journey.

A RITUAL PARCHMENT

11—The St. Louis river, Minnesota, where it is largest.

12—Skeleton god, Guk-bah, who lives in Duluth harbor.

13—The medicine man's medicine bag which has the power together with the medicine it contains to produce life for all time in the beyond the grave.

14—St. Louis river at the feet of Guk-bah and into which his feet mingles.

15—This is the panther that lives on the river by Duluth and which enters the bay by that city.

16—Represents the high hill which is situated near the rapids in St. Louis river. Under this hill the panther mentioned above lives. When at Duluth recently I looked for this hill and find it to head Lake Superior, it now being within the city limits.

17—This drawing represents a place called Pah-sto-me-on-to-yong, a barren island near Cloquet, Minnesota, about 30 miles from Duluth. Here Mokwa found a band of Indians whom he named Wa-me-ge-sah-go.

18—Mokwa, while journeying, came to a place on the St. Louis river called Ah-skhe-be-kon by the Indians, or place where the wild potatoes grow. At this place he also established his doctrine.

19—This figure represents the overseer of the medicine lodge at Ah-skhe-be-kon.

19A—This is a jewel wearer of the wilderness places. He is never seen but one can hear the report of his gun when he shoots while hunting now and then.

20—This is Mokwa in his lodge talking to some of his aids. The line extending out of his mouth is his "talk."

21—This figure represents the jewels the god wears.

22—While journeying, Mokwa came to Sandy Lake close to the Mississippi river between Brainard and Grand Rapids, Minnesota, to an old Indian village there where there was afterwards a missionary station. Here with both of his hands he set up his totem poles in the ground and prepared to teach his doctrine there for a while.

23—This figure represents the three spiritual stages of life or spiritual degrees of instruction which Mokwa taught at Sandy Lake; the first line represents the first degree, the second line the second degree and the third line the third degree.

A RITUAL PARCHMENT

24—This drawing represents the Little Falls Mermaid which is half god and half fish whose name is Ne-bah-nah-bay. The lines shown are the three degrees which the mermaid must take to be admitted into the full godhead. These lines are used when anyone takes the three degrees.

25—This is Pokegama to whom the mermaid should be joined. From Pokegama a line goes to LaCrosse Lake.

26—This figure is Bah-go-ah-dowan, the one armed god of LaCrosse Lake.

27—This is Mish-o-mah-nido, the god who oversees the taking of the second degree in the medicine orders.

28—This drawing represents the medicine lodge at Leach Lake.

29—This is the Ottetail deity, Ne-ge-quano, who has charge of the lodge at Leach Lake.

30—The Ottetail God going back and forth over the earth.

31—This figure is the Great Spirit Me-no-bo-she, who has charge of the four wigwams which are situated toward heaven.

31A—This is the line of blessings which goes out of the god's mouth to the four wigwams of the heavenly journey.

31B—These are the god's footprints as he goes to bless the four wigwams of the heavens.

32—This figure shows Accuser or Reprimander telling Mokwa to make the society prosperous that they are about to organize. The line from his mouth is his speech to Mokwa.

33—This is the Great Bear God.

34—The first of the four heavens above the sky. Figures 36, 37, 41 and 44 also represent the four layers of the heavens.

35—This figure represents a tree that stands before the entrance to the first heaven.

36—This is another drawing of the first heaven.

36A—The arrow in this figure represents something dangerous. It is this arrow that kills men and sends them to the first heaven.

37—This figure represents Je-sah-ke-wi-ninis, the Bad God's way of doing injury to the people of earth.

38, 39 and 40 are the gods of the third heaven.

41—This figure represents the wigwam of the third heaven.

42—This drawing represents the hand of the god of the fourth heaven reaching down to the deity of the third heaven, for some poor suffering soul that is journeying thither.

A RITUAL PARCHMENT

43—This is the good, kind heavenly father Mi-mo-mah-ni-do of the fourth or last heaven. He is making a speech to the people of the fourth heaven. He is giving them his blessing. The line proceeding from his mouth is his sayings to them.

43A—These are the guns which Mi-mo-mah-ni-do gave to the Indians.

44—This is the fourth heaven.

45—This figure represents the hand of the Great Spirit Mi-mo-mah-ni-do. In this drawing he is trying to seize a fowl with it. This bird represents the "Thunder Bird" by which the Great Spirit communicates his will to his children, men.

46—The "Thunder Bird," the producer of the lightning and the maker of the "thunder-noise," the former is caused by the opening and shutting of his powerful eyes, the latter is caused by the flapping of his wide-extended wings.

47-48—The Hump Backed deity, Ma-ma-gwa-see, and his medicine bag.

49-50—These are the gods who have charge of medicine lodge shown in figure 51. As is seen by the line they are talking concerning the care of the lodge.

51A—The eight-legged spider god, Ah-sa-be-ka-shne, who is in charge of the lodge mentioned above.

52—The "Thunder Bird," who guards the lodge from above.

53—The figure here is the sentinel snake that guards the rear door of the lodge mentioned above. To get into this lodge one must go around it to the right from its first approach and enter in at the rear door. The head part of this sentinel snake is brown; the tail part white. He is know(n) as the crooked horned snake and is called Wah-wah-ge-naw. After the comer has been allowed to pass into the lodge by this snake, he always sings: "Here is where the crooked, horned snake lives. He lives in this house."

54—This is Mee-she-ne-mah-na-go another wilderness god. His gun goes off unseen and unheard. He is steward of the Wilderness Medicine Lodge. He also collects fees for the purpose of paying the medicine men for their services and also sends out invitations for people to come into the lodge to dance.

55—This figure shows the receptacle in which Mee-she-ne-mah-na-go receives the offerings of the children of men.

A RITUAL PARCHMENT

55A—Mee-she-ne-mah-na-go's pipe, which he smokes while receiving the offerings.

56—This is a drawing of the medicine lodge which Mee-she-ne-mah-na-go has charge of.

57-60—Protector of an Indian camp is the curved line 57; the other figures represent a wigwam within a stockade. This is the lodge which is protected by the man mentioned above.

57A, 59 and the two similar drawings at the other opposite corners of the stockade-square marked 58 represent the four places or four corners from which the wind blows; they are the heads of the gods of the four winds. The lodge here drawn represents the universe. The lines extending from the places of the winds' homes to the corners of the stockade-square are the blowing of the four winds. The blowing of the winds is essential or we would die. So a god lives in each corner of the universe, these call the winds to blow.

60A and 61-61A is another medicine lodge and 61 is the mermaid who has charge of this lodge. She carries in her hand her totem of rank and power.

62 and 62A-62 is another lodge facing north and south—lodge 61 faced east and west. 62A are the snake gods who have charge of this lodge. These represent two of the four winds of earth; the other two are not shown in the picture.

63—The Great Spirit who has charge of all the medicine lodges, called the four-eyed god, Nah-wo-skhe-she-quad, because he had four eyes.

NOTE: Notice how the Chippewa reckons by fours: four gods, four lodges, four winds, four snakes, four layers of the heavens and four of the earth, four thunder birds.

64—These are the four shining lights proceeding from Nah-wo-skhe-she-quad's eyes.

65—This is the big eared god who teaches us not to talk about our neighbors or speak evil of anyone. With his big ears he hears what is said and records what everyone does. He has two other big ears on the back of his head; these are not shown in the drawing. He is called Mon-e-doo.

66—In the lodge represented here is the interpreter and interceder between the Great Spirit and men.

67, 68, 69—67 and 69 are two deities who live near Mon-e-doo. 68 is their leaf medicine bag to which they are both joined. When

A RITUAL PARCHMENT

supplicating and making offerings to these gods they will look pleased if by looking into the supPLICATOR'S heart they see that he is in earnest.

70—This is Ba-bo-kee-ways, the god of the underworld.

71 and 72—72 is a being of earth whom Ba-bo-kee-ways is blessing by placing his hand upon his head and by his word of mouth which is represented by the line 71.

73—The bad snake Mah-je-ge-na-big, who teaches the people the things which are not good: the medicine men who are taught by this snake kill people with their bad medicine (witch power).

74, 75, 76—74 is another prophet-lodge god who uses his influence for the welfare of the people; he teaches the people to be good. 75 is this god's lodge: 76 are the two servants who do his bidding.

77, 78, 79—77 is the Above-Sky Overseer, who looks after the wigwams of the people of heaven that nothing too serious happens to them. 78 represents his commands going from his mouth to his two servants, 79, who wait to carry out his orders.

80, 81, 82, 83—These figures represent the four gods that hold up the four corners of the earth, here represented as south, east, west, north. Ogemah (83) is chief among them. The lines running from his mouth to the mouths of the others are his orders, his commands going out to them.

84—This is another figure of Mon-e-doo the Great Spirit.

85—The line 85 is the path Mokwa (Bear-god) took in encircling the Great Spirit Mon-e-doo.

86—Jewels of the eight Mokwas. As Mokwa was encircling Mon-e-doo, this god asked him: "What are you doing?" Mokwa replied: "Watch me." Reaching the end of his journey he shook himself and the jewels fell off.

87—Mon-e-doo's medicine bag.

88, 89, 90—88 is the two-headed Mokwa that is god of light and daytime. 89 is a god that asked Mokwa to help him perform his tasks. 90 is the line of his talk with the two-headed bear-god.

91, 92, 93, 94—92 is another god of the heavens represented by the figure 94. His aids are the "Thunder Birds" 91 and 93. These assist him in giving light to the next heaven above the one where this god lives. When displeased at the doings of man, this god causes these thunderers to strike them with their thunder. This god also causes the rain. He is a good natured god when we treat him right.

A RITUAL PARCHMENT

95—This figure represents Mokwa coming by a mountain in the land of the dead. If we have done rightly in this world we will see Mokwa thus journeying in the world on the other side of death. We never see him thus in this life. The figures from here on to 119 represent his pathway and his doings and the gods associated with him and their offices.

96—This is a tree which Mokwa used as a bridge now and then when needed. This tree he took along with him as he journeyed.

97, 98—97 is the round-horned panther that lives in Mokwa's house and 98 is Mokwa's panther house. This house was a mountain underneath the ground. This panther is the god that the Indians worship when they visit that house (or cave).

99—The central circular figure is the sun when he is under ground at night. In making the underworld journey he passes the two-headed Mokwa 99A. These are the gods of the four underlayers of the earth. These ask the sun to give light to all the dark places of earth.

100, 101, 102, 103—100 is the same bear-god as figure 95. He is on his journey. There is a layer of the earth where all is sickness represented by figure 103, the sickness being the characters represented by figure 102. Coming to this place, Mokwa encircled it in the tracks represented in figure 101. Mokwa encircled this "sick" and overcame it, so now when a medicine man wishes help in doctoring some patient he calls upon Mokwa, and he, having overcome disease, gives him the "power" he asks, and the patient gets well.

104, 105—After Mokwa had overcome sickness, the evil spirit killed a man. Then Mokwa asked Mon-e-doo if he could restore the person to live again and he did. These two figures show the restoring process in operation.

106, 107, 108—This represents Mokwa and his foot prints as he journeyed along until he met the wolf-god Mah-ye-gon (108). Mah-ye-gon assisted Mokwa with his medicine bag (107). These two beings work together to get medicine out of the medicine bag for the good of all peoples. The medicines are furnished by the wolf. All kinds of medicine are in the bag. The wolf learned his medicine art originally from Mokwa.

109—This is the big two-headed, evil, always evil, snake with mouth open at each end to devour the children of men.

A RITUAL PARCHMENT

110, 111, 112—This figure represents Mokwa coming up through two layers of the underworld (Figures 111, 112) to the next layer above. That which is beneath us is one world, that above another; each world has four layers. We live in the center between them. Mokwa cannot be seen only by the medicine men when he is in this world where we live. He has the property of making himself transparent. So when an Indian medicine man sometimes wishes to go through any part of the country unseen, he puts on the skin of Mokwa, Mah-ko-bi-mo-sah, and consequently shines.

113, 114—113 is the arm of the Great Spirit; the body is invisible. This arm is holding the two great medicine bags (No. 114) gripping them at the center between them; invisible hands are also helping hold these bags. The medicine in these two bags is good medicine. Any medicine man who can get the aid of this god and can secure medicine from these two medicine bags will most assuredly cure his patient.

115, 116—115 shows the hands of Mon-e-doo grasping Mokwa (116). Mokwa was passing Mon-e-doo's house at this time. Mon-e-doo stopped him and asked: "What are you traveling for? Are you teaching what is good to the people?" "Yes," replied Mokwa, so the Great Spirit let him go on his journey.

117—This figure represents the wolf-god who accompanied Mokwa on his journeys over the universe. This wolf took with him the three lightnings, represented by the three lines extending outward from his back, also three medicine bags, the marked blotches on the wolf's body. The lightnings are medicines for hunting.

118, 119—118 is the great evil spirit snake. This snake is being strangled by the god Kish-sha-mah-ne-do or the great god and kind heavenly father. This snake as with the other snakes and any other evil spirits which he may encounter he strangles to death with his hands, as shown in this drawing. This god is the most powerful god of all.

NOTES ON THE BIRCH-BARK "PICTURES"

These figures of animals, men and other objects were scratched upon parchments of birch-bark. The meaning of these are known only to the medicine men. They constitute the major part of the "cult" under which they practice the art of healing. They also con-

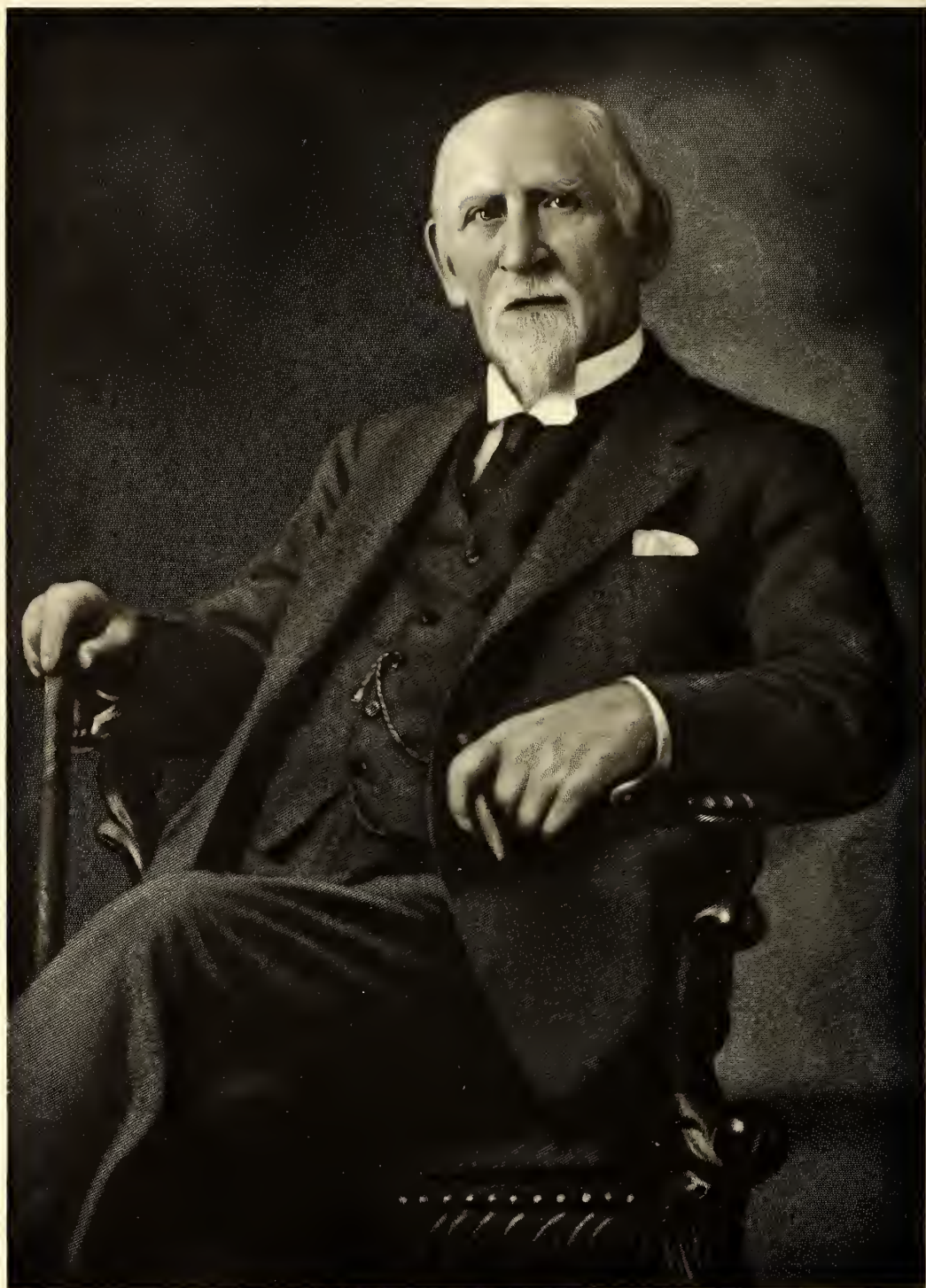
A RITUAL PARCHMENT

tain the basis of the ethics and religion of the Bois Fort Band of Chippewas. As has been seen, the interpretation is exceedingly vague, as is also the name of the respective figures and places mentioned. In addition, only the barest hint as to the power and influence for good or evil of the respective actors pictured is mentioned. They, however, are supposed to possess great powers and as such they form texts from which the medicine man expounds his religious ideas in the initiation of the young into manhood or womanhood; as also for the initiation of an applicant into the office of medicine man. These pictures with their meaning are handed down from father to son, and have so been handed down throughout countless generations. These writings are the "Bible" to the Indians and with solemn earnestness they impart their meaning to their fellowman.

The journey in the underworld, represented in many of the drawings, is from below upwards not the other way. The Great Spirit gave the story portrayed on the manuscripts to the Indians and their medicine men preserve them and hand them down to the rising generation. The father being a medicine man hands down his "cult" to his son, if he be a medicine man or wishes to be one.

Mokwa is the principal god in these drawings. He is the youngest god. He takes care of the dead that they take the right road to the happy hunting ground. Often in dreams, the Indians go in spirit through the aid of Mokwa to the land of the dead. There are two trails which branch in the way and the bad Indian, not being aided by Mokwa, takes the wrong or downward trail. The Great Spirit gave the Indian the medicine bag and taught all Indians to keep their father's religion (so the Chippewa sage says).





Mezzotint Stipple by Finlay & Conn

American Historical Socy

Martin T. McGillicuddy

Martin Van Buren McGilliard

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



IN moments of quiet thought, the human mind often conceives its greatest ideas, which afterward are carried into real and living action through the participation of thousands of human beings. Martin Van Buren McGilliard, of Indianapolis, Indiana, once promised himself, while ill of a fever, that if he recovered he would be always faithful and active in the service of the Lord. "I will sit at my window and the Lord will tell me what to do," he said. From that window he saw a street fight among messenger boys, bootblacks and newsboys, and saw the necessity of what was to be his greatest work. After a long communion with his Maker, he turned to his wife and said: "The Lord wants me to start the boys' club." He had previously proposed some work among boys in Indianapolis, but she had dissuaded him on the ground that he was too busy with too many activities. Thenceforth she helped him, however, and he had the active aid of such men as Eli Ritter, Thomas C. Day and E. G. Cornelius, all public-spirited citizens of Indianapolis. In two years the boys' club was put into operation. The dream of a man was realized. And his living dream continues today, upbuilding the lives of younger members of the community and extending its influence to other similar institutions. It is an enduring monument to Mr. McGilliard, dreamer and doer.

Mr. McGilliard began life in College Hill, Cincinnati, Ohio, on March 3, 1842, son of John S. and Abigail (Preston) McGilliard. The name is said to have been variously spelled, notably as Gilliard and Gaillard, and the family was of French Huguenot stock. When the Huguenots were persecuted in France, they went to Scotland, there acquiring the Scottish prefix that has clung to the name to this day. Mr. McGilliard's paternal grandfather was John McGilliard, once postmaster of Cincinnati and owner of a large farm on College Hill. His great-grandfather, also named John McGilliard, was the first of the line to come to Cincinnati, having settled in the Queen City when it was a small frontier town.

MARTIN VAN BUREN MCGILLIARD

On the maternal side of his house, Martin V. McGilliard was descended from the prominent New Jersey family of Preston, of English origin. Roger Preston came to the New World from London, England, about April 8, 1635, when he was twenty-one years old. He is mentioned in the records of Ipswich, Massachusetts, for 1639. His wife was Martha Preston. He removed to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1657, and died in 1666. They had children: Thomas, Samuel, Jacob, Levi, Elizabeth, and Mary. Of these, Levi Preston married, in 1695, at Swansea, Massachusetts, Abigail Brooks, daughter of Gilbert Brooks, and removed with a colony of Baptists to New Jersey about 1709. His grave and tombstone may still be seen in an old graveyard on the banks of the Cohansey River, near Bridgton, New Jersey. Their children were: Levi, Martha, John, Mary, Abigail, Isaac and Frelove. Of these, Isaac Preston was born September 10, 1707, and married Elizabeth Dare at Fairfield, New Jersey; he died in 1749 at Fairfield. They had children: Levi, Isaac (a colonel in the Revolution), Elizabeth, William, John and Joseph. Abijah Preston was a son of Levi, William, John or Joseph Preston, more probably of Levi or William. He was a taxpayer in Pennsylvania in 1797, when Miles Township, Centre County, the region in which he lived, was organized as a political division. The grandfather of Martin V. McGilliard was Robert Preston, who lived in New Jersey.

Martin V. McGilliard was eight years old when, in 1850, his family removed to Liberty, Indiana. In 1858 they established their home at Kewanee, Illinois. At Liberty and Kewanee, he was reared and educated through school age. In 1863, when he was not yet twenty-two, he enlisted as a private in Company H of the 134th Illinois Infantry. In a year of active service, he took part in campaigns in Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Arkansas. As a participant in a war for freedom, he was an interested observer of the World War, through which he lived and which was destined drastically to alter the face of the earth.

At Kewanee the boy had met Abraham Lincoln. He also served as an escort in Lincoln's first campaign for the Presidency. After the war, Mr. McGilliard entered upon insurance work, staying for a time at Terre Haute and then proceeding to Indianapolis. Here he became special agent for an insurance company. For the rest of his

MARTIN VAN BUREN McGILLIARD

life he kept this city as his residence place, continuing in the insurance business. He spent only four years elsewhere. Those were the years from 1902 to 1906. He then had offices at Sioux Falls, South Dakota. He was a special agent and adjuster of fire insurance and one of the oldest fire insurance men in the whole country in point of years of service. He organized the Indiana Fire Insurance Company and served as director for the Security Fire Insurance Company of New York in the states of Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee. He also was the first president of the Meridian Life Insurance Company and was responsible for the establishing of a number of insurance agencies in the Mid-West.

His chief work lay, however, in helping others. He began this work early in life. "God gave him great gifts," it has been written of him, "and he spent them lavishly for other people." Appreciative citizens of Indianapolis will always remember the beautiful story of his vision and his vow. Recovering from illness, he was able to say: "Thou hast delivered my soul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling. What shall I render unto the Lord for all His benefits toward me? I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord. I will pay my vows unto the Lord, yea in the presence of all His people."

Whether he worked through church, fraternity or boys' club, he carried out his vow. He established several religious institutions—the Tabernacle Presbyterian Church, the Memorial Presbyterian Church, the Westminster Presbyterian Church, the East Washington Presbyterian Church, and others. In South Dakota he continued his charitable endeavors and there served as president of the South Dakota State Sunday School Association. In Indianapolis he was an elder in the Memorial and Tabernacle Presbyterian churches, the latter of which was organized in his home. He was a leader in extending Sunday school influence, pioneering in the mission and other Sunday school fields. He was superintendent of the East Washington Street Mission of the Presbyterian Church, as well as of the West Washington Street Mission, now known as the Mount Jackson Methodist Church. He had the steady help of Mrs. McGilliard. Later they were joined by their daughter, Mrs. Edna M. Christian, widow of Dr. Wilmer F. Christian, Jr., whose life and works are recorded in this volume. Mr. McGilliard was also a member of the First Presby-

MARTIN VAN BUREN MCGILLIARD

terian Church of Indianapolis. Fraternally he was affiliated with the Free and Accepted Masons, the Knights of Pythias and the Good Templars. Church activities came into his life by inheritance, all the family having been strongly religious. His great-grandfather, John McGilliard, helped to organize the First Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati and Glendale, Ohio.

Mr. McGilliard was still very young when he first became aware of the shameful plight of boys and youth. Their uncleanness, the lack of care for them, their failure to come under uplifting influences, formed a picture at once powerful and tormenting, which he could not dispel from his mind. A street scene lingered for hours, would not let him sleep at night. It was after midnight when he rose one night and sat in a chair by the window, pondering the whole problem and his relationship to it; the inadequacy of churches, schools and existing organizations to do what was needed to remedy the situation among the poor and neglected children lacking normal opportunities. He had read of boys' clubs and newsboys' homes in other cities. A plan for Indianapolis seemed a vital necessity. The people were like sheep in need of a shepherd. He was chosen to lead them.

Peaceful sheep in the field, sheep in the fold. . . .
What shall my penalty be, sheepfold, I pray,
For failing to lead you into the hills of peace?
Sheep that as peacefully wander away as the breath
Of a babe in sleep, and as unreluctantly die
As twilight deepening into the night—shall I
Sit silent for ever and ever.

Next day he conferred with T. C. Day, E. G. Cornelius, Colonel Eli Ritter and Charles E. Reynolds; talked with them for hours. Each was willing to help in founding a newsboys' home, if Mr. McGilliard would take charge of the whole enterprise, both property and personnel. He was sent to Chicago to make investigations. He went at his own expense, interviewed the president and superintendent of the Newsboys' Home there, and was urged to employ a Mr. Norwood, one of the Chicago workers, to head his own home.

The Indianapolis Boys' Club was then organized, with the above-named men as directors and Mr. McGilliard himself as president. Mr. Norwood was superintendent. The institution was housed in a two-story brick structure on North Alabama Street, between Ohio

MARTIN VAN BUREN MCGILLIARD

and New York streets. They leased the property for a term of years. The matron was Mrs. Harding, of Indianapolis. In six or eight months it was clear that the plan was not functioning as Mr. McGilliard had intended. The home was regarded as a public institution or a charity—the last desire of its founders. It was shunned, even the privileges of food and lodging, by the most worthy and self-respecting boys. Its supporters were tramps and wanderers, many of them from other cities. At about that time Mr. McGilliard met Miss Mary Dickson, who, under the direction of George Merritt, woolen mill proprietor, had formed a night school class of boys. A conference with her brought a combination of her class with the Boys' Club and formed the basis for the club as it has since existed. "Club" features were emphasized; traces of "home" or "charity" were forced into the background. About one hundred boys were the original members. Miss Dickson became superintendent. Headquarters were set up in Court Street, on a site close to the spot where Mr. McGilliard had first stumbled over the quarreling newsboys and bootblacks who unwittingly gave him the first impulse to establish the club.

The first floor was fitted as a gymnasium; the second, as a reading room. Recreation rooms were started. Light provisions were served at about cost prices. There was no hint of charity or benevolence. From the outset the club was successful. When Miss Dickson resigned in 1894 because of her brother's illness, she was succeeded by Miss Alice Graydon. Later Miss Graydon became assistant to Judge Stubbs in the Juvenile Court of Indianapolis, so carrying the Boys' Club influence into the political life of the city.

The Indianapolis Boys' Club is regarded by many as the most notable organization of its kind in the United States. Its directors include some of the city's outstanding citizens. It is interesting to note that its founding was coincident with the beginning of one of the greatest financial panics in history. Mr. McGilliard found the resources that he could spare from his own business very meagre, and so was put to a thorough test of his strength of purpose. A surprise gift of \$1,000 came from Mrs. John C. Wright. In 1894 or 1895 Mrs. John C. Butler gave \$10,000 in memory of her son. The club bought a two-story brick building at South Meridian Street and Madison Avenue, so once more carrying further the new influence. In still other parts of the city today are the Lauter Memorial Building and

MARTIN VAN BUREN MCGILLIARD

Gymnasium and the George W. Stubbs Memorial Building, both owned and used by the Boys' Club. Miss Graydon added a Mothers' Club to the enterprise, and its functions were coördinated with those of the Boys' Club. Mrs. Elizabeth Lloyd McGilliard was its first president.

On October 15, 1868, at Lima, Ohio, Mr. McGilliard married a Cincinnati woman, Elizabeth Tudor Lloyd, an educator of children and author of children's stories. They had a daughter, Edna McGilliard, who became the wife of Dr. Wilmer F. Christian, Jr., physician. Mrs. Christian followed in her parents' footsteps, engaging in philanthropic work, helping the Red Cross in war time, and now being dean of women at Butler University, Indianapolis. She is active in the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Women's Franchise League of Indiana, and was for three years president of the Indianapolis branch of the League until her resignation in August, 1932. She has looked after the welfare of thousands of young women employed in industry, many of them in the trying days of the World War.

Martin Van Buren McGilliard died December 20, 1932. Great was the sorrow of his fellow-citizens. Few lives have been so devoted as was his to the well-being of others. Few minds have thought so little of self as did his mind. Consequently few individuals have attained to so great merit because of the thoughts that they have thought and the work that they have done.





Elizabeth Lloyd McGillivray

Wilmer Frederick Christian, Jr., M. D.

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



IN the professional and civic life of the city of Indianapolis, his birthplace, Dr. Wilmer Frederick Christian, Jr., figured prominently for many years. His labors were wholly worth while as a practicing physician and as a promoter of public health, and, indeed, there was no branch of affairs in his city and State in which he was not deeply interested. A fine sincerity of purpose motivated him in his choice of a profession and guided him in his professional conduct. His training added skill to the physician's temperament, completing the equipment that was so necessary to his career of real accomplishment. His was a useful life.

Dr. Christian was born on February 24, 1871, in Indianapolis, Indiana, son of Wilmer Frederick and Margaret J. (Moore) Christian. The family lived then at No. 404 North Alabama Street, at the corner of Vermont Street. His father, Wilmer F. Christian, Sr., was one of the best known business men of Indianapolis. He was born at Stöckton, Worcester County, Maryland, on January 4, 1838, son of Job and Rachel (Hill) Christian, the former of whom was born at Morristown, New Jersey, and was a merchant tailor until his death in 1847. Job Christian and Rachel Hill were married in Philadelphia, and Mrs. Christian died in Maryland in 1851. Job's father fought in the War of the American Revolution. Wilmer Frederick Christian, Sr., went from Maryland, the State of his birth, to Philadelphia, there studied contracting and building methods from 1863 to 1865, next came to Indianapolis, and in this city engaged in business for himself. He built the well-known Ingalls and When blocks, in Indianapolis, as well as the local stockyards, the I., B. and W. Railroad shops, the steel mills building, and other important structures. His family were all seafaring men with the exception of himself and his brother, John E. Christian, a wholesale lumber merchant of Indianapolis. Wilmer Frederick Christian's wife, Margaret J. (Moore) Christian, was born in Marion County, Indiana, three miles east of Indianapolis, on the Brookville Road, on the well-known Moore farm. She died in 1904, the last member of a large

WILMER FREDERICK CHRISTIAN, JR., M. D.

family. Her father, Thomas Moore, familiarly called "Uncle Tommie," was a pioneer whose land patents were signed by Andrew Jackson; he was born in Ireland and in this country first settled at Zanesville, Ohio, there being employed on the National Road with his father and brother, John Moore. Later he came to Indiana and homesteaded the farm afterward owned by Mr. Christian. Mrs. Christian's mother was Catherine (Moore) Moore.

The children of W. F. Christian, Sr., and Margaret J. (Moore) Christian were: 1. Thomas J. 2. Wilmer F., Jr., of further mention. 3. Henry E. 4. Clara, died in infancy. 5. Frank, died in 1895, aged twenty-two years. 6. Grace.

Of these, Wilmer F. Christian, Jr., attended school in Indianapolis, his native city, and was graduated from high school on June 15, 1888. In the fall of that year he entered Wabash College, from which he was graduated on June 15, 1892, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Science. He was a member of Phi Gamma Delta Fraternity at that institution and took the Karasawi Latin prize in his senior year. Having chosen for his life's work the medical profession, he entered, immediately after completing his college work, the Medical College of Indiana, from which he was graduated in April, 1896, with the degree of Doctor of Medicine. He had the highest average, in academic percentage reckoning, for the entire course, of all the class of fifty members. Following his graduation as a medical student, he took a competitive examination, demonstrating that in all his student life he had been laborious and conscientious in the acquisition of knowledge. As a reward of merit he was made house physician at the Indianapolis City Hospital. From the outset he advanced steadily in his profession. His advancement was evident in the fact that Dr. Christian was soon made professor of practical anatomy at the Indiana Dental College. It was in 1896 that he accepted that position.

Along with his other medical activities, Dr. Christian was a physician for the Door of Hope Maternity Hospital. He was also police and fire surgeon for the city of Indianapolis, as well as examiner for the Equitable and Bankers' Life Insurance Company, the Prudential Insurance Company, the Provident Life and Trust Insurance Company, and several similar institutions. Dr. Christian enjoyed superior advantages and utilized them always to the highest ends. His own advancement was merely a means for helping others. His self-



Mezzotint Shippie by Finlay & Conn

American Historical Society

William Christian

WILMER FREDERICK CHRISTIAN, JR., M. D.

reliance, tremendous energy, and tireless eagerness for knowledge were qualities that caused him to achieve eminence.

Aside from his labors in the professional world, Dr. Christian was active in military affairs. For six years he was a member of the crack drill team in the Indianapolis Light Artillery, and for years he was adjutant in the 2d Regiment of the Indiana National Guard. When the war with Spain began he was traveling in Europe; otherwise his services would doubtless have gone to his country. During the World War he spent eight months in France, principally connected with Young Men's Christian Association work.

In his political views he was a staunch Democrat, having inherited his political convictions from his grandfather and father and confirmed them by his own independent study and investigation. Fraternally he was a member of the Free and Accepted Masons, in which he was affiliated with Pentalpha Lodge, No. 564, and held different memberships in Scottish Rite bodies. He also belonged to Indianapolis Lodge, No. 56, of the Knights of Pythias, in which he was medical examiner, and was a member of the University Club of Indiana. He also was a member of the board of governors of the Board of Trade and for a time was national treasurer of Phi Gamma Delta Fraternity, traveling for it throughout the country. His church was the First Presbyterian, of Indianapolis, in which he was for ten years a deacon.

One of the outstanding interests—in fact, his first interest—was Wabash College, his *alma mater*. He was at the time of his death a member of the board of trustees of this institution. As a trustee he was instrumental in bringing to the college more boys than were influenced to come here by any other trustee. He paid the total expense of the education of twelve boys at Wabash, not only their tuition, but their summer vacations as well. He also raised a great deal of money for the college, to which he gave liberally of his own private fortune. But his interest in it was not confined to the sending of checks from a distance. He was a frequent visitor to the campus, knew many of the students intimately, and for many years during the period of his trusteeship never missed a Tuesday morning at chapel. After his passing, Dr. George L. McIntosh, president of Wabash College, wrote a delightful tribute to Dr. Christian:

We think of him today, therefore, as maintaining his temperament and pursuing with all his might and main objects of interest and worth

WILMER FREDERICK CHRISTIAN, JR., M. D.

in the land to which he has gone. In some countryside or city of the invisible world, where time and geography differ from ours, he is busy. What his duties may be is beyond our imagination.

We leave the dead with Thee, believing that no evil has befallen him, believing that he lives in the eternal places and may be watching tenderly once loved ones he has left behind.

Dr. Christian's charities were many, though he always performed them unostentatiously and without ceremony. Dr. and Mrs. Christian together gave, about 1920, a forty-acre tract of land near Irvington, Indiana, to the city of Indianapolis for use as a park. This bit of woodland was named Christian Park in memory of Dr. Christian's mother, who had always held her city and its welfare close to her heart. He was also a dear friend of several welfare institutions, among them the Indiana Village for Epileptics. Resolutions adopted by this organization at the time of his death revealed that its new recreation hall would bear the name of Dr. Christian, and at the same time paid fine tribute to his work as a member of the board of trustees. For a time he was president of the board. He had been a member of it for fifteen years and for eight years its head. Of his work in this connection the document prepared by the trustees said, in part:

Dr. Christian was positive and aggressive in his opinions as to how institutional matters should be conducted, but he was ever considerate of the opinions of his associates, and in questions of vital importance sought harmony of action in the board. He held that the welfare of the patients should have first consideration and that the financial affairs of the institution should be conducted as economically as was consistent with the carrying out of the purpose for which it had been established. . . . In honor to his memory the new Recreation Building shall hereafter be known as "The Wilmer Christian Hall."

In April, 1897, Dr. Christian married Edna McGilliard, of Indianapolis, daughter of Martin Van Buren and Elizabeth Tudor (Lloyd) McGilliard. A record of her father's life appears elsewhere in this volume. Together Dr. and Mrs. Christian did much traveling, visiting many parts of Europe and the United States. As national treasurer for seven years of the Phi Gamma Delta Fraternity and as editor of the fraternity magazine for two years, Dr. Christian became one of the most widely known fraternity men in America, and during



Edna McMillan Chustan.

WILMER FREDERICK CHRISTIAN, JR., M. D.

his term as national treasurer he visited chapters of his fraternity in every section of the United States.

At his death on December 7, 1923, Dr. Christian was paid high tributes by his fellow-citizens and by different local groups. Commentaries upon his life were forthcoming from many organizations, among them the board of trustees of Wabash College, the faculty of the same institution, the Phi Gamma Delta Fraternity, Indianapolis professional and business men, the local department of parks, and other bodies that he had served. To all his friends and acquaintances his passing was a cause of deep sorrow. His memory remains, however, a lasting force for good among all whose privilege it was to know him.



Logging On Puget Sound, As Illustrated In the Lives of Sol Simpson and Mark E. Reed

BY EDWIN P. CONKLIN, NEW YORK CITY



THE forest industries are of unknown antiquity, for the utilization of timber antedates the recorded history of mankind. Before America was settled the forests of some of the European countries had been depleted to a stage where a wood famine threatened—wood was then the principal fuel and the chief building material. The British Admiralty was compelled to seek masts and planking for its ships outside of English realms and the settlement of America was encouraged, in part, as a future source of lumber and of large spars. One of the difficulties which arose between the Colonies and the Mother Country and ultimately led to revolution, grew out of the British system of claiming for the King the tallest and best timber on all wooded lands without regard to private ownership. The Pilgrim emigrants were accidentally thrust upon one of the most poorly timbered sections of the Atlantic coast, and not until the Puritans arrived and scattered their settlements over New England, were the forests of much value for anything besides log houses, firewood, and ashes used for fertilizer and soap.

That part of Canada, which is now the Province of Quebec, had meanwhile been colonized. It was earlier in the commercial use of forests products and has always outdistanced New England in the wood industry, first in getting out timbers, then in sawed material, and now in wood pulp and paper. In this connection it may be pointed out that Sol G. Simpson, of whose logging operations in the Pacific Northwest this article has somewhat to record, was born near Montreal, Canada, and spent his early years there, when the port was rising to the zenith of its trade in logs. He saw the great squared timber rafts of Wright come down the Ottawa River and was employed both in their movement and in breaking them up for shipment abroad. "The square timber trade reached its maximum in 1864, when as many as 1,350 sailing vessels entered the port and car-



LOGGING IN THE NORTHWEST, FROM OXEN TO LOCOMOTIVE.
LOWER RIGHT-THE FIRST DONKEY ENGINE IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

ried away 20,000,000 cubic feet of timber." It was in 1865 that Sol Simpson went to the Nevada woods, at the age of twenty-two, later to become a commanding figure in the Puget Sound logging industry.

The forest continued for many years to be the chief natural resource of New England, where, in the Northern States, lumbering competed with agriculture for the leadership among occupations. But the best of the trees were soon cut, and settlement and lumbering gradually made its way West. The fine stand of sap and other pines in the northern Great Lake region proved a bonanza to the pioneer lumbermen and for years proved sufficient to dominate the market in soft woods. The yellow pine of the Southern States, and the cypress as well, also came in for an attention which still continues, although their greatest importance lies in cheapness. The hardwoods, whose values depend largely upon manufacturing costs, are found in nearly all except the prairie and desert sections of the United States. Since the Nation recovered from the effects of the Civil War, the search has gone on for new sources of lumber and for efficient methods of production.

That there were enormous quantities of giant timber near the upper Pacific coast had been known since the Spanish Mission Fathers and their followers settled in California. The virgin stands were so dense that they were seldom penetrated, and even in more recent years statements concerning these forests were received with incredulity. It is probable that the members of the famous Lewis and Clark Expedition to the Columbia River (1803-06) were the first to penetrate the wooded lands except those close to the Pacific, stands of timber which for extent and size of its trees exist nowhere else in the world. The accounts of the expedition were more or less discredited in the East, and it was a third of a century before some of the more hardy and adventurous lumbermen crossed the continent and were made to realize that the half had not been told. "From Alaska, on the north, to Southern California, reaching a hundred miles and more back from the coast, extended an almost continuous body of splendid timber waiting to be drawn upon in the building of cities and for use in the advancement of civilization. Lying midway in this belt and containing the cream of the commercial woods is Puget Sound, with its Douglas fir, cedar, spruce and hemlock timber—in its primeval stage, a forest magnificent." It is about this Puget Sound region,

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

and more particularly what is now Mason County, with its logging and the two greatest of its loggers, that this writing has to do. No limitation of scope is intended other than geographical, for the epic of logging in this small but highly important part of an immense region is a worthy example and illustration of logging in the whole Pacific Northwest. Sol G. Simpson, at the turn of the century, and Mark E. Reed, throughout most of the present century, ranked with the very highest timber executives of their times in the Pacific Northwest.

Just when the first permanent settlers, interested in logging in the Puget Sound country, arrived is a matter of conjecture, but there were few prior to 1850. For the most part the newcomers cleared a little land, planted crops sufficient to sustain life, and then started "hand logging." Only the trees reasonably close to water were cut and most of these were rafted to a few sawmills on the Sound. What was probably the first sawmill in Mason County was one of the up-and-down saw type, driven by a small water power. It was constructed by Michael T. Timmons, Wesley B. Gosnel and Orrington Cushman in 1853, on Gosnel Creek, close to Big Skookum Bay, famous in fiction and history. One Joe Sherwood, a millwright of Yankee experience, built a mill in 1854 that was in use until the early 1870's. Sherwood also fabricated the water wheels for several other mills on the upper Sound. In 1883 W. H. and F. Kneeland established a small steam mill above Shelton, Mason County, but there was a limited market for logs prior to the advent of large steam mills at Port Gamble, Port Blakely and Seattle. Except for a slight demand for hand squared timbers and rough lumber in the California mines and mining towns, the outlet for logs was proportioned to the mills that could use them.

Until railways were introduced, logging operations were confined to woodlands so located that streams could provide for transportation. When Sol Simpson came to the Pacific Northwest in 1887, it was to build a logging railroad. It is a strange coincidence that Mark E. Reed, who was to be the leading logger and industrialist of the region, first entered the forest a decade later in connection with the construction of a tram road over which oxen hauled logs to Oakland Bay. One must remember, however, that the steam railway was a "modern" adjunct to logging and that even down to the 1880's

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

men "hand-logged" the timber out of the woods and down to water with the aid of the ox, and the very latest innovation, the donkey engine, was then rare in Washington. Many reasons may be given to explain the primitive ways that still held sway in forestry operations a half-century ago. Whatever the reasons, the fact remains that the methods used by loggers at that time were probably the same used by the Phœnicians in logging the ancient forests of Mesopotamia, and by the King of Tyre when he furnished the material for King Solomon's temple and navy.

Standing virgin timber was abundant in the Far Northwest, and cheap if paid for at all. Anyone with a small outfit could be a boss logger and make or lose a small fortune. The extraordinary size of many of the trees made their handling practically impossible by man or animal power—a twenty-four foot log, fourteen feet in diameter contained enough timber to build several small houses. Such a log might weigh forty tons or more, difficult to move by primitive means. New methods had to be evolved in the new country, something more than replacing the ox-team with a team of eight or ten horses. Even the donkey engine with its upright "spool" was only an improvement of the very old winch or windlass. It is rather surprising that within the career of one logger, Mark E. Reed, such amazing innovations should be invented and introduced as the horizontal engine, drum and spool driven by steam, gasoline and distillate; giant skidders and log loaders, gas cranes, jammers, bulldozers, yarders, caterpillars and other tractors, power shovels and tracklayers, and railroads of as remarkable engineering, construction and management as a trans-continental system.

The logging camp, as it existed when Sol Simpson came to the Puget Sound region, needs no description, for it differed little from such camps in the East and the Middle West—a group of temporary shacks or log huts to house the woodsmen and their stock. Conditions greatly changed before the passing of Mr. Simpson, in 1906, and a brief description of one of his company's camps and its activities may prove of interest, if only for comparison with the present-day camps and equipment of the Mark Reed interests in the same Mason County district. The living quarters of the army of woodsmen were planted in the depths of the giant fir and cedar forests. Inexpensive they were, and those not taken apart for removal were left to rot

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

when the logging force moved on. The box-like structures were made of rough lumber, the mess-house being the largest and capable of taking care of the feeding of fifty to a hundred men a day. Better food was served than formerly, but the bunk-houses differed little from those of a hundred years earlier. A blacksmith shop was provided for making repairs upon the spot, but these repairs were simple, for the donkey engine was the lone mechanical equipment, and a single horse was enough to drag back the cable which the spool used in hauling in a log. The men worked from dawn to sundown and, if injured, were crudely but tenderly cared for by both men and women, and in cases of severe accidents the camp would shut down and every one would do all in his power to aid the one or more injured, many times Mrs. Simpson giving them her own personal care. The crew moved each morning through the "Oregon mist" to their various stations at the yard or loading place up the corrugated skid road. Their numbers gradually decreased, until the fallers and sawyers were the farthest distant from the camp.

The vernacular of the woods is often difficult to understand by the uninitiated, and without using the loggers' terms and phrases a picture of logging is hard to paint. The "faller," for example, does not fell the tree, but chops the under-cut near the base. The "sawyer" saws through to this cut from the opposite side until the tree begins to waver. To fell a tree, say ten feet in diameter at the butt, is not a simple process. The natural lean of the tree, the character of the surface, trees and stumps upon which the felled monarch must come to rest, must be considered. If a tall spar, a hundred and twenty feet long and a foot in diameter at this height is required, the ground must be "swamped," bedded with tree limbs, and the tall giant dropped exactly upon it so that it may not be broken or rendered useless. There is danger always from a "side-winder" or tree broken by the falling tree, so that it comes down at an angle. It may crush a workman two hundred feet away and supposedly safe from the fall of the original tree.

The faller measures the tree into logs; a buckner cuts them into these lengths. A skid road, similar to the transverse corduroy of our forefathers, has been prepared, to which and down which the log is dragged, by team at first and, from the 'nineties, by cable. Then, with its fellows of the woods, it is "yarded" or hauled to the main



LOGGING IN THE PUGET SOUND COUNTRY
SIMPSON LOGGING COMPANY

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

road, or to the railroad, where they are all loaded upon special logging trucks and carried to the booms in one of the many harbors of Puget Sound. The logs were ultimately placed in rafts of from 500,000 to a million feet of timber, and a tug boat towed them to the mills. Despite the brevity of this description and the seeming simplicity of the operations involved, logging from beginning to end was a long hard job involving the service of many men.

The million foot raft of 1905, a good year in the lumber industry, seldom brought ten thousand dollars. Logging had become big business, and already the leading loggers were seeking mechanical means for reducing manual labor and costs and found a few. Sol Simpson had not only led the way in the use of the donkey engine and had introduced an improved type with a horizontal drum which handled all the cable used, but also utilized powerful "road engines" which could drag forty tons of logs to the landing. Some concerns used a locomotive and dragged logs between the rails. Power mechanism also did much of the loading and unloading from flat cars, and one man, Harry Ford, utilized a threshing traction engine in logging, a forerunner of the tractor. In Shelton a light gasoline engine served to crosscut logs into short lengths for firewood, prophetic of the many uses to which petroleum would be put in later days. If the logging of Sol Simpson's day, with all the new methods and machines he used, seems crude or even futile, one should stop to recall that, before he had many of these aids and equipment, he had cut, dressed and shipped to the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, in 1892, a fourteen thousand board-foot "stick" or log. This was then the largest fir spar ever sent to market and was raised as part of a giant flag pole in front of the Washington State Building.

The partnership S. G. Simpson and Company was formed in 1890 and took over the older Port Blakely interests. This became, in 1895, the Simpson Logging Company, which a few years later acquired control of the Peninsular Railroad. When Sol Simpson died, in 1906, his was probably the largest logging company in the State. It operated five logging camps, employed some three hundred men, and included in its equipment were twelve donkey engines and two geared locomotives. The Peninsular Railroad at that time had a main line out of Shelton of twenty-five miles, with an equal mileage of spurs and sidetracks. Four locomotives, eight new style flat cars and one hun-

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

dred and seventy-three old style logging trucks were beginning to be insufficient for the work done. The Peninsular hauled more logs over its line than any other logging railroad in Washington, its annual capacity being one hundred million feet.

Of other logging concerns in this region, the Mason County Logging Company was second in importance, and the Western Washington Logging Company ranked next. Mark E. Reed, many years president of the Simpson Company, later became interested in both these companies. The Port Blakely Mill Company, then the largest in the Northwest, drew most of its raw material from Mason County and absorbed a large part of the Simpson production. This mill ran every day and night during the year, except on three national holidays, and had a capacity of a half million feet of lumber per day. The Cloquallum Shingle Mill, owned by Sol G. Simpson, was one of the largest of its kind in the Puget Sound district. The Phoenix Logging Company, with two camps; a small logging railroad, operated by the Riverside Timber Company, at Holly; the Swan and Monroe tramroad, three miles long and powered with horses; and a half dozen small logging camps were included in the various logging agencies which brought the production of the county up to the one million mark every working day. The facts and figures may well be kept in mind when reading of the developments in the timber industry during the régime of Mark E. Reed which came to a close with his death in 1933. The four decades of his connection with the industry were not only marked by the greatest changes in the forestry industry, but to these developments in Mason County and the Pacific Northwest he was an outstanding contributor.

SOL G. SIMPSON

Before discussing the later evolution of logging, homage should be paid to the life and works of that pioneer logger of Washington, Sol G. Simpson, whose name has come into this narrative repeatedly. Mr. Simpson came into the Puget Sound country in the 1880's. He was intimately associated with Mark E. Reed, his worthy successor, for a number of his later years and lived to see his many plans and enterprises arrive at success. He was of Canadian nativity, born on August 31, 1844, at Côte St. Charles, Vaudreuil County, Province of Quebec, a son of Joseph Simpson, who was born in Yorkshire,



S. G. Simpson

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

England, in 1798 and died in 1872, and his wife, Caroline (Grout) Simpson, of Vermont. Joseph Simpson came to this country about 1825 with his brother, Isaac, and two sisters. Isaac Simpson married, February 14, 1842, at the Anglican Mission, Vaudreuil, Sarah Lancaster. Sol G. Simpson was one of six children, the older ones being Sebra, born September 18, 1834, baptized November 1, 1835; Robert, born May 4, 1836, baptized February 4, 1838; Nancy, born in 1838; William, born May 17, 1842, baptized October 23, 1842; and one younger, Joseph, born in 1846. His home was close to Montreal and he grew up with the timber trade there, then in its prime. There he received the initial impulse and experience that motivated his mature career. It can be written of him: "His feet trod the roots of the giants of the forest, but his visions were above and beyond the highest trees."

Immediately after the end of the American Civil War, Sol Simpson went to Nevada and continued his activities in forest products. It is said that he won and lost two fortunes in the "scramble for riches in which the pioneers of that State were engaged." While there, in 1876, he married, in Carson City, Mary Garrard, daughter of one of the most prominent first citizens, William Mountjoy Garrard, who later migrated to the Puget Sound country and died only a week before Mr. Simpson. Mary (Garrard) Simpson is a descendant of Colonel William Garrard, who married Mary Lewis, and their son was Governor James Garrard, who was born in Stafford County, Virginia, January 14, 1749, and died January 19, 1822. He married, in Stafford County, Virginia, December 20, 1769, Elizabeth Mountjoy, who was born May 2, 1751, and died August 28, 1832. Their son, Daniel Garrard, was born in Stafford County, Virginia, November 10, 1780, and died September 20, 1866; he married, February 21, 1808, Lucinda Jane Toulmin, who died April 10, 1849, daughter of Hon. Harry Toulmin. Their son, William Mountjoy Garrard, was born in Goose Creek Salt-Works, Clay County, Kentucky, March 17, 1822. He married, September 10, 1844, Mary B. Woodson, of Knox County, Kentucky, born April 13, 1825. Their daughter, Mary, married Sol G. Simpson.

In 1887, Sol Simpson, his wife and two daughters, Irene Marie and Caroline B., also moved to Northwest Washington, in connection with a contract covering the extension of the old Port Blakely Rail-

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

road for its logging owners. He thereafter remained in the State and eventually made Shelton his home and business headquarters. It has been remarked, "that the Simpson family is unique in that it is practically the only one of the older families in Washington State which made a permanent place for itself in the logging business." It has also attained high place in the industrial, financial and political circles of the Pacific Northwest.

Sol Simpson's ability and efficiency in completing the extension of the Port Blakely Railroad so impressed Captain William Renton, president of the Port Blakely Mill Company, that he engaged Mr. Simpson to manage the railroad and also negotiated a contract with him for supplying the mill with logs. The primitive logging methods still in force had no place in Sol Simpson's schemes or future. The ox method, ages old, of snaking logs out of the woods and hauling them to tide water or a railroad, was too slow and costly, and he tried out the small Dolbeer "donkey" engines to drag the felled timber to the road, and employed multiple horse teams to get it to the landings. He had to get his "donkeys" from San Francisco, California, and the horses were imported from the East. His powerful ten-horse teams of those days still remain in the memory of a few as wonderful sights to behold. Even the Dolbeer engine, with its vertical spool, was not efficient enough for Sol Simpson, and he introduced better varieties of the horizontal type. Logging roads preceded the fallers in the woods, and a network of small logging railroads began to spread through the forests like a web. It was his destiny to revolutionize logging methods, and for this one achievement his name deserves to be immortalized.

In terms of business and companies, the career of Sol Simpson expanded from a contractor to a copartnership, in 1890, under the name S. G. Simpson and Company, which took over all the Blakely camps. The Campbells, John A. and James, of Port Blakely, and the Holmes, C. S. and Ed, of San Francisco, were his associates. In 1895 Mr. Simpson organized the Simpson Logging Company, with Alfred H. Anderson, and from that date continued the rapid increase of camps along the Peninsular Railway Company, of which Mr. Anderson was then president. Within a few years the Simpson Company and Mr. Anderson purchased the railroad, and before long nearly the entire product of the company was diverted to the railroad

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

and the Shelton booms. Sol Simpson also branched out into merchandising, banking and shipping. It was in connection with his various activities that his attention centered upon Mark Reed, a green young logger, son of one of the trail-blazing pioneers of Washington when it was only part of a Territory. It fell to the lot of Mr. Reed to assist in a receivership of a pioneer lumberman's affairs, a work done so well that when an Olympia bank was purchased by Mr. Simpson, he sent Mark Reed to operate it. Prior to this he had brought the young man into Shelton to manage the company's store. When gold was discovered in Nome, Alaska, and Sol Simpson entered into partnership with C. D. Lane, brother-in-law of Mrs. Simpson, they operated three steamboats and a loading post at Nome as well as numerous mining claims. Over all these Alaskan operations he set Mark Reed, who acquitted himself so brilliantly that he was called back to Shelton and logging, as the right hand man of Mr. Simpson. All this occurred at the turn of a century, and, from then on to the time of the passing of the "grand old logger," he was Sol Simpson's right hand man in the management of the Simpson interests.

Sol Simpson died at the home of Mark Reed, in Shelton, on May 9, 1906. At that time the Simpson Company probably was the largest logging concern in the State of Washington, as has already been described. Mr. Simpson established his headquarters at Kamilche during the construction of the Port Blakely Railroad, and at its completion removed his office to "Old Headquarters," a name given to the base of operations and home, located about twenty miles from Kamilche. At his death the office was moved to Shelton, then a logging town of few distinctions, although admirably located, and here it has since remained. In 1914 Mrs. Simpson presented to Shelton an attractive town hall and Simpson Memorial Library. One building was appropriately furnished by Mrs. A. H. Anderson, wife of Mr. Simpson's early business partner.

The life of a pioneer lumberman is strenuous and a tremendous drain upon the vitality of the strongest man. It was not until the last few years of his life that Mr. Simpson's health broke from his earlier exertions. He died surrounded by wife, children, grandchildren, brothers, and Mark Reed, who was to keep the business intact and carry it on to even greater heights than its originator had envisaged. None was more enterprising, nor quicker to recognize and seize

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

opportunity than Sol Simpson. He was a rare leader of men who could manage with a firm hand and yet retain the loyalty and affection of his men. His passing was like the fall of a giant tree upon the horizon of one of his forest properties. In the words of the poet, Edwin Markham:

And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.

The further story of logging and two great loggers revolves around Mark Edward Reed, native Washingtonian. As a prelude to a review of his career and for a better understanding of its sources, strength and ideals, a record of his father and ancestry should prove enlightening. If the son rose to a position of larger prominence and importance in the State, the father, Thomas Milburne Reed, was one of the purposeful pioneers who built their homes in the little known Pacific Northwest, toiled and sacrificed, and wove into the fabric of Washington as Territory and State the pattern that made for permanency and greatness. If the father did not seek fortune in the forests, he did in mining. If industrialism was not his forte, he was variously educator, merchant, Senator, Territorial and State Auditor. The careers of father and son covered more than a century, from 1825 to 1933, and profoundly influenced the destinies of a State.

THOMAS MILBURN REED

Thomas Milburne Reed was a Kentuckian by birth, born in Sharpsburg, Bath County, on December 8, 1825, the son of Garnet B. and Nancy B. (Workman) Reed, both natives of Kentucky and members of families who first brought civilization to the Blue Grass State.

In the will of George Workman he gave "to dear beloved wife, Polly, house, furniture, stock and annual rent from farm on which I now resides for life; to dear, beloved son, James Workman, 200 acres being one half of a tract on which I now live, he paying to his mother, etc. . . . also to Nancy Read, wife of Garnet Read, \$300.00 in gold or silver; to beloved son, William Workman 100 acres including the mansion house, he paying to mother annual rent and also he to pay to daughter, Nancy Read, wife of Garnet Read, \$300.00 in gold or silver; at death of wife and upon the said James and William



Eng by E. G. Williams & Bro. N.Y.

Thomas M. Reed

The American Historical Society

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

paying the said sums to my daughter, they to have all my real estate, also to well beloved daughter, Nancy Read, wife of Garnet Read \$600.00 to be paid her by my two sons. Extrs: sons, Jas and William." There is also record of deeds for land in Sharpsburg given by Garnet Read and wife Nancy.

The Reed name is one famous in national history, and many bearing it were among the pioneers of the Massachusetts Colony. One is inclined to believe, judging from what they have been and have done throughout the three centuries of American affairs, that the Reeds, or the name Reed, is derived from the Saxon *Rede*—advice, counsel, help—for this has been an outstanding characteristic of the family. One Brianus de Rede was living in 1130, at Morpeth, in North England. For the most part, the American progenitors of Thomas Milburne Reed were of North Irish Presbyterian blood, directly derived from English and Scotch-Irish ancestors. They came to America with the love of freedom, the urge of ambition and the will to work, and forged ahead to places of prominence in all walks of life. The more adventuresome and enterprising of them were forerunners of that great flood of folk from the Eastern coasts of our country which settled the Middle Western States, such as Kentucky and Ohio, and later were the pioneers of the Far West and the Pacific Coast, where they were giants in a land which required the great and the strong to subdue.

Thomas Reed spent his childhood days on a blue grass farm outside of Sharpsburg, Kentucky, and was left motherless at the age of three. When nine years old, he came under the care of an uncle, James Workman, and the lad, at fourteen, labored as a farmer for wages during three seasons of the year so as to be able to attend school during the short winter. It took him four years to gain the rudiments of the education with which he set out in the world for himself, at first as a teacher of a district school. Ten dollars was his original capital at this time, and he found that a teacher's wage failed to add to it, so Thomas Reed became a clerk in a country store. In five years he was the manager of a mercantile establishment in Maysville, Mason County, Kentucky.

The decade from 1847 to 1857 was crucial in the affairs of Mr. Reed and was marked by many changes and new endeavors. In 1847 his father died, and in that same year the son enlisted for service in

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

the Mexican War, although his troop never reached the front. He affiliated with Holloway Lodge, No. 153, of Bath County, Free and Accepted Masons, on March 30, 1847, and on July 7, of that same year, he received the Sublime Degree and was chosen Secretary. The importance of this action is better realized when one knows that he became a Mason when the anti-Masonic enmity was at its height in the South; that eleven years later he became the Grand Secretary in Washington; and that, at the time of his demise, he was the oldest Grand Secretary in point of continuous service in the whole Masonic world. On February 23, 1849, Thomas Reed set out for the gold fields of California by way of Panama. Before he reached his destination, however, he had to make his way to Callao, Peru, where a small vessel, the "Sylph," was chartered. He passed through the Golden Gate on July 26, 1849, having been more than five months en route, and arrived so short of funds that he carried chain for the surveying gang that was laying out the streets of Sacramento, California, until he had accumulated a "stake," with which to try his hand at mining at Normon Island in the American River. He mined intermittently during his eight years in California, but soon realized that there was more wealth in mercantile lines than in the placer mines. In 1851 Mr. Reed opened a general store in Eldorado County; in 1853 he was appointed postmaster by President Pierce. He was elected treasurer of Eldorado County and was also county supervisor, justice of the peace, agent for Wells, Fargo and Company, and by 1853 had taken up the study of law with Selucius Garfield, of Eldorado. In 1857 he went to the Pacific Northwest coastal regions. It had been a busy and colorful decade in the career of the young Kentucky man and definitely marked him as one destined to public life and service.

The potential and immediate resources and opportunities of Washington Territory and State held Mr. Reed's interest and affection for nearly fifty years. Settling in Olympia, the territorial capital, in 1857, he was agent for Wells, Fargo Company, but within two years was engaged in merchandising. In 1861 came the Civil War, and Mr. Reed sold his holdings and enlisted, even as he had in the Mexican War. Moreover, he raised what was probably the first company of volunteers in the section, of which he was elected captain. Again his efforts to serve his country in war were frustrated, for the military

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

authorities at the Nation's capital declined the organization because of the difficulties and costs of its transportation. The Spanish-American War came and went when he was looking forward to his seventy-third birthday.

The whole Civil War period was one of difficulty for Thomas Milburne Reed, for he was outspoken for the Union cause in a region strongly secessionist. He held the office of postmaster for only one year, in 1853, because his anti-slavery beliefs made him unpopular politically. Despite this handicap, or because of the strength of character shown in taking a courageous stand, he was elected, in the spring of 1862, to the Legislature of Washington Territory from Idaho County and was chosen Speaker of the House. In that same year he was appointed deputy collector of internal revenue under P. D. Moore, collector for the Puget Sound and Idaho districts. The difficulty of his task can well be appreciated, for it was his duty to collect taxes for a Federal Government from people who wished to repudiate that government. "He was many times called upon to display the coolness and courage, both physical and mental, of a general, and won the respect of all." When Idaho Territory was set off from Washington, Mr. Reed was sent to the Legislature to represent Nez Percés County. A member of the bar of Washington and Idaho, he was made prosecuting attorney of Nez Percés County in 1864.

In 1865 Mr. Reed returned to Olympia to act as chief clerk in the office of the United States Surveyor General, which post he held over a period of seven years. For the following eight years he was United States Deputy Surveyor in the field and made surveys of the public lands of Western Washington. He was elected Senator, or its equivalent—member of the Council—of Washington Territory in 1877 and was its president throughout the first term. At the end of the session he was appointed auditor of the Territory, which place he held until January, 1888, or shortly before he was chosen as a delegate to the Washington State Constitutional Convention. Under the State organization, he was its first elected Auditor, polling the largest vote of any Republican candidate. The year of 1893 saw the bringing to an end of Mr. Reed's larger public service as an official. The best part of his mature life had been devoted to the Territory and State and Olympia. The Hon. John Arthur, of Seattle, said of him:

He was a stalwart in every phase of his life; he was the outstanding enemy of all indirection; he was the soul of honor in all trans-

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

actions with his fellowmen; his unselfish devotion to the public interest and the needs of the community in which he lived brought him to the verge of financial ruin and cost him a fortune; his guiding star in public and private life was the strictest integrity; and

Thus he bore, without abuse,
The grand old name of gentleman.

Upon the occasion of a visit to his former home in Kentucky, in 1853, Thomas Milburne Reed married (first) Elizabeth Hannah Finley, on October 20, at Upper Blue Lick Springs, Fleming County. They became the parents of five children; three of whom died in infancy. Of the two growing to maturity, one was Thomas M. Reed, Jr., former Superior Court judge of Thurston County, Washington, who later was United States judge at Juneau, Alaska; the other son was Mark Edward Reed, of whom further. Elizabeth Hannah (Finley) Reed died in 1866. Later Thomas M. Reed married (second) Elizabeth Carter Kiddings, of Olympia, Washington, who died in 1871, leaving a daughter, Emma Elizabeth Reed, who married Dr. George W. Ingham, of Olympia. On May 3, 1873, Mr. Reed married (third) Hattie A. Fox, and their son is Garnett Avery Reed, of Shelton, Washington.

The death of Thomas Milburne Reed occurred on October 7, 1905, and marked the passing of one of the truly distinguished men of the State of Washington. His measure of the duties of citizenship had been that of service to the State. That he failed to profit therefrom is a testimony to the integrity of his life and public activities. To his sons in the West he left the greatest of legacies, a good name, the spirit of enterprise, and the will to serve one's fellowmen.

MARK EDWARD REED

Mark Edward Reed, son of Thomas Milburne and Elizabeth Hannah (Finley) Reed, was born on December 23, 1866, within the bounds of Olympia, "to the tune of the woodsman's axe." The villagers were still clearing the townsite of the place that had been the capital of the Territory only thirteen years. However often industry, finance, politics, and the council table of Presidents called him away from his native State, he nevertheless spent most of his life close to the giant woods of the Pacific Northwest, and his heart was ever with those "who shared the vicissitudes of the camp and the mill."



Mark C. Dwyer

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

All his boyhood days were spent in the capital city, and from its schools and his cultured parents he gained his early education. He worked in a grocery store between school terms and was for a time in a printing office. A sound, keen mind in a tall, lanky body enabled him to prepare for college in the face of difficulties, and in 1884 he matriculated at the University of Washington. During the following year, however, he was needed at home and for the time gave up his studies. Although only eighteen, he took over the management of a defunct grocery store in Olympia and within a year had brought it from the shadow of bankruptcy to the condition of a paying business. This done, he entered the California Military College, at Oakland, and continued his scholastic training. Meanwhile he kept books for a wholesaler and traveled a short time as salesman. At a considerably later period he read law with James A. Haight. During this period of youth and experiment and the gaining of schooling and experience, Mark Reed was assistant deputy auditor to his father, the first under State government, and he opened the books, which still are in use, and designed the warrants, now being used. For two years he was secretary of the State Land Commission and became familiar with the timber country of Washington.

It is noteworthy that all of Mr. Reed's various occupations and experiences as boy and youth contributed to the success of the career which he was to follow, whether in merchandising, politics or lumbering. His short tests of salesmanship foreshadowed his supreme ability to sell himself, his ideas and his goods. His education, both formal and in the law, fitted him to stand before the great of the land upon a basis of equality. Even his brief military school training affected his outlook. It was probably the basis of the regimentation of his logging and other enterprises. Shortly after his return from Oakland, California, he enlisted in the first National Guard unit to be organized in Washington—Company A, of Olympia—and attended the first National Guard manœuvre camp, wearing the stripes of a first lieutenant. Here he met and became the friend of the men who are today the leaders in the financial, official and industrial life of the Pacific Northwest.

The profound influence of early ventures and the infinite skill with which he eventually made use of them are interesting and enlightening characteristics of Mark Reed's life. His service as secretary of

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

the State Land Commission undoubtedly turned his attention to lumbering. A childhood adventure probably was responsible for the way in which he went into the logging business. As a child of ten he had the fortunate chance to ride on the first train over the old Townsend and Southern Railroad, a thrill and inspiration he never forgot. In the early 1890's he joined "Ike" Ellis, one of the big pioneer loggers of his day, to build a tram road from the head of Oakland Bay, above Shelton. A small timber dam in Cranberry Creek was constructed to receive the logs from his road. The tramway was similar to the so-called first railroad in the United States, the one laid to convey stone wherewith to build Bunker Hill Monument. Neither had engines and both consisted of rails over which oxen hauled loads on wide, clumsy, wooden wheels. Like most operations of that pioneer period in lumbering, the tram road failed, because logging could not survive the strain of the three dollar log and a vicious mill scale.

It was not until 1897 that Mr. Reed definitely became a logger. Among the numerous failures causing the depression in lumbering of the late 'nineties was that of the pioneer, Frank Wilkinson, who went into a receivership under C. J. Lord. The latter gentleman, in seeking a man to send into the woods to take over the management of the concern, selected Mark Reed, who knew timber and the country, although he was somewhat unfamiliar with the methods of cutting and getting out logs. He relates of his first day's experience:

I had never been in a logging camp. When I arrived, carrying my blankets, I reported to the foreman and asked him where I should go. He pointed to the bunkhouse and told me I could leave my blankets there, but I would have to build my own bunk. I asked for lumber and he told me to find some down at the hog lot. Some time later I got together enough boards but found the hogs had been scratching against them and I had first to clean them off. I built something like a bunk and then went down to the barns to rustle straw to fill it. Over this I spread my blankets.

That night the hard boards and the odor of the hogs kept me awake for a long time and I vowed then that if ever I had charge of a real camp I would provide decent furnishings for the men who worked in the woods.

Mark Reed did not forget. For three years he was a young logger, working in the camps as a swamper, faller and timber man,

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

and that early experience not only aided him in the development of scientific, expert logging, but inspired him to a constant endeavor to improve the conditions under which his men worked. More than a quarter of a century later one of the great loggers in the State protested at a public hearing of a tariff commission: "It is unfair to compare the logging costs of Reed with others, because he gets his logs in the water cheaper than any other outfit in the West." At the same time he was running the finest equipped and best managed camp in the region, and was the first man "to provide chambermaids, spring mattresses, clean sheets, shower baths, club and reading rooms, plenty of newspapers, magazines and books, model cook houses that could not be duplicated in town, and many other comforts. It took time to work out the details, but eventually all that he vowed he accomplished." Moreover, he was able eventually, as a legislator, to promote legislation which embodied his ideas in laws that benefited all logging and loggers' conditions in the West.

It was inevitable that the skill and efficiency displayed by Mark Reed in his first important work in the woods should come to the notice of that leader of pioneer "boss-loggers," Sol G. Simpson, who recognized good men with the same skill by which he knew good timber. Mr. Simpson made the young man straw boss, under Joseph Simpson, foreman, of his Number 1 Camp, then situated near Lake Newatzel, in Mason County. Mark Reed proved himself too valuable to be left in the woods and was brought into the offices at Shelton. In so simple a fashion began an association with the Simpson Logging Company and its president which continued throughout life. As has been related, but will bear repetition, promotions came rapidly and responsibilities increased in numbers and importance. Mr. Reed was given the management of the Lumbermen's Mercantile Company's establishment at Shelton, which he later developed into a large and modern department store. About this time Sol Simpson joined A. H. Anderson in the purchase of the Peninsular Railroad, successor to the original Satsop Railroad, which was started in 1884 and extended to a connection with Port Blakely. The new owners desired to provide a better and easier grade into Shelton, and to Mark Reed the task was assigned. C. J. Lord, organizer of the Capital National Bank, at Olympia, sold the bank to Mr. Simpson so that he could take an executive office at a Seattle financial institution. Sol Simpson sent

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

Mark Reed to operate it, and another success was placed to the latter's account.

The days of the Klondike gold rush opened the doors of another opportunity for Mr. Reed, or at least placed another burden of responsibility upon the shoulders of the young man. Sol Simpson already had some minor interests in shipping to Alaska, but bought three steamers and entered into mining and trading partnership with C. D. Lane, well known in the North. The charge of all the Alaska enterprises was turned over to Mr. Reed, who operated the White Star Steamship Company, running between Seattle, Washington, and Nome, Alaska. At one time or another he was president of the Tacoma-Olympia Transportation Company and the Shelton Transportation Company, operating steamers between Seattle, Tacoma, Olympia and Shelton, in the early days. Romance entered the life of Mark Reed prior to his Alaskan activities. In 1901 he courted and won Irene Simpson, older daughter of Sol G. Simpson and a popular member of the younger Seattle society. They were married in the spring of 1902 and spent their honeymoon and still another summer in Nome.

All the many and changing activities at the turn of the present century were only a prelude to the larger work of directing the destinies of the Simpson Logging Company and other allied interests, first as manager and then as president. The years had taken their heavy toll from the vital forces of Sol G. Simpson, particularly the years of 1893 and 1897, when the lumbering industry was hard hit by the financial depressions which overshadowed the Nation. Since 1902 he had been turning over to Mark Reed the management of all his affairs. In 1906 Mr. Simpson died, and his old associate, A. H. Anderson, of previous mention, became president of the Simpson Company, with Mark Reed as vice-president and general manager. With the death of Mr. Anderson, in 1914, Mr. Reed succeeded to the presidency of the numerous corporations in which these two leaders had been associated, and also became advisor to the Anderson estate, in addition to looking after his own holdings. Mr. Reed had already purchased a large interest in the Mason County Logging Company from Thomas Bordeaux and in the Western Washington Logging Company from Mark Draham, both large and important pioneer logging concerns. He also operated a bank in Shelton and had

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

extended the interests he had, together with Mr. Simpson, in the Dexter Horton Bank of Seattle. He already was organizing vast timber holdings, purchased from individuals and the government, into a self-perpetuating unit, putting into effect sustained-yield logging policies to keep cut-over land producing a new crop of trees. Incidentally, in partnership with Dr. G. W. Ingham, he helped establish, in Oyster Bay, beds for the cultivation of Olympia oysters. Oystering became an important industry in the region, but it did not play an important part in Mr. Reed's career.

Here further details of methods illustrating the progress made in the present century in logging, as conducted by the Simpson Company under the inspiring leadership of Mark Reed, are essential to the story. In early paragraphs there was given a picture of logging in the 1880's and the early 1900's, when Sol G. Simpson and others were introducing some of the first important improvements in the methods of getting timber out of the wooded lands. This story described waste and costly methods, crude camps, and crews, none to well paid and unprotected from the results of injury and disease, the lack of mechanical devices, a minimum use of motive power, destruction of rich natural resources, and small thought for conservation.

The picture of logging, as carried on a third of a century later, contains many different and outstanding features. In the examination of these it is well to understand that during the thirty years in which Mark Reed was in control he was motivated by certain ideals: 1. The maintenance of the highest standards of transportation. 2. The adoption of new operating methods when beneficial. 3. The consideration always of the welfare of his employees.

On October 20, 1932, the members of the Pacific Logging Congress visited Shelton and the Simpson Logging Company's enterprises to learn something helpful in their own businesses, and to measure the advances made by a concern then forty-two years old. They saw, among other things, railroads utilized to the limit in the industry and constructed over a terrain and under difficulties which required the highest type of engineering. Two of its huge bridges are the highest steel bridges West of the Mississippi River, and rank among the highest in the world. The tracks extend in all directions, even into the high ranges where logging was once considered forever unprofitable.

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

The railroad is run in the same manner as any commercial line and is of the same standard construction as a transcontinental road. The railroad shops in Shelton are among the most complete in the Northwest and are capable of handling all major repairs to locomotives, rolling stock and logging equipment. The company has its own foundry; its experts have developed noteworthy electrical and timber devices; and there is a large garage where all the automotive vehicles and equipment of the Simpson Logging Company and its affiliated corporations are serviced.

Mark Reed was among the first to realize the value to the timber industry of the motor car and truck, the tractor and similarly-powered equipment. If Sol Simpson, the experimenter with the donkey engine in logging, were still alive, with what astonishment he would witness at work caterpillar tractors coupled to arches hauling massive logs, even windfalls, several at a time, with the greatest of ease; bulldozers of enormous push or punch, capable of going almost anywhere and of "chunking out" all kinds of grades and roads and keeping them in shape; a two hundred Diesel horsepower yarder; gas and other cranes; the Washington jammer; spar skidders; all sharing in the economical handling of logs. Logging has become highly mechanized and greatly speeded up since the older days. Mr. Simpson would also see descendants of his "donkeys," many of them, but disguised in unfamiliar shapes and powered with gasoline and distillate as well as steam. A single donkey engine of modern type may be more powerful than all those used by the "grand old man" of the woods combined. Sol Simpson Reed, son of Mark E. Reed, was a valuable aid to his father in advancing many new improvements, the father finding keen delight in witnessing new ideas demonstrated by his son, the latter having studied forestry at the University of Washington.

The consideration which Mr. Reed gave to his men, in housing, physical protection, hospitalization, group insurance (this concern being among the first to realize the value of this for its employees), general comfort and welfare, has already been touched upon in a paragraph. One might enlarge the description of a typical modern company camp by drawing attention to the fact that nearly all of the camps are "car camps," mobile and flexible in expansion or change of location, especially in case of fire. The family house has been increased in numbers and conveniences. Where possible, automobile roads are

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

constructed, and a schoolhouse supplied as well. As long ago as 1911, Mark Reed helped to promote a workmen's compensation law; he always hated the victimizing of workmen by unscrupulous lawyers. Before legislation was even considered, the Simpson and the Reed camps tried to furnish prompt and sufficient aid to injured employees. Everything had to give way before the special train which hurried an injured man from the woods to Shelton, and from thence to Olympia by boat. Later he built a hospital in Shelton for the service of the community and the surrounding country. In 1923, while Speaker of the House, he was successful in establishing a satisfactory scale of compensation for injuries, the prompt hospitalization of the men and thorough medical attention at all times, a splendid example of humanitarian legislation. During the World War period he was one of the principals in the group of logger leaders who forced an agreement for a shorter workday and increased pay for the men in the camps.

In modern logging there is now less waste of trees, and more attention is given to the conservation of new-growth timber. The original "donation claim" of Sol Simpson grew a crop of second growth hemlock that was commercially available years ago. At the present time the Simpson Company removes timber less rapidly than the new growth comes on, and is, therefore, placed on a sustained-yield basis. Not many years before his death Mr. Reed refused to merge his interests with other concerns using wasteful methods or to accept a high official position with the consolidated company in order that he might guarantee the future of his corporation and insure the permanence of Mason County and Shelton as a lumber, pulp and logging district.

At least one more phase of the timber industry requires notice, although in so doing one leads away from logging to the manufacturing side of lumbering. Until comparatively recent years the policy of the Simpson Logging Company was to produce logs for the market. As it reached the higher altitudes, the production of hemlock increased to such an extent that the mills purchasing it were no longer able to absorb all of the company's supplies. There was also an abundant amount of small material upon the higher levels that had to be utilized reasonably close to its location, or else be wasted. The problems involved were solved by Mark Reed through the erection of a modern electric mill in Shelton with a capacity of 140,000 board feet per day.

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

The Reed Mill Company was created to own and operate the plant as an affiliated company. The plant proved so beneficial to the Simpson Company's operations that Mr. Reed decided to have the Reed Mill Company build a shingle mill, electrically operated, to have a capacity of 200 squares per day, to manufacture cedar production. With these mills in operation the company's normal production of approximately 250,000,000 feet per year of mixed forest products was well taken care of, but Mr. Reed was not just satisfied and he induced his friends, Messrs. Mills and Zellarbach, of San Francisco, California, to build a pulp mill adjacent to the Reed mill. The Rainier Pulp and Paper Company was organized and built the plant now well known all over the world as the producer of high grade pulp suitable for the manufacture of special lines of paper and of rayon, cellophane and other products, all made from hemlock. The Reed mills, entering the export trade, contributed greatly to keeping the logging camps running during slack periods.

In the furtherance of his logging and other operations Mark Reed took a rough logging camp and made it one of the finest modern small cities in the Pacific Northwest, perhaps the most unusual of his achievements. When he started out as a logger, Shelton was a sprawling, unkempt hamlet situated near the swampy shores of Hammersley Inlet, an arm of Puget Sound, which the old-timers called the Big Skookum. There were nothing but frame buildings, less than half a dozen of which were genuinely of two-story construction. Many dwellings were difficult of access in rainy weather, for dirt roads formed the streets. The place dates from 1852, but advanced little during the first half of its history. Levi Shelton, who, as a small boy, settled on the donation claim of his brother, which became the site of Shelton, lived to behold the wonderful transformation that the future wrought.

Mark Reed loved the town to which Fate had brought him. Even the heights which he attained in the State and country, the inducements to live elsewhere, never lessened that affection. The big city could not lure him away. No Washington city was so built around one man, as was Shelton around Mark Reed. To him it owed paved streets and permanent buildings, a water supply and electricity, a model hospital, public library, city hall, and a high school. If he had a hobby, it was education, and the high school was named for Mrs.



MILLS AND BOOMING GROUNDS
SIMPSON LOGGING COMPANY AND SUBSIDIARIES
SHELTON, WASHINGTON

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

Reed, who for twenty years was a leader in local educational circles. Mr. Reed had the lowlands along the waterfront filled in for future industrial expansion. Not content with the securing paved streets, he sponsored the construction of a highway system which now connects Shelton with all parts of the State. In this connection it is worthy of note that Mr. Reed was one of the earliest advocates of highway improvement and, during his career in the House, proposed legislation which gave to Washington a State highway system which has served as a pattern for many of the older states of the Union.

Too often our great men build and then abandon what they have constructed. The thrill of creation has a greater appeal than the routine of support. What Mark Reed created he sustained. Between 1920 and 1930 the population of Shelton increased more than three hundred per cent., a growth that proportionally far surpassed every other sizeable community in Washington. Mr. Reed's business interests expanded very much more. Then came the recent world-wide financial depression, which was particularly severe upon the lumber industry. With small consideration for his own wealth and comfort he hastened to protect the welfare of his many employees, of Shelton and of Mason County.

All during the depression of the 1930's, Mr. Reed maintained wage levels higher than those of his competitors and was nevertheless successful almost continuously in keeping his men regularly employed. This action was of great assistance in carrying Mason County through a critical period, but the city associates of Mr. Reed never heard of the costs he bore in the crisis. No more people were told more than was absolutely necessary. And similarly visitors to Shelton never learn the many times the Reed fortune has been tapped to pay for local improvements or needed buildings.

The State Bank of Shelton, under his control, weathered the financial gale with the best. A member of the board of directors of the greatest banking institution of the Pacific Northwest, he played an outstanding part in stabilizing it in the great crisis; he also helped to organize for the people of Olympia, when several of its banking facilities failed in 1931-32, the Washington National Bank of Olympia. All the financial institutions, with which he was connected, met their obligations, and Mr. Reed was recognized more than ever as one of the State's leaders in finance. In 1933 Mark Reed was called upon

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

to do further service for the lumber industry of the Northwest; he was chosen a member of the national committee appointed to draft a code for the lumber industry to conform with the terms of the National Industrial Recovery Act. Whatever his private opinion of the value of such a code, he labored through the intense heat of an Eastern summer, sometimes twenty hours at a sitting, and was one of the five men who wrote a code which proved acceptable to the President. A colleague of this time went on record:

His last "victory" was at the N. R. A. lumber code hearing at Chicago. His simple, straightforward sincerity and honesty changed the attitude of those at the hearing, when it appeared that disagreements could not be bridged. Two or three times, when things seemed going to pot, Mark Reed saved the situation with his forceful logic and personality. Although he was a Republican leader, he forgot party lines and saw in the national recovery act a real opportunity for all businesses and industries to aid the Nation.

In the endeavor to indicate the profound influence upon the timber industry of the Pacific Northwest wielded by Mark Reed, the mention of his multitudinous connections with other phases of life purposely have been made incidental. The woods was his abiding affection; he was always a logger at heart. It cannot be thrust into the background that he was also a lumberman, manufacturer, shipping man, banker, political leader, legislator, humanitarian, benefactor, and always a true American citizen whose ideal was the service of his fellows. The breadth of his business interests is shown by the following partial list of corporations and concerns with which he was associated. He was president of the Simpson Investment Company, Lumbermen's Mercantile Company, First National Bank of Shelton, Reed Mill Company, and Peninsular Railway Company, of Shelton; Reed-Ingham Investment Company, Olympia Oyster Investment Company, Washington National Bank, of Olympia; Phoenix Logging Company, of Potlach; also of the Shelton Hospital Association, and the Pacific Northwest Loggers' Association. He was a director of the Anderson Estate Company and the First National Bank of Seattle; a heavy stockholder in the "General" group of insurance companies, the Mason County Logging Company, the Rainier Pulp and Paper Company, of Shelton; the National Forest Products Company, of Port Angeles; the Olympic Hotel, of Seattle; and the Tacoma Hotel, of Tacoma.

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

The entrance of Mark Reed into the political arena was caused by the knowledge of work to be done which others realized he alone could do. From young manhood he believed that the State should do more for the protection and welfare of its working men, but only after long persuasion did he stand for election to the Legislature. Mr. Reed won, and for sixteen years he was kept in the House by his Mason County constituency, from 1914 to 1931. It will be recalled that he was a State official as a young man and was the son of one of the political pioneers of the Territory and State. His ability and skill and courage won him recognition without difficulty, and, with E. A. Sims, he held undisputed control over the majority party in the State. At the session of 1923 he was elected Speaker of the House and presided with a fairness and efficiency that won the admiration of even his political opponents. His early days in the Legislature were marked by the aid he gave in the development of an industrial insurance program, labors for the improvement of labor conditions and the advocacy of increased awards for industrial injuries. An editor commenting upon his legislative record, wrote:

Mark Reed was perhaps the most powerful political leader who ever flashed across the skies of our great State. He was not powerful because of his wealth, but largely because he was not afraid to back up from a position that had proved untenable. Mr. Reed was one of the men who conceived and brought about the poll tax of 1921. He was one of the leaders in bringing about its repeal a very few years later. His stand upon the highway program of the State was one of the things which made him famous. He brought to the Olympic Peninsula one of the finest highway programs that could be desired and opened up one of America's most beautiful playgrounds. He was one of the first Republican leaders to recognize that the Eighteenth Amendment was done as a law in the Nation and worked for its repeal in an organization that was traditionally dry.

He was an native-born Washingtonian, but did not use that fact for his political advancement, preferring to do his bit in his own way. An untiring worker in organized politics, he usually supported Republicans in office. Always he labored for the best interests of the State.

Three times Mark Reed was offered the Governorship of Washington, but as many times declined. He was urged to become a candidate for the office of United States Senator, but could not be persuaded. He refused probable election as Governor, in 1924, to manage the campaign for Calvin Coolidge in Washington, the first

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

Pacific Coast State to declare for the President. In the famous convention at Bellingham of 1930 Mr. Reed was a dominant factor. In 1932 he withstood the demands of party leaders to declare for one office or another, but accepted nomination for the post of national committeeman. His election took place after he had been hooted into silence, while speaking in favor of a minority report advocating the resubmission of the Eighteenth Amendment. It was the triumph of the man over the disapproval of his convictions. He was on warm terms of personal friendship with President Harding, was often a White House guest during the Calvin Coolidge régime, and was brought into close contact with President Herbert Hoover, while assuming active management of the Republican campaign in the State.

Despite the honors and rewards that came to Mark Reed, shadows touched his life in later years. In 1930, when peace and quietude should have been his lot, he faced the greatest sorrow of his life in the death of his eldest son, Sol Simpson Reed, at the hands of a demented logger. His own life was spared long enough to witness the interest of his other boys, Frank C. and William G. Reed, in the enterprises to which he had given forty years of intense work. And there was the joy of grandsons, Mark E. Reed, II, and Frank C. Reed, Jr., sons of Frank C. and Georgine (Raithel) Reed. In the hour of sorrow he "showed the courage and determination which marked his entire life, as he again stepped into the front line of action where the going was hardest and carried on—not for personal gain, but to keep the wheels of industry moving that fathers and mothers might have food and clothing for their children, that business men, depending on the industries he directed, might save their life's earnings. Then came the appeal that struck fear in the hearts of millions. America, the country he loved, was in trouble. Wearied by four decades of continuous labor, appealed to by family and friends, warned by doctors, yet he did not falter and again took his place in the front line trenches to give his all for his country. What greater tribute could be paid to his memory than to say that he was an American in every sense of the word? The personification of the ideals, honor and courage that builded this greatest Nation on the face of the earth." (A. J. Chitty.)

Mark Edward Reed died on September 3, 1933, after a brief illness, a victim of the heroic effort at national recovery in which he

LOGGING ON PUGET SOUND

played so notable a rôle. Of the hundreds of editorials, tributes and appreciations of his character and career, occasioned by his passing, the following is from the Seattle "Daily Times" of September 5, 1933:

In the death of Mark E. Reed will be noted and mourned the passing of one to whom our people will accord—indeed, already have accorded—distinction as the first citizen of his State. He served them long; invariably he served them well, and in all things he served them with no more trace of selfishness than is properly inseparable from a sense of righteous effort. He was selfish only in the unflinching desire that the service he gave so willingly should be of benefit to all.

In his home life and his personal inclinations were to be found the wellsprings of his broad sympathy for others; his lively interest in the problems of human existence; his zeal for the welfare of men and women and children, however situate. Qualified beyond most men for any responsibility with which he might have been charged, for any honor that might have come to him, he sought nothing that might have been of consequence to himself, but moved on under the urge of desire to do things for the common good.

Though but from time to time in temporary place of official title, he was for years a towering figure in the affairs of the State. Appearing modestly as representative of one of the less populous counties, his qualities for leadership were in instant evidence. No man in State history has been so trusted by the people; none has proved more worthy of such trust. Ever ready to fight for what he knew to be the right, he came occasionally under the criticism of those who thought otherwise; but no passing assault ever left the least dent in his armor of sincerity and honest purpose. His State and his people, the land of his birth and they that dwell therein, will not forget nor ever fail of gratitude to him.

FAMA SEMPER VIVAT

When the lives of the just are recorded

For the archives of angels above,

And the deeds of the noble accorded

Their place in God's storehouse of love—

Where souls of the brave find a haven

As the glories of Heaven unfold,

There the name of MARK REED will be graven

In eternal letters of gold.

—*Orpheus C. Soots.*

Mather and Allied Families

BY MYRTLE M. LEWIS, GLEN ROCK, NEW JERSEY



AUTHORITIES seem to differ as to the origin of the surname Mather. One gives it as belonging to the group of baptismal surnames from "the son of Madur"; another derives it from a locality, there being a village of this name in the parish of St. Cyrus or Ecclescraig in Kincardineshire. Still another assigns it to the group of occupative surnames, derived from "the mather" or "the mower."

From the parish of Winwick in Lancashire came the family herein traced. This family sent to Colonial America a representative of the best type for the spiritual development of a new colony. Through the history of New England, the name Mather and the church have been synonymous. Later generations have given their attention to other professions as well.

Arms—Ermine, on a fesse wavy azure, three lions rampant or.

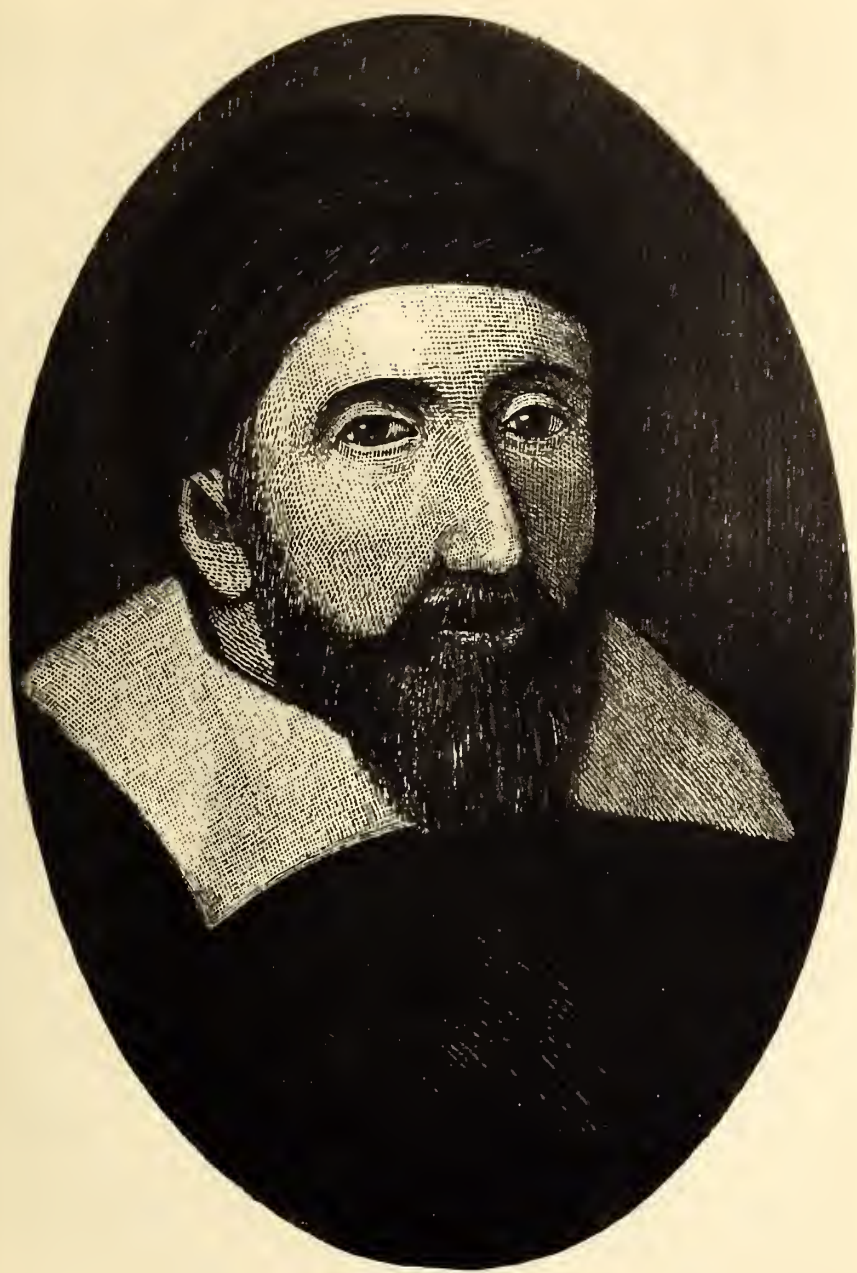
Crest—A lion sejant or.

Motto—*Sunt fortia pectora nobis.*

(E. H. Mather: "Lineage of Rev. Richard Mather," p. 27.)

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Lower: "Patronymica Britannica." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom." H. M. Lippincott: "The Mather Family," pp. 1-3. H. R. Stiles: "The History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 482.)

I. Rev. Richard Mather, progenitor of this family in America, son of Thomas and Margaret (Abrams) Mather, and grandson of John Mather, of Lowton, Winwick Parish, Lancashire, England, was born in Lowton, England, in 1596, and died in Dorchester, Massachusetts, April 22, 1669. His journal gives an interesting account of his life and the facts of embarkation from England in his time. He was educated at Winwick School, from which he went as instructor to Toxteth Park, near Liverpool, in 1611. From here he went to Oxford University and returned to Toxteth as a minister in 1618. After his marriage Rev. Richard Mather bought a house at Much Woolton, near Toxteth, and preached regularly, but came under criti-



Richard Mathew

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

cism for non-conformity. He, therefore, left England, and according to his journal, "had a safe and comfortable voyage to New England," arriving in Boston, August 17, 1635. He was invited to settle in the ministry in Plymouth, Dorchester and Roxbury, and on the advice of friends he chose Dorchester. The church there had been removed to Windsor, Connecticut, with its minister, Mr. Warham. On August 23, 1636, a new church was formed in Dorchester with Mr. Mather as "teacher." Here he lived out his faithful ministry. He had a very strong constitution and for fifty years attended to his duties every Sabbath. However, in his old age he lost the sight of one eye and suffered for two years from a malady which finally terminated his life. His will was dated the "16th day of the 8th month, 1661," at Dorchester.

Rev. Richard Mather was a man of deep learning and assisted "the Apostle" Eliot in his translation of the Bible into the Indian language. As a writer he published several pamphlets and articles on ecclesiastical matters, among them the following: "Church Government and Church Covenant Discussed" (1639); "The Bay Psalm Book" (1640); "A Modest and Brotherly Answer to Charles Herl's Book Against the Independency of Churches" (1644); "A Reply to Mr. Rutherford, or a Defence of the Answer to Herl's Book" (1646); "A Catechism" (1650); "A Plea for the Churches of New England," and "A Farewell Exhortation to the Church and People of Dorchester." In England and America he was known as a man of exceptional mental power, and from him descended a line of able men of the church and secular life as well.

Rev. Richard Mather married (first), September 29, 1624, Catherine Holt, who died in 1655, daughter of Edmund Holt, of Bury, Lancashire, England. He married (second), August 26, 1656, Mrs. Sarah (Hawkridge-Story) Cotton, who died May 27, 1676, daughter of Richard Hawkridge, of Boston, England, and widow of (first) William Story, and (second) Rev. John Cotton. Children of first marriage: 1. Rev. Samuel, born in Dublin, Ireland, May 13, 1626, died there, October 29, 1671; came to America, but returned to England, where he became a noted preacher; married a Miss Stevens, sister of Sir John Stevens, of Dublin, Ireland. 2. Timothy, of whom further. 3. Rev. Nathaniel, born in Liverpool, England, March 20, 1630, died in London, July 26, 1697; came to America, but like his

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

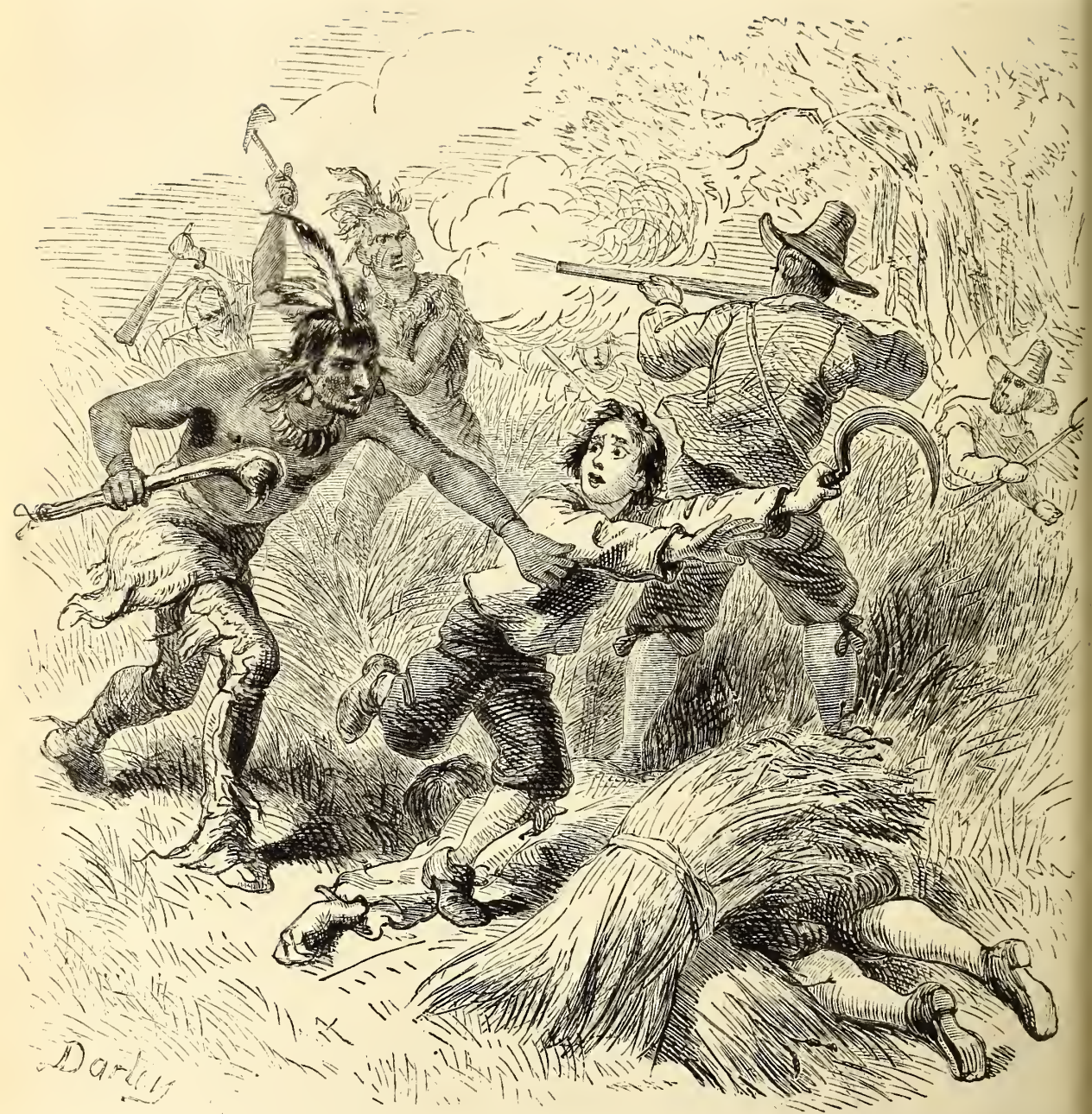
older brother returned to England, where he became known as a minister; married Maria Bean or Benn, daughter of Rev. Dr. William Bean or Benn. 4. Joseph, born in 1633 or 1634, died young. 5. Rev. Eleazer, born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, May 13, 1637, died in Northampton, Massachusetts, July 24, 1669; was the first minister in Northampton; married, September 29, 1659, Esther Warham, daughter of Rev. John Warham. 6. Rev. Dr. Increase, born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, June 21, 1639, died in Boston, Massachusetts, August 23, 1723; married (first) Maria Cotton, daughter of Rev. John Cotton; (second) Anne Lake, daughter of Captain John Lake.

(H. E. Mather: "Lineage of Rev. Richard Mather," pp. 33, 34, 43-45, 49, 52, 54, 55, 57, 61. H. R. Stiles: "The History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 483. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LIX, p. 349.)

II. Timothy Mather, son of Rev. Richard and Catherine (Holt) Mather, was born in Liverpool, England, in 1628, and died in Dorchester, Massachusetts, January 14, 1684, as the result of a fall from a scaffold in his barn. He settled in Dorchester, where he followed the occupation of farming. He was the only one of Rev. Richard Mather's sons who did not become a preacher, and because of this was known as the "Mather farmer."

Timothy Mather married (first), about 1650, Elizabeth or Catherine Atherton. (Atherton II.) He married (second), March 20, 1678-79, Elizabeth Weeks, who was born October 18, 1657, and died February 19, 1710, daughter of Amiel Weeks. Children of first marriage, born in Dorchester, Massachusetts: 1. Rev. Samuel, of whom further. 2. Richard, born December 20 or 22, 1653, died August 17, 1688; married, July 1, 1680, Catherine Wise. 3. Catherine, born January 6, 1655-56, died in 1694, unmarried. 4. Nathaniel, born September 2, 1658. 5. Joseph, born May 25, 1661, died January 8, 1690-91; married, June 20, 1689, Sarah Clapp. 6. Atherton, born October 4, 1663, died November 9, 1734; married (first) Rebecca Stoughton; (second), October 24, 1705, Mary Lamb.

(H. E. Mather: "Lineage of Rev. Richard Mather," pp. 54-55. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXV, p. 72. "Lines of Descent from Honored New England Ancestors," pp. 46-47. M. Goodwin: "Genealogical Notes of Connecticut and Massachusetts," p. 151.)



THE KING PHILIP WAR—A RAID ON THE SETTLERS.

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

III. Rev. Samuel (1) Mather, son of Timothy and Elizabeth (Atherton) Mather, was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, July 5, 1650, and died, probably in Windsor, Connecticut, March 18, 1727-1728. After graduating from Harvard in 1671, he prepared himself for the ministry. He was minister in Deerfield, Massachusetts, until the Indians destroyed the town in 1675. He then went to Hatfield, Milford and Branford, Connecticut, and from the latter town, in 1682, he received a call to settle in Windsor, Connecticut, and that became his home for the remainder of his days.

As a young man he was fortunate in enjoying the best society of his day. His intellect, piety and friendly disposition won the respect and affection of his people. He was one of the founders of Yale College. His published works were: "A Dead Faith Anatomized," printed at Boston in 1697, and "The Self Justiciary Convicted and Condemned," published in 1706.

Rev. Samuel (1) Mather married Hannah Treat. (Treat—American Line—III.) Children: 1. Dr. Samuel (2), of whom further. 2. John, died young. 3. Hannah, born in September, 1682, died in 1683. 4. Joseph, died young. 5. Rev. Azariah, born August 29, 1685, died February 11, 1736; married Mattie Taylor. 6. Ebenezer, born September 3, 1687. 7. Joseph, born March 6, 1689, died November 7, 1717; married Elisabeth Stoughton. 8. Elisabeth, born January 12, 1691, died January 17, 1696. 9. Rev. Nathaniel, born May 30, 1695, died May 20, 1748; graduated from Yale in 1715; married, January 21, 1724, Mrs. Ruth Terry, who died May 9, 1743. 10. Benjamin, born September 29, 1696. 11. John, born September 22, 1699.

(H. E. Mather: "Lineage of Rev. Richard Mather," pp. 73-75. J. H. Treat: "The Treat Family," p. 184.)

IV. Dr. Samuel (2) Mather, son of Rev. Samuel (1) and Hannah (Treat) Mather, was born in 1677 and died February 6, 1746. He studied medicine at Harvard College and graduated in 1698. In 1702 he was licensed by the General Assembly to practice medicine and established himself in Windsor, Connecticut. He gave valuable service to the town as physician and was appointed to various civil and military offices of honor. Dr. Mather studied with Dr. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, and was the contemporary and intimate friend

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

of Eliot. At the time of his death Dr. Mather was preëminent in the medical practice of the Colony.

Dr. Samuel (2) Mather married (first), April 13, 1704, Abigail Grant. (Grant III.) He married (second), May 15, 1723, Hannah Buchland, who died March 23, 1758, daughter of Nicholas B. Buchland. Children of first marriage: 1. Eliakim, born February 10, 1705, died September 24, 1712. 2. Samuel, M. D., born January 6, 1706, died April 29, 1779; married Martha Holcourt. 3. Timothy, born April 23, 1710, died April 6, 1752; married Sarah Marshall. 4. Abigail, born September 1, 1714. 5. Nathaniel, of whom further. 6. Joseph, born May 31, 1718, died December 27, 1732. 7. Charles, born February 16, 1720, died July 9, 1736. 8. Abigail, 2d, born March 6, 1721, died June 9, 1741; married Captain Gideon Wolcott. Children of second marriage: 9. Hannah, born August 12, 1727, died March 18, 1761. 10. Lucy, born February 18, 1729, died January 1, 1771. 11. Elizabeth, born January 22, 1731, died February 1, 1813; married, May 2, 1751, John Allyn. 12. Eliakim, 2d, born September 26, 1732, died June 11, 1816; married, December 4, 1755, Sarah Newbury.

(H. E. Mather: "Lineage of Rev. Richard Mather," p. 102. Arthur H. Grant: "The Grant Family," pp. 4, 5.)

V. Nathaniel Mather, son of Dr. Samuel (2) and Abigail (Grant) Mather, was born August 8, 1716, and died August 31, 1770. He was a resident of Windsor, Connecticut.

He married, probably in 1740, Elisabeth Allyn. Children: 1. Nathaniel, born March 10, 1741; married, November 15, 1762, Hannah Filley. 2. Charles, M. D., born September 26, 1742, died June 3, 1822; married, February 26, 1764, Rhoda Moseley. 3. Elijah, born December 1, 1743, died December 11, 1796; married Mary Strong. 4. Elisabeth, born October 1, 1745, died November 4, 1745. 5. Rev. Allyn, born March 21, 1747, died November 4, 1784; married Thankful Barnard. 6. Colonel Oliver, born March 21, 1749; married, March 21, 1778, Jemima Ellsworth. 7. John, born October 9, 1750, died in 1702; married Abigail Russell. 8. Increase, born July 4, 1752; married Martha Wolcott. 9. Elizabeth, of whom further. 10. Timothy, M. D., born November 5, 1755, died April 7, 1788; married Roxana Phelps. 11. Abigail, born September 20, 1757, died June 17, 1843; married, May 10, 1775, Colonel Job



Atherton

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Allyn. 12. Elihu, born in 1760, died in 1787. 13. Hannah, born in January, 1762, died November 22, 1805; married, March 9, 1783, James Goodwin. 14. Roxana, born in 1764, died in December, 1781.

(H. E. Mather: "Lineage of Rev. Richard Mather," p. 116. H. R. Stiles: "The History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 484.)

VI. Elizabeth Mather, daughter of Nathaniel and Elisabeth (Allyn) Mather, was born May 18, 1754. She married (first), about 1770, Hezekiah Hayden, born April 24, 1741, died in 1776, son of Deacon Nathaniel and Naomi (Gaylord) Hayden. Elizabeth Mather married (second) Rev. Dan Foster. (First Foster—American Line—VI.)

(Jabez H. Hayden: "Records of the Connecticut Line of the Hayden Family," p. 131. H. E. Mather: "Lineage of Rev. Richard Mather," p. 116.)

(The Atherton Line)

Arms—Gules, three sparrow-hawks argent belled and jessed or.

Crest—A hawk proper legged and beaked or.

(Burke: "General Armory." Matthews: "American Armoury.")

From Atherton, a chapelry in the parish of Leigh, Lancashire, England, comes the surname Atherton, which thus takes its place among the many surnames of local origin. The Atherton family of Lancashire is one of ancient lineage and honorable history in the county. It was possessed of large holdings of land, which it increased by intermarriage with other wealthy families until the Athertons became one of the most prosperous families among the commoners of England. Ten miles northwest of Manchester, England, is the town of Atherton, where the family was originally located. Robert de Atherton lived at the time of King John, 1199-1216. He was high sheriff of the county, and held the manor of Atherton from the Barons of Warrington.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXV, pp. 67-71.)

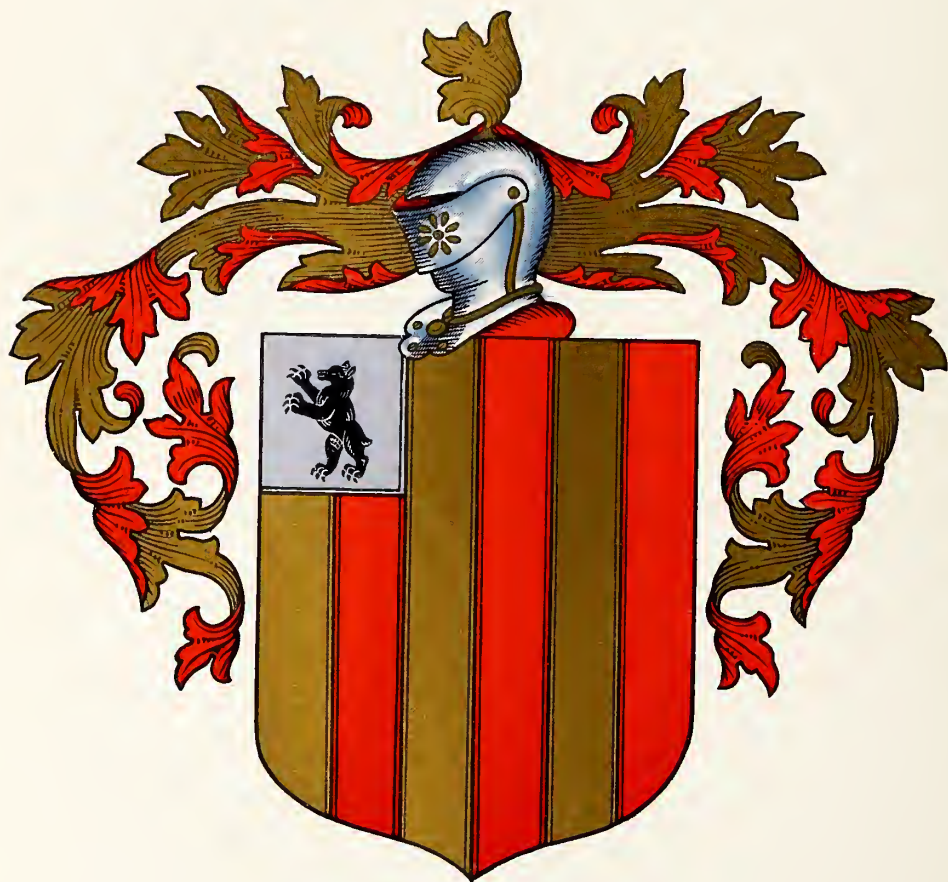
I. Major-General Humphrey Atherton, probably son of Edmund Atherton, of Winstanley, Lancashire, England, was born about 1609-1610, and died September 17, 1661. His death was caused by a fall from his horse after reviewing troops on Boston Common. It is

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

probable that he came to America with his wife and three children in the ship "James," sailing from Bristol in 1635. His brother-in-law, Nathaniel Wales, Sr., was also on that ship, and is mentioned in the diary of the Rev. Richard Mather, a fellow-passenger, the ancestor of the Mather family.

Humphrey Atherton was admitted a freeman of Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1636. He was a member of the military company in 1638, and its captain in 1650. Frequently he served as selectman for the town, and was its representative to the General Court or Assembly for nine years, however, not in succession, beginning in 1638. For eight years prior to his death he was annually chosen to hold the office of assistant. However, he did not only serve the town, but he gave of his valuable services to the Colony as well. In 1645 he was lieutenant in command of an expedition sent against the Indians, and in 1656 captain in an expedition against the Narragansetts. That same year he had succeeded Robert Sedgwick as major-general of the artillery company, but in 1660-61 he was appointed major-general commanding the forces of Massachusetts. In 1656, 1659 and 1660, he was Commissioner in Reserve for the United Colonies. He received grants of land from the General Court in recognition of his services. On September 27, 1661, "Power of Administration on y^e Estate of y^e late Major Gen^l Humphrey Atherton is Granted to Jonathan Atherton, his eldest sonne, and Timothy Mather, James Trowbridge, and Obadiah Swift, three of his sonnes-in-law, in behalfe of the widow, themselves, and the rest of the children, "

Major-General Humphrey Atherton married Mary Wales, of Idle, County York, England, who died in 1672. Her will, dated February 21, 1671, mentions daughters Patience and Mary; daughters Mather, Swifte, Bird; sons Watching, Consider, Hope; grandchildren Mary Wales, Mary Weeks, Elizabeth Trowbridge, Katherine Mather, Rest Swifte, Thankful Bird. The witnesses were William Prescott and John Gurnell, who deposed October 3, 1672. Children: 1. Jonathan, born probably in England; a mariner; probably the same who married, in London, in 1663, Sarah Firebread, of Ratcliffe, Lancashire. 2. Isabel, baptized at Winwick, England, January 23, 1630, died in 1661; married Nathaniel Wales, Jr., who died in 1662. 3. Elizabeth or Catherine, of whom further. 4. Consider, born probably in England; married, December 14, 1671, Anne



Treat

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Annable. 5. Mary, married, April 9, 1667, Joseph Weeks. 6. Margaret, born in New England, died June 17, 1672; married, December 30, 1659, James Trowbridge. 7. Rest, born in 1639, baptized May 26, 1639; married, March 15, 1660-61, Obadiah Swift. 8. Increase, born in 1641, baptized January 2, 1642, died at sea in 1673. 9. Thankful, baptized April 28, 1644; married, April 2, 1665, Thomas Bird, Jr. 10. Rev. Hope, baptized August 30, 1646; graduated from Harvard College in 1665; became a minister in 1671; married, in 1674, Sarah Hollister. 11. Watching, baptized August 24, 1651; married, January 23, 1678-79, Elizabeth Rigby. 12. Patience, baptized April 2, 1654; married, in 1685, Isaac Humphrey.

(James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. I, pp. 72-73. J. Farmer: "A Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New England," p. 20. H. E. Robinson: "Colonial and Revolutionary Ancestry," pp. 9, 10. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. V, pp. 391, 395; Vol. X, p. 361; Vol. XXXII, p. 201; Vol. XXXV, pp. 67, 76. W. R. Cutter: "New England Genealogy," Vol. II, p. 30.)

II. Elizabeth Atherton, or Catherine, as sometimes recorded, daughter of Major-General Humphrey and Mary (Wales) Atherton, was probably born in England. She married Timothy Mather. (Mather II.)

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXV, p. 72.)

(The Treat Line)

Arms—Paly of six or and gules on a canton argent a bear salient sable.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Record of the family Trott, varied since about 1550 to Tratt, and in America to Treat, is frequently found in the Exchequer Lay Subsidies of County Somerset, A. D. 1327, in the Kirby's Quest of the same year. The surname of Nicholas Truhyt, Thomas Trut, John Trout; and even earlier Richard *fil.* Truite, A. D. 1179, show the development from the christen name Truit, Troit, or Trote, which appears in the Norse as "Thruder," and which the Danes brought into England. In the records of Bishop-Middleham, County York, in 1683, the surname Bradshau and Trott occur several times. In the Norse, "Thruder" is feminine, meaning constancy or fortitude, and it appears in Germanic "Gertrude" and "Hil-trud."

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom.")

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Family in England)

I. John Trott, of Staplegrove, near Taunton, England, was probably the grandfather of Richard Trott. His name appears in the calendars of the Taunton Manor Rolls, 1458, 1463, 1473, and 1479. He is thought to be the father of William, of whom further.

(J. H. Treat: "The Treat Family," pp. 13-14.)

II. William Trott, whose name occurs in the calendars as of the same parish and hundred of Staplegrove, 1503, 1504, 1510. Children (probably): 1. William, whose name occurs in the calendars of Hull, now Bishop's Hull, between 1554 and 1578, and of Poundisford, 1567 to 1576. 2. Richard, of whom further. 3. Joanna, of Staplegrove, born in 1542. 4. Lucy. 5. Alice, married, in Pitminster, June 26, 1552, Edmond Morcom. 6. John, probably died in 1584, in Bishop's Compton; married Joanna.

(*Ibid.*, p. 14.)

III. Richard Trott, probably son of William Trott, died about 1571. In the Taunton Manor calendars we find Richard's name in Staplegrove, 1510; Poundisford, 1534; and Otterford, 1527, 1540. He married Joanna, perhaps the Joanna Trott buried at Otterford, August 14, 1577. Children: 1. John, buried in Pitminster, October 16, 1544. 2. John, died about 1595; married (first) Christian; married (second) Agnes. 3. Robert, of whom further. 4. William, buried March 19, 1596; married Johane. 5. Tamsen, married, at Bradford, May 27, 1583, Thomas Person.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Robert Trott, son of Richard and Joanna Trott, was baptized probably in the hamlet of Trendle, now Trull, parish of Pitminster, and was buried at Pitminster, February 16, 1599. Robert Trott probably resided in the southern part of Trendle, now Trull, a hamlet in the parish of Pitminster. His will, dated 1598-99, was probated in Taunton, file vii, No. 105, old calendar, but unfortunately has utterly perished.

Robert Trott married Honora or Honour, who was buried in Pitminster, September 17, 1627. Children, baptized in Pitminster: 1. Alice, baptized February 4, 1564. 2. John, baptized September 10, 1570, buried May 7, 1633; married, April 24, 1598, Edith Priest.

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

3. Mary, baptized February 6, 1575; married, October 8, 1597, Robert Babb, widower. 4. Agnes, baptized February 18, 1577; married, August 27, 1598, John Oplin, son of Richard Oplin. 5. Tamsen, baptized May 26, 1581. 6. Richard, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16.)

(The Family in America)

I. Richard Treat (or *Trott*), son of Robert and Honora or Honour Trott, was born in Pitminster, in 1584, probably in the hamlet of South Trendle, now the parish of Trull, Somersetshire, England. He was baptized in the Pitminster Church, August 28, 1584. He died in Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1669-70. He was alive October 11, 1669, and the inventory of his estate was presented to court, March 3, 1669-70. Richard was baptized under the name of Trott, married under the name of Treet and his children were baptized by the name of Trott and Tratt, and he was called Treat when he died.

Richard Treat was evidently a man of social standing and influence in the Connecticut Colony. In the list of freemen of Wethersfield for 1659 only three besides Richard Treat, Sr., are styled Mr., and he bore that title as early as 1642 and perhaps earlier. He was chosen juror, June 15, 1643, and grand juror, September 15, 1643 ("Connecticut Court Record," I, pp. 88, 93). In April, 1644, he was chosen deputy and was annually elected for fourteen years up to 1657-58. Richard Treat and Mr. Wells were the committee from Wethersfield, October 25, 1644, to receive money for maintaining scholars at Cambridge. In 1654 he was on a committee to lay out lands granted by the town. He also served as magistrate eight times from March 11, 1657-58, to 1665. He was a townsman in 1660, an office answering to the present selectman. On March 14, 1660-61, the General Court of Connecticut applied to King Charles II for a charter for their Colony, which was granted April 23, 1662. Richard Treat and two of his sons-in-law, John Deming and Matthew Campfield or Campfield, were among the patentees. Richard was a member of Governor Winthrop's council, December 17, 1663, and July 1, 1664. For the times, he was a man of wealth and owned a large amount of lands in Wethersfield. At various times he purchased several homesteads and he gave away much of his property while alive. His will was dated February 13, 1668, and inventory of his estate was exhibited in court, March 3, 1669-70.

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Richard Treat married, in Pitminster, England, April 27, 1615, Alice Gaylard, who was baptized there May 10, 1594, at which time her name was spelled Gayloud. She was the daughter of Hugh Gaylard, who was buried in Pitminster, October 21, 1614, and whose will is recorded in the Taunton Probate Court in 1614, but has perished. Alice Treat survived her husband, but her death date is unknown. Children, born and baptized in Pitminster, England: 1. Honor, born in 1616, baptized March 19, 1615-16; married, about 1637, John Deming. 2. Joanna, born in 1618, baptized May 24, 1618, died on October, 1694; married John Hollister. 3. Sarah, born in 1620, baptized December 3, 1620; married, about 1644, Matthew Camfield or Campfield. 4. Richard, born in 1622-23, baptized January 9, 1622-23, died about 1693; married, about 1661, Sarah Coleman. 5. Robert, of whom further. 6. Elizabeth, born in 1627, baptized July 25, 1627; married, about 1649, George Wolcott. 7. Susanna, born in 1629, baptized October 8, 1629, died in 1705; married, about 1652, Robert Webster. 8. Alice, born in 1631-32, baptized February 16, 1631-32, buried in Pitminster, August 2, 1633. 9. James, born in 1634, baptized July 20, 1634, died February 12, 1709; married, January 26, 1665, Rebecca Lattimer. 10. Katherine, born in 1637, baptized June 29, 1637; married, November 29, 1655, Rev. William Thompson (or Tomson), of New Haven.

(J. H. Treat: "The Treat Family," pp. 15, 18, 26, 28, 29-30, 31. "Connecticut Court Record," I, pp. 88, 93.)

II. Governor Robert Treat, son of Richard and Alice (Gaylard) Treat, was born in 1624-25, and baptized in Pitminster, Somersetshire, England, February 25, 1624-25. He died in Milford, Connecticut, July 12, 1710, aged eighty-eight. Wepowage, named Milford, November 24, 1640, was purchased from the Indians February 12, 1639, and the deed held in trust for the Planters by four persons. Among those who came from Wethersfield was Robert Treat. His name does not appear among the "free planters," probably on account of his youth, but among the ten names recorded immediately below the "free planters" Robert Treat is mentioned seventh on the list. The Planters' first meeting was held November 20, 1639, and Robert Treat, then under sixteen years of age, was one of the nine appointed to survey and lay out the lands. He returned to Wethersfield later



KING PHILIP

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

and was elected rate maker there in 1647. When his eldest son, Samuel, was baptized September 3, 1648, at Milford, Robert Treat is on record as belonging to the church at Wethersfield, but was received into the church at Milford with his wife, Jane, April 19, 1649. He was a tax collector in Wethersfield in 1647. Edmund Tapp gave land to his son-in-law, Robert Treat, in 1649. In his will Governor Robert Treat mentions seven children, Samuel, John, Mary, Robert, Hannah, Joseph, and Abigail.

After removing to Milford, Robert Treat seems to have gained increasingly the respect and confidence of his associates, and in 1653 he was chosen deputy to the General Court, and the following year the town's lieutenant. In 1661 he was elected captain. By 1665 he became an extensive land holder, and was prominent in all Milford affairs. In May, 1666, Robert Treat and ten others established a home at the present site of Newark, New Jersey, but in 1672, leaving two of his children there, he returned to Milford, and the General Court of Connecticut at once called upon him to command the military forces of New Haven County in the pending conflict with the Dutch, thus placing him second in command of the Connecticut forces. On August 7, 1673, he was commissioned as major and on November 26 of that year was nominated and appointed the "second commander-in-chief of such forces as shall be raised in the colony and sent against New York." He was chosen an assistant and in 1675 was commissioned, as Major Treat, to command the Connecticut quota in the army raised by the United Colonies for King Philip's War. On his return from this campaign he was chosen to succeed William Leete as Deputy-Governor, May 11, 1676, which office he held for seven years. In April, 1683, he was elected Governor. He was commissioned as colonel of the militia of New Haven County by Governor Andros on November 7, 1687. At the age of eighty-six he declined reelection to public office and retired to private life in Milford, where he died in his eighty-ninth year. Governor Treat is said by some to have had twenty-one children, but there is no foundation for the statement. His will was dated January 5, 1707.

Governor Robert Treat married, in 1647 (first) Jane Tapp, only daughter of Edmund Tapp, born about 1628 and died April 8, 1703, aged seventy-five. In the genealogy of the Treat family her death date is given as the last of October, 1703. He married (second), October

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

24, 1705, as her third husband, Mrs. Elizabeth (Hollingsworth) Bryan, born June 16, 1641, died January 10, 1706, daughter of Elder Michael and Abigail Powell, of Boston. She married (first), August 23, 1659, Richard Hollingsworth, and (second), about 1678, Richard Bryan, the settler and merchant of 1639. He was born in England.

(*Ibid.* J. H. Treat: "The Treat Family," pp. 130, 131.)

Children of the first marriage, born in Milford, Connecticut, and baptized in the First Church: 1. Rev. Samuel, baptized September 3, 1648, died March 18, 1716-17; married (first), March 16, 1674, Elizabeth Mayo; married (second), August 29, 1700, Mrs. Abigail (Willard) Estabrook. 2. John, baptized October 20, 1650, died August 1, 1714; married (first) Abigail Tichenor; married (second) Mary. 3. Mary, born May 1, 1652, baptized May 30, 1652, died November 12, 1704; married Deacon Azariah Crane. 4. Robert, born August 14, 1654, baptized August 20, 1654, died March 20, 1720; married (first) Elizabeth; married (second) Abigail Camp. 5. Sarah, born October 9, 1656, baptized October, 1656, died probably in infancy. 6. Abigail, born about 1660, died December 25, 1727, in her sixty-eighth year; married Rev. Samuel Andrew. 7. Hannah, of whom further. 8. Joseph, born September 17, 1662, baptized September 19, 1662, died August 9, 1721; married (first) Frances Bran; married (second), November 8, 1705, Mrs. Elizabeth Merwin.

(J. H. Treat: "The Treat Family," pp. 31, 130, 131, 150, 153. H. R. Stiles: "Genealogies and Biographies of Ancient Wethersfield," Vol. II, pp. 712, 713. J. H. Trumbull: "The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut," Vol. II, pp. 21, 206, 218; Vol. III, pp. 1, 391.)

III. Hannah Treat, daughter of Governor Robert and Jane (Tapp) Treat, was born in Milford, Connecticut, January 1, 1660-1661, baptized between 1659 and 1661-62 (baptism recorded but date not given on the record), and died March 3, 1707-08. (Gravestone, Windsor, Connecticut.) She married Rev. Samuel Mather. (Mather III.)

(J. H. Treat: "The Treat Family," pp. 131, 183. H. E. Mather: "Lineage of Rev. Richard Mather," p. 73.)



Grant

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Grant Line)

Arms—Gules, three antique crowns or.

Crest—A burning hill proper.

Motto—Above the crest: *Craigelachie*.

Below the shield: Stand Fast.

Supporters—Two savages proper.

(Frank Grant and Elihu Grant: "Report of the Sixth Reunion of the Grant Family Association," pp. 18, 19.)

Grant is a variant of Grand, which was adopted as a surname from the sobriquet "le grand," given to one of large proportions. Although the name has ramified strongly in Scotland, there is nothing certain known regarding the origin of the Grants. They have been said to be of Danish, English, French, Norman and Gaelic extraction, but each of these suppositions depends for support on conjecture alone.

Regarding the origin of Matthew Grant, American progenitor of our family, some have assumed, but without proof, that Matthew descended from the Scotch clan of Grant. It is known, however, that he came over with a Puritan group from the extreme south of England.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom," Vol. I. Arthur H. Grant: "The Grant Family," p. ix.)

I. Matthew Grant, American ancestor, was born in Woolbridge, County Dorest, England, October 27, 1601, and died in Windsor, Connecticut, December 16, 1681. He came to Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1630, on the ship "Mary and John," accompanied by his family. They left Plymouth March 20, 1630, and reached Boston harbor May 30, 1630. He was made freeman May 18, 1631. The union of Church and State and the tendency to place the government in control of a privileged class, minimizing the voice of the people, led Matthew Grant to remove from Massachusetts to Connecticut in October, 1635. He settled in Windsor, Connecticut, and had a lot next to the town lot. This he eventually gave to his son, John. Matthew is said to have been a carpenter and was for many years the principal surveyor in the town. He also held the office of deacon of the first church; town clerk, 1652-77; selectman for many years; and served on important committees. He compiled "A Book of Records of Town Ways in Windsor," and also the "Old Church Record," from which so many family histories of Windsor have been drawn.

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Matthew Grant's will was dated December 9, 1681, and his estate was valued at £18 8s. 6d.

Matthew Grant married (first), in England, November 16, 1625, Priscilla (perhaps Grey), who died at Windsor, Connecticut, April 27, 1644, aged forty-three years and two months. He married (second), at Windsor, Connecticut, May 29, 1645, Susanna (Capen or Chapin) Rockwell, born April 5, 1602, died at Windsor, November 14, 1666, widow of Deacon William Rockwell and probably daughter of Bernard Capen or Chapin. Children, all of the first marriage: 1. Priscilla, born in England, September 14, 1626; married, October 14, 1747, Michael Humphrey. 2. Samuel, born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, November 12, 1631, died at East Windsor Hill, September 10, 1718; married, at Windsor, May 27, 1658, Mary Porter, born in England in 1638. 3. Tahan, born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, February 3, 1633-34, died at East Windsor, May 30, 1693; married, at Windsor, January 22, 1662-63, Hannah Palmer. 4. Matthew, born at Windsor, died there, September 10, 1639. 5. A child, born at Windsor, died young. 6. John, of whom further.

(Arthur H. Grant: "The Grant Family," p. 1. "Will Recorded in Hartford, Connecticut, Probate Records," Folio IV. H. R. Stiles: "History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 304. James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, p. 292.)

II. John Grant, son of Matthew and Priscilla Grant, was born in Windsor, Connecticut, September 30, 1642, and died there July 22, 1684. He lived in the homestead, to which he made additions. He was perambulator, fence viewer, lister, constable and collector. John Grant served in King Philip's War, being ordered, September 6, 1676, to take twenty men and march to the relief of Westfield and Springfield. He was the first military member of the family. The following is a copy of his instructions:

TO JOHN GRANT

In his Majesty's name you are required to take under your conduct those dragoons now present, and lead them forth up to Springfield, there to assist against the common enemy, and there to continue till you receive farther orders from the council here, or are called forth to the army by Maj. Treat, or some of the chief commanders of our army. Also, in case you hear that any of our plantations are assaulted by the enemy, you are forthwith to post away to relieve the place or

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

plantation assulted: and in case you should be assulted in the way, you are to use your endeavor to defend yourself and destroy the enemy.

John Grant married, at Windsor, Connecticut, August 12, 1666, Mary Hull, daughter of Josias and Elizabeth (Loomis) Hull, born October 2, 1648, baptized October 8, 1648, and died June 29, 1720. Children, all born at Windsor, Connecticut: 1. John, born October 20, 1670-71, died in infancy. 2. John, born August 6, 1673, died at Windsor, Connecticut, May 17, 1686. 3. Mary, born April 26, 1674-1675, died at Windsor, August 6, 1703; married, at Windsor, September 21, 1693, Alexander Allen, who died August 8, 1708. After his wife's death, Alexander Allen married (second), December 21, 1704, Elizabeth Allyn. 4. Elizabeth, born July 10, 1675 or 1677, died at Windsor, December, 1714 or 1724; married there, November 20, 1707, Thomas Filer, born January 25, 1669-70. 5. Abigail, of whom further. 6. Josiah, born January 28, 1682, died at Litchfield, February 26, 1762; married (first), at Windsor, March 30, 1710, Sarah Cooke, born in Windsor and died there July 30, 1713, daughter of John Cooke; married (second), at Windsor, August 4, 1714, Sarah Cook, died February 28, 1777, daughter of Nathaniel Cook, Jr.

(Arthur H. Grant: "The Grant Family," pp. 2, 4-5. James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, p. 292. H. R. Stiles: "History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor, Connecticut," Vol. I, p. 222; Vol. II, pp. 302-05. Elias Loomis: "Loomis Genealogy," Vol. I, p. 59. Colonel Weygant: "The Hull Family in America," pp. 19, 22.)

III. Abigail Grant, daughter of John and Mary (Hull) Grant, was born at Windsor, Connecticut, January 27, 1679-80, and died there September 1, 1722. She married Dr. Samuel (2) Mather. (Mather IV.)

(Arthur H. Grant: "The Grant Family," p. 5. H. E. Mather: "Lineage of Rev. Richard Mather," p. 102.)

(The Foster Line)

Arms—Argent, a chevron vert between three bugle horns stringed gules.

Crest—An arm in armour embowed, hand bare, grasping a broken spear, all proper.

Motto—*Si fractus fortis.* (J. M. Seaver: "Foster Genealogical Data," p. 4.)

Foster belongs to the group of occupational surnames, and is derived from "the forester," a forest or game keeper. In the Poll Tax of Yorkshire, 1379, appear the names Benedictus Foster, Dioni-

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

cia Foster, Gilbertus Forester, Willelmus Forster, and Randulphus Forester. Other variations in the spelling of the name are found in records as early as 1273.

The Foster family probably embarked from the West of England, and were connected with those of the northern counties who wrote their name Forster. From the northern line those Forsters who were distinguished for their exploits with the Scots mentioned in Scott's "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" and "Marmion." This family is also described in Walter Besant's novel, "Dorothy Forster."

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom." "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. I, pp. 352-53.)

(The Family in England)

I. Thomas (1) Forster, of Adderstone or Etherstone, County Northumberland, England, was living in 1415. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Roger of Ederstone, and by this marriage the estate and tower of "Ederstone" was acquired. The line descends, as is generally conceded, through his son Thomas, although some records make it appear as if Robert, the second son, was the father of Thomas of Generation III. Robert is given in the inquisition and also five or six times in the orders, 2 and 3, May, 1446, to give seizin of Holmside to the co-heirs ("Cursitors' Records," roll 46, mon. 21, 22), but Thomas is more likely to be correct. Children: 1. Thomas (2), of whom further. 2. Robert. 3. Rowland, of Norham.

(A. H. Foster-Barham: "Descendants of Roger Foster," pp. 9-10. "The Genealogist," New Series, Vol. XXVI, p. 204.)

II. Thomas (2) Forster, Esq., of Etherston, son of Thomas (1) and Elizabeth Forster, was living in the time of Henry V, who reigned from 1413 to 1422. He was one of the men at arms under the Percy banner at Agincourt Battle.

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Featherstonhaugh, of Stanhope Hall, County Durham. They had twenty-two sons and one daughter, and of these children only the following are recorded in the Visitation: 1. Thomas (3), of whom further. 2. Roger, married a Miss Hussey, member of a Sussex family of that name. 3. Nicholas, of Newham. 4. Elizabeth, married Gerard Shaftoe, of Bavington.

(A. H. Foster-Barham: "Descendants of Roger Foster," pp. 9-10.)

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

III. Thomas (3) Forster, son of Thomas (2) and Elizabeth Forster, was living in the time of Henry VI, who reigned from 1422 to 1461.

He married Jane de Hilton, probably daughter of Sir William Hilton, was living in the time of Henry VI (1422-61), probably the latter part, since her son, Thomas, who was her first child, made a will, dated 1526.

It is believed that she was the daughter of Sir William Hilton, because according to the "Visitation of Northumberland," Thomas Forster married the daughter of the Baron of Hilton, and in Joseph Foster's "Pedigree of the Forsters and Fosters," it is given that she was the daughter of Sir William, Baron of Hilton. As there could be only one baronial heir at a time, and as Thomas Forster lived in the latter part of the reign of Henry VI, and Sir William Hilton was thirty or more when his father died, August 11, 1448, it seems quite certain that Sir William Hilton (XII) had, in addition to his son William, a daughter Jane, who, according to dates and circumstances of the records, was the wife of Thomas Forster. Since she was not an heiress, she is not named in the Hilton pedigree.

(Richard St. George: "Visitation of Northumberland, 1615-1666," pp. 29, 57. Joseph Foster: "A Pedigree of the Forsters and Fosters of the North of England," p. 12.)

Children: 1. Sir Thomas (4), of whom further. 2. Robert, of Cold Hesledon, County Durham. 3. Patrick. 4. Reginald. 5. Constance, married James Gower, of Stainsby. 6. Isabella, married a Mr. Turpin. 7. Eleanor, married Lionel Grey, Esq. 8. Margaret, married Gawen Mitford.

(J. Foster: "Pedigree of Forsters of North England," pp. 12, 27.)

IV. Sir Thomas (4) Forster, Knight, of Etherston, son of Thomas (3) and Jane (de Hilton) Forster, was known as "chief of one of the most numerous of the border clans." His will was dated March 3, 1526, and he was buried at Bamborough Castle.

He married Dorothy Ogle, recorded in Banks' "Dormant and Extinct Baronetage of England," as the daughter of Ralph, Lord Ogle (Generation VII), but in all other records she is given as the daughter of Robert, Lord Ogle, granddaughter of Ralph, Lord Ogle.

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

These latter records appear to be correct; however, it is certain that she was a daughter of one of the Lords of Ogle. Dorothy Ogle married (first) Sir Thomas (4) Forster. She married (second) Sir Thomas Grey, of Horton. Children, order uncertain: 1. Thomas (5), of whom further. 2. Margaret, married (first) William Heron, of Ford Castle, and their daughter, Elizabeth, married Thomas Carr. Margaret (Forster) Heron married (second) John Heron, of Thornton, gentleman; she married (third) Sir George Heron, Knight of Chipchase Castle, Northumberland. 3. Dorothy, married Sir Reginald Carnaby, Knight, of Halton. 4. Elizabeth, married George Finch, of Kent. 5. Rowland, of Lucker, in Northumberland, of Wark, in 1565; married Catherine Selby. 6. Reginald, of Capherton, gentleman; married Clara Swinburne, daughter of William Swinburne. 7. Eleanor, married (first) George Craster, Esq., of Craster; (second) Robert Widdrington, Esq. 8. Sir John, Knight, of Bamborough Castle, sheriff of Northumberland; married Mrs. Jane Radclyffe, daughter of Cuthbert Radclyffe, Esq., and widow of Cuthbert, Lord Ogle, of Ogle.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 12, 23.)

V. *Thomas (5) Forster*, son of Sir Thomas (4) and Dorothy (Ogle) Forster, was sheriff of Northumberland in the sixth and fourteenth years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. His will was dated April 4, 1589. He married Florence Wharton, daughter of Thomas and Agnes (Warcop) Wharton. Children: 1. Thomas, born in 1549, died before 1589; married Isabella Brewster, daughter of John Brewster, of Lucker. 2. Margaret, married Nicholas Ridley. 3. Barbara, married Robert Rodham, son of John Rodham. 4. Cuthbert, of whom further.

("Harleian Society Publications," Vol. XVI, p. 347.)

VI. *Cuthbert Forster*, son of Thomas (5) and Florence (Wharton) Forster, left a will, dated in 1589. He married Elizabeth Bradforth, daughter of Thomas (3) and Phellidelpha (Gam) Bradforth. Children, order uncertain: 1. Jane, married Lawrence Forster. 2. Grace, married John Forster, of Tuggall Hall. 3. Samuel, will dated 1612; left one son, John. 4. Thomas, of whom further.

(*Ibid.* A. H. Foster-Barham: "Descendants of Roger Foster," p. 12.)

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

VII. Thomas (6) Forster, son of Cuthbert and Elizabeth (Bradforth) Forster, was of Brunton in 1615, and left a will, dated June 19, 1648. He married (first) Margaret Forster, daughter of Richard Forster, Esq., of Tuggall. He married (second) Jane Carr, daughter of William and Ursula (Brandling) Carr. Child of the first marriage: 1. Elizabeth. Children of the second marriage: 2. Ephraim. 3. John. 4. Matthew. 5. Reginald or Reynold, of whom further. 6. Edmund.

(J. Foster: "Pedigree of Forsters of North England," p. 13.)

(The Family in America)

I. Reginald (or Reynold, Renold, Ranold) Foster (note change of spelling), son of Thomas (6) and Jane (Carr) Forster, was born in Brunton, Northumberland County, England, about 1595, and died in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1681, his will being proved June 9, 1681. According to Frederick Clifton Pierce in his "Foster Genealogy," published in 1899, Reginald Foster is supposed to have been born in Brunton, *Northumberland* County, England, "about 1595," and to have been the son "Reynold" named in the will of "Reynowld Foster, of Harlowe, in the County of *Essex*, yeoman," dated September 18, 1622, proved January 7, 1622 (O. S.), mentioning wife Margaret, sons Reynold, William and Peter, and daughters Sara and Elizabeth. However, this theory does not appear as credible, since counties Essex and Northumberland are so far distant from each other. Both Foster-Barham in "Descendants of Roger Foster," and J. Foster in "Pedigree of Forsters of North England" place Reginald Foster in Brunton and Thomas (6) Forster, according to them, his father, also in Brunton, which is probably the correct lineage.

Reginald Foster was an early settler in Ipswich, Massachusetts, for on April 6, 1641, there was "granted Reginald Foster, eight acres of meadow in the west meadow, if any remain there ungranted, in consideration of a little hovel that stood at the new bridge, which was taken away for the accommodating of the passage there." He, with others, "4th 11 mo., 1646, promise carting voluntary toward the East Bridge beside the rate a day work a piece." On December 19, 1645, he subscribed his proportion, three shillings, toward the sum of £24 7s., "to pay their leader, Major Dennison," who then commanded the military forces of Essex and Norfolk counties. In

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1647-48, 1652, 1657-58, and 1663, Reginald Foster is mentioned in property affairs. He was active in town affairs and was held in high respect by his fellow-citizens. In 1661 he was a surveyor of highways, and on December 2, 1679, his name appears on a list of those that by law are allowed to have their votes in town affairs.

There seems to be doubt as to the number of times Reginald Foster was married. One account says that Judith was his second wife, and the mother of all his children. Pierce's "Foster Genealogy," however, gives three marriages.

Reginald Foster married (first), in England, but the name of his wife has not been ascertained. He married (second) Judith, who died in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in October, 1664. He married (third), September 19, 1665, Mrs. Sarah (White) Martin, widow of John Martin, of Ipswich, whose second wife she had been. Children, all born in England: 1. Mary, born about 1618, died April 9, 1705; married (first) a Mr. Wood; (second) Lieutenant Francis Peabody. 2. Sarah, born about 1620; married, about 1640, William Story. 3. Abraham, of whom further. 4. Isaac, born in 1630, died February 8, 1691-92; married (first), May 5, 1658, Mary Jackson, who died November 27, 1677; (second), November 25, 1678, Hannah Downing, who died November 27, 1678; (third), March 16, 1679, name unknown. 5. William. 6. Jacob, born in 1635, died July 9, 1710; married (first), January 12, 1658, Martha Kinsman; (second), February 26, 1667, Abigail Lord. 7. Reginald, born in 1636, died December 28, 1707, aged seventy-one years; married, about 1652, Elizabeth Dane.

(Frederick Clifton Pierce: "Foster Genealogy," pp. 110-30. "Ipswich, Massachusetts, Vital Records to 1850," Vol. I, pp. 143-49; Vol. II, pp. 169, 558. James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, pp. 185-91. J. M. Seaver: "Foster Genealogical Data." "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. I, pp. 352-53. G. E. Foster: "One Line of the Foster Family," pp. 1-9.)

II. Abraham Foster, son of Reginald Foster, was born in Exeter, Devonshire, England, in 1622, and died in Ipswich, Massachusetts, January 15, 1710-11, "in about his 90th year." He came from England with his father when sixteen years of age and located in Ips-

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

wich. The names of Abraham, Reginald, Isaac and Jacob Foster are in a list of the inhabitants of Ipswich that have shares in Plum Island, February 14, 1664. The same names are on a list of those that by law are allowed to have their votes in town affairs of Ipswich, December 2, 1679. He was thus remembered in his father's will: "I give and bequeath unto my son Abraham ffoster my now dwelling house and orchard and ground about it, three acres more or less & halfe the barne, and halfe that land in the field lyeing betweene the land of John Denison & Philip ffowlers, and ten acres on this syde the River called Muddy River by Major Denisons & John Edwards land, and six acres of salt marsh, All which I give him after my wives decease, I give him four acres of marsh at Plumb Island, and the six acres at Hogs Island." Abraham Foster was also one of the executors of the will just mentioned. He joined the church in full communion, April 12, 1674. On September 26, 1698, when he made a deposition, he was seventy-six years of age. He was a yeoman. There is no will or administration of his estate, as he distributed it among his family by deed, December 21, 1698.

Abraham Foster married, in 1655, Lydia Burbank, daughter of John and Jemima Burbank, born in Rowley, Massachusetts, April 7, 1644. According to records, Lydia Burbank was only thirteen years old, when her first child was born in 1657.

(G. B. Sedgley: "Genealogy of the Burbank Family," p. 10. Frederick Clifton Pierce: "Foster Genealogy," pp. 122, 124. "Vital Records of Rowley, Massachusetts," p. 38.)

Children: 1. Ephraim, born October 9, 1657, died September 21, 1746; married (first), in 1677, Hannah Eames; (second), January 8, 1732, Mrs. Mary West, widow of John West. 2. Abraham, Jr., of whom further. 3. James, born June 12, 1662, died before December 21, 1698. 4. Isaac, born about 1667, died February 13, 1717, the same year in which he had made his will "upon going out upon his country's service." 5. A child, born December 27, 1668, died at birth. 6. Benjamin, born in 1670, died September 12, 1735; married, in 1699-1700, Ann. 7. Ebenezer, born July 15, 1672, died February 25, 1718; married, June 2, 1705, Mary Borman. 8. Mehitable, born October 12, 1675; married, December 31, 1700, Ebenezer Averill. 9. Caleb, born November 9, 1677, died January

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

25, 1766; married, June 2, 1702, Mary Sherwin. 10. Ruth, married, April 16, 1702, Jeremiah Perley.

(Frederick Clifton Pierce: "Foster Genealogy," pp. 114, 116, 122, 124, 130-33. "Ipswich, Massachusetts, Vital Records to 1850," Vol. I, p. 145; Vol. II, p. 557.)

III. Abraham Foster, Jr., son of Abraham and Lydia (Burbank) Foster, was born in Ipswich, Massachusetts, October 14, 1659, and died May 23, 1741. He resided in Ipswich and Topsfield, Massachusetts. He was a soldier in the military service of the Colony, "and was wounded in the public service and is to receive £8 out of the public treasury 'for smart money.'" His record, as accepted by the Society of Colonial Wars, is as follows:

"Abraham Foster, 1659-1741. Soldier from Ipswich, Massachusetts. Wounded in the military service of the colony, 1697."

The National Society of the Daughters of the American Colonists has this record:

"Abraham Foster (1659-1741) was a militiaman in Colonial Wars. He was born and died in Ipswich, Mass."

Abraham Foster, Jr., married, November 15, 1693, Mary Robinson, daughter of Robert and Mary (Silver) Robinson, born in Newbury, Massachusetts, November 18, 1665.

("Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 441. "Vital Records of Ipswich, Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 143. Frederick Clifton Pierce: "Foster Genealogy," p. 132. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXX, p. 87.)

Children, born in Ipswich, Massachusetts: 1. Abraham, born June 11, 1696, died April 23, 1767; married, May 14, 1718, Sarah Dwinell or Dunnell. 2. Nathan, born May 17, 1700, died May 26, 1753; married, November 3, 1724, Hannah Standish, a great-granddaughter of Captain Miles Standish. 3. Daniel, of whom further.

(Frederick Clifton Pierce: "Foster Genealogy," pp. 124, 132, 133, 140-42. "Ipswich, Massachusetts, Vital Records to 1850," Vol. I, p. 143. "Topsfield, Massachusetts, Vital Records to 1850," p. 144. "An Index of Ancestors and Roll of Members of the Society of Colonial Wars, 1922, p. 180. "Lineage Book, National Society of the Daughters of the American Colonists," Vol. I, p. 215. "Newbury, Massachusetts, Vital Records to 1849," Vol. I, p. 441; Vol. II, p. 422.)

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

IV. Daniel Foster, son of Abraham Foster, Jr., and Mary (Robinson) Foster, was born in Ipswich, Massachusetts, April 13, 1705, was baptized at Topsfield Church, April 15, 1705, and died in Harvard, Massachusetts, April 30, 1752. He resided in Rowley, Massachusetts, in 1724; in Ipswich, as late as 1746; and in Harvard, Massachusetts. He was granted the administration of his father's estate, April 5, 1742.

Daniel Foster's will, dated November 22, 1748, called him "of Harvard, In the County of Worcester and Provance of the Massachusetts bay in New England, yeoman Being well in Health." He provided well for his wife Elizabeth so long as she should remain his widow, not forgetting to give her the use "of a horse to Ride to meetting and elsewhere as she hath need." "The moveable Estate that my said wife Brought to me when I married her the children of her sister Sarah Platts shall have so much of them as Remains after my wife hath Done with them." To his daughter Mary Whitman he gave ten cows, four sheep, a silver spoon marked A. M. F., and half of his books. "Item, I give and Bequeath unto my grandson Dan Foster a silver spoon marked D. F." The remainder he bequeathed to his son Isaac, naming him also as sole executor of his will.

The Foster Genealogy calls his first wife "Hannah Black (or Clark), of Rowley"; both the Ipswich record of intention and the Rowley record of marriage give the name as "Hannah Clark."

Daniel Foster married (first), at Rowley, Massachusetts, March 9, 1725, Hannah Clarke, daughter of Judah and Hannah (Kilbourne) Clarke, born in Rowley, Massachusetts, September 9, 1707-08, baptized September 14 of that year, and died before 1733.

(Thomas Bellows Peck: "Richard Clarke of Rowley, Massachusetts," p. 7. "Vital Records, Rowley, Massachusetts," pp. 48, 270, 295. Frederick Clifton Pierce: "Foster Genealogy," pp. 132, 142.)

He married (second), at Rowley, May 16, 1733, Elizabeth Davis, probably the Elizabeth baptized there October 13, 1706, daughter of John Davis. Children of the first marriage, probably all born at Rowley: 1. Isaac, of whom further. 2. Mary, born August 14, 1727, died December 24, 1812; married, February 6, 1747, John Whitman. 3. Daniel, born August 28, 1729, or baptized August 21, 1729; married, about 1750. 4. Hannah, born September

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

20, 1731, baptized September 26, 1731. Child, probably of the second marriage: 5. Elizabeth, baptized at Rowley, March 3, 1734.

(Frederick Clifton Pierce: "Foster Genealogy," pp. 132, 142-144, 166, 167. "Topsfield, Massachusetts, Vital Records to 1850," p. 43. "Ipswich, Massachusetts, Vital Records to 1850," Vol. II, p. 168. "Rowley, Massachusetts, Vital Records to 1850," pp. 48, 59, 270, 295.)

V. Rev. Isaac Foster, A. M., son of Daniel and Hannah (Clarke) Foster, was born in Rowley, Massachusetts, February 19, 1725, was baptized there, February 20, 1725, and died in Stafford, Connecticut, in 1807. He resided in Harvard, Massachusetts, and Stafford, Connecticut. He was the principal devisee in his father's will and was the executor. He bought land in Stafford, Connecticut, from Rev. Stephen Williams, November 7, 1768. "He preached in West Stafford, Connecticut, and while (he was) pastor there was a division among the church members. He expounded a too liberal doctrine to please a few of the more conservative. He was far in advance of his time; . . . a very learned man and his character was above reproach." He was forty years of age when ordained. The church was organized in 1764 and its first pastor was Rev. Isaac Foster. He "departed from the doctrines he professed and became a Universalist. The seed of Universalism sown by Mr. Foster produced abundant harvest." Having served there as pastor for fifteen years, charges were brought against him, and in 1779 he was deposed. He received the degree of Master of Arts from Yale College in 1770.

Rev. Isaac Foster married, about 1747-48, Elizabeth (Emerson) Goodhue, daughter of Nathaniel Emerson, Jr., and Elizabeth (Whipple) Emerson, baptized in Ipswich, Massachusetts, 2-10mo.-1716-17. She married (first), January 16, 1733, Francis Goodhue. She married (second) Rev. Isaac Foster. (First Foster—American Line—V.)

(Benjamin K. Emerson and George A. Gordon: "The Ipswich Emersons," p. 106. "Vital Records, Ipswich, Massachusetts," Vol. I, pp. 128, 145; Vol. II, pp. 153, 167, 189. "Vital Records, Rowley, Massachusetts," p. 78. Frederick C. Pierce: "Foster Genealogy," pp. 142-43, 166. "National Society of the Daughters of the American Colonists, Lineage Book," Vol. I, pp. 213-14.)

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Children: 1. Rev. Dan, of whom further. 2. Rev. Emerson, died in 1814; was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1774. 3. Hannah. 4. Rev. Daniel (so named although Dan was still alive), born in 1751, died in 1795; married Elizabeth Reed. 5. Elizabeth M., born in 1753, died in 1830; married, in 1772, Hezekiah Cady. 6. Rev. Isaac, died January 1, 1801; married Rebecca Newcomb. 7. Nathaniel, was captured during the Revolutionary War. 8. Priscilla, married Rev. Joel Foster, her second cousin, son of Nathan Foster, Jr. 9. Martha. 10. Rev. John, born December 4, 1760; married Eunice.

(Frederick Clifton Pierce: "Foster Genealogy," pp. 143, 166, 167, 246-49. "Rowley, Massachusetts, Vital Records to 1850," p. 78. "Lineage Book, National Society of the Daughters of the American Colonists," Vol. I, p. 214.)

VI. Rev. Dan Foster, son of Rev. Isaac and Elizabeth (Emerson-Goodhue) Foster, was born in 1747 or 1748. He was ordained, June 12, 1771, as pastor of Windsor, Connecticut, Third (Poquonock) Society, and was dismissed from that church October 23, 1783, the last two or three years having been "years of friction with his people." That he had not yet swerved toward the Universalist faith in 1778 is shown by these words which he wrote that year to an excommunicated person: "We leave you in the hands of God, whose bowels of mercy towards repenting, returning sinners, are infinite, but whose wrath and vengeance towards hardened and persisting sinners are dreadful, and will burn to the lowest hell." He next became pastor of the Congregational Church in Weathersfield, Vermont, in 1787, where he was considered an evangelical and a powerful preacher. But after some years he appeared "to swerve from the evangelical faith to Universalism" and became loose in observing the Sabbath. For these reasons he was dismissed in 1799. The same year he went to Charlestown, New Hampshire, where he preached a funeral sermon on George Washington and where he supplied the pulpit, for the most part, during the rest of his life. For a number of years he kept a classical school and fitted young men for college. Though not himself a college graduate, the degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him in 1774 by both Yale and Dartmouth colleges. Rev. Dan Foster was remembered, by those who had known him in his later

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

years, as "small in stature, but portly, gentlemanly in manners; a good man, an able classical teacher, a powerful preacher."

Rev. Dan Foster married (first) Rebecca Walkley (or Rebecca Bogge?), who died at Windsor, Connecticut, November 23, 1775. He married (second), at Windsor, Connecticut, August 20, 1778, Mrs. Elizabeth (Mather) Hayden. (Mather VI.) Children, all except the first, of the second marriage: 1. Rebecca Walkley or Wakely, baptized in Windsor, November 26, 1775, died young. 2. Elizabeth (Betsy). 3. John Mather, baptized April 15, 1781; married, November 24, 1805, Alice Carlisle; his descendants resided in Ohio. 4. Sophronia, baptized October 17, 1784. 5. William Stanhope, of whom further.

(H. R. Stiles: "The History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor, Connecticut," Vol. I, pp. 286-90; Vol. II, pp. 273, 371, 485. Rev. H. H. Saunderson: "History of Charlestown, New Hampshire," pp. 225-27.)

VII. William Stanhope Foster, son of Rev. Dan and Elizabeth (Mather-Hayden) Foster, was born according to some records in Connecticut, and according to others in New Hampshire, in 1796, and died in Bator Rouge, Louisiana, November 26, 1839. He was a student at Yale University in 1812. Refused by his father permission to enlist in the war, he ran away from school and volunteered. His war record is as follows:

First Lieutenant of the 11th Infantry, March 12, 1812.

Captain, March 13, 1813.

Transferred to 6th Infantry, May 17, 1815.

Major of 4th Infantry, July 7, 1826.

Lieutenant Colonel, June 8, 1836.

Brevet Rank:

Brevet Major, August 15, 1814, for gallant conduct in the defence of Fort Erie.

Brevet Colonel, December 25, 1837, for distinguished service in Florida, and particularly in the Battle of Okee-cho-kee.

William Stanhope Foster was twice married, the name of his first wife not having been ascertained. He married (second) Elizabeth Kilgour, of England, Baltimore and Cincinnati. By his first wife he was the father of: 1. Margaret, of whom further.

(Rev. H. H. Saunderson: "History of Charlestown, New Hampshire," p. 227. Thomas H. S. Hamersly: "Complete Army and

MATHER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Navy Register of the United States of America from 1776 to 1887," p. 445. Records in possession of members of the family.)

VIII. Margaret Foster, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel William Stanhope Foster, was of Guernsey County, Ohio, and died in 1838. She married Dr. Welcome Ballou, Jr., son of Welcome and Aurelia (Taft) Ballou, born in Charlton, Massachusetts, November 11, 1809, and died July 5, 1844, at the very height of a successful professional practice. His brother, Dr. Leander Taft Ballou, speaks of him thus: "He was a man of the first order of intellect, a successful practitioner, and much beloved by all who knew him." His locality and centre of influence was Cumberland, Guernsey County, Ohio.

Dr. Welcome Ballou, Jr., married (first), in Cumberland, Ohio, about 1835, Margaret Foster. He married (second) Jane Harrah, who died in 1839. Children of first marriage: 1. Katherina, died young. 2. Sophronia F., born in Cumberland, Ohio, in 1836, and died in 1876; married James Buchanan. 3. Amanda, born September 1, 1838; married Lucius Spooner.

(Records in possession of members of the family. Adin Ballou: "An Elaborate History and Genealogy of the Ballous in America," pp. 277, 737.)



Book Review



AVALIERS AND PIONEERS; Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants. By Nell Marion Nugent. Volume I of a five-volume work; 767 pages, 15 illustrations, octavo. The Dietz Press, Richmond, Virginia, 1934. \$20 per volume, \$90 per set of five volumes.

The book review department of this quarterly was discontinued several years ago because the excellent service rendered in that field by other publications of like distribution enabled *AMERICANA* to devote itself to the creative rather than the critical aspect of historical publishing. Rarely is there temptation to give space to the heralding of a new work, but when Mrs. Nugent's first volume was placed upon the editorial desk we knew beyond possibility of doubt that it would be an inescapable duty to spread the tidings.

Virginia has not lacked devoted sons and daughters to chronicle its growth and greatness, its successes and its failures, and to its Tylers, Meades, Haydens, Stanards, Bruces, *et al.*, there is owed a debt which can never be repaid. Now there comes a volume, the first of five, that can with right take its place among the standard works on Virginia, a prodigious labor which will serve every student of Virginia history and genealogy and will make Virginia archives, so far as land patents and grants are concerned, the property of every library or individual so fortunate as to possess the work.

The present volume covers the period from 1623 to 1666; the other four will take the records to 1800. Let us glance at the proportions of the task. The Virginia Land Office records to 1800 comprise the following: 45 volumes or 24,983 pages of Colonial Patents; 22 ½ volumes or 8,371 pages of Northern Neck Deeds (issued by Thomas, Lord Fairfax, beginning in 1690); 67 volumes or 47,769 pages of Commonwealth Grants (beginning in 1779); and 7 ½ volumes or 4,782 pages of Northern Neck Grants subsequent to the Revolutionary War, making a total of 142 manuscript volumes, representing 85,905 pages. To these impressive figures add the difficulties of penmanship in all degrees of legibility and preservation, the mutilation of the ignorant and the ravages of time, and it is apparent that the task could be per-

BOOK REVIEW

formed only by one equipped as the compiler, Mrs. Nugent, who is described by Robert Armistead Stewart, Ph. D., as "eminently qualified for the tremendous task by reason of her early legal training and her experience with court records."

A chronology of special items of this type is as useful as its index, no more and no less, and to mention the approximately 40,000 references of "Cavaliers and Pioneers" is to indicate the ease of its use and its enormous value to the research worker. The volume is well-clothed physically, with a striking innovation in its cloth fabric jacket of blue watered silk finish. Strongly recommending it to all reference libraries, we repeat Dr. Stewart's words: "The fruit of industry and zeal, this work must challenge attention as a contribution of the first rank to the published historical documents concerning the earliest permanent British plantation in America and the Commonwealth that emerged from it."

W. S. D.





Y^r worship vnto Roger Williams.

VOL. XXIX

JULY, 1935

NUMBER 3

AMERICANA

ILLUSTRATED



THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.

SOMERVILLE, NEW JERSEY, AND NEW YORK CITY

Entered at the Post Office in Somerville, N. J., as Second Class Matter, under the Act
of Congress of March 3, 1879

Copyright, 1935
The American Historical Society, Inc.

AMERICANA

Published by THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC., formerly published by the National Americana Society. Issued in quarterly numbers at \$4 per annum; single copies \$1. Publication Office, the C. P. Hoagland Company Building, 16 Union Street, Somerville, N. J.

AMERICANA is a Quarterly Magazine of History, Genealogy, Heraldry, and Literature. Manuscripts upon these subjects are invited, and will be given early and careful consideration. It is desirable that contributions should contain not less than two thousand nor more than ten thousand words. Contributors should attach to their manuscript their full names, with academic or other titles, and memorandum of number of words written.

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Somerville, N. J., or 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City

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Contents

	PAGE
Franklin, the Unrecognized Commonwealth. By Orra Eugene Monnette, Los Angeles, California - -	321
Chancellor Reuben Hyde Walworth, Jurist, Reformer and Citizen. By Dr. Charles A. Ingraham, Cambridge, New York - -	331
Protégés of the United States in Consequence of the War with Tripoli, 1801-67. By Ray W. Irwin, Ph. D., Instructor in History, New York University - - - - -	345
Bryant, the Poet of Humor. Charles I. Glicksberg, Ph. D., New York, N. Y. - - -	364
Colonel William Rhett, Torrid Politician and Pirate-Chaser Extraordinary. By Mary-Elizabeth Lynah, Charleston, South Carolina -	375
Early Phases of the History of the State of Washington. By Lloyd Spencer and Lancaster Pollard, Seattle, Wash- ington - - - - -	396
Williams and Allied Lines. By Myrtle M. Lewis, Glen Rock, New Jersey - - - -	430
Stephens Family. By Walter S. Finley, Cleveland, Ohio - - - - -	451
Lyon Gardiner Tyler, Historian, Educator, Author. By the Editor - - - - -	455
Arts and Crafts in Essex County. By Bartlett H. Hayes, Jr., Assistant Curator, Addison Gal- lery of American Art, Andover, Massachusetts - -	460
Book Review and Preview - - - - -	514

AMERICANA

July, 1935

Franklin, the Unrecognized Commonwealth

BY ORRA EUGENE MONNETTE, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA



THIS is an account of a political entity, fatuously denominated a State, which was, in fact, never admitted to the American Union. It was induced by a sectionalistic resultant of causes, growing out of Indian warfare, Western migrations, settler temperaments and physical relationships.

The stirring episodes and actual events of American Colonial history are representative of the hardy pioneering spirit and Western migratory movement, especially emphasized at the conclusion of the War of the American Revolution in 1781, which was followed by the Treaty of 1783. However, this was anticipated earlier than these dates, by groups of trappers, hunters and explorers, who had ventured southward and westward beyond the Appalachians.

As with Daniel Boone, these were called "Pioneers," in a new, courageous characterization. Two episodes demonstrate this appellation. One, the famous incursion of Daniel Boone, 1769, into what afterwards became the great Commonwealth of Kentucky, as disclosed by the "Boone Narrative," 1784, preserved by that first eminent historian of Kentucky, in the real sense, John Filson, and presented in his book (B), of the same title by Willard Rouse Jillson (1934), and forming Document No. 1, of the Boone Bicentennial Commission of Kentucky. About this long sojourn in Kentucky, there is much legend and popular writing in existence which must be studied with care. The errors of "Draper Mss," in this respect, and "Thwaites," in his comments thereon, are cleared by this book. There are no points pertinent to be made upon this venture, except to note the true names of the forerunners of this movement, as given in the "Narrative,"

FRANKLIN, THE UNRECOGNIZED COMMONWEALTH

certainly the first document of importance, namely: Daniel Boone, "in company with John Finley, John Stuart, Joseph Holden, James Monay, and William Cool." Various corruptions of these names are given, parrot-like, by other authors, but the above is the original manuscript. As to James Monay, sometimes called "Mooney," a derivation from the original patronymic, Monnet or Monet, he is mentioned definitely in Monnette's "First Settlers of Piscataway and Woodbridge," a New Jersey historic genealogy, now reaching to its seventh volume (Part V, p. 849), as (C). It is also true that Jillson, in another volume (D), "Tales of the Dark and Bloody Ground" (p. 22), has published a photostat copy of the "Draper Mss," which, relative to Daniel Boone, conclusively shows his first trip into Kentucky to have been in 1767, and thus in itself overthrows some of the legends about the trip of 1769.

Likewise a group of Virginians and North Carolinians, about 1769-70, as the date is not truly established, acquired the name of "Long Hunters," and they made similar incursions into the same territory, then in reality a wilderness, although there is not the slightest doubt but that previously others had so ventured, and through the same mountain passage, Cumberland Gap, entering Kentucky from the section of later eastern Tennessee, covered by this article, Holston-Watauga settlements. The full list of names of the "Long Hunters" is not preserved, but John Finley was one, with Abraham Bledsoe, Richard Skaggs, Joseph Drake and John Rains, and others subsequently figuring in the development of the new Commonwealth, under discussion.

This preliminary history is for background and to note the drift and form of pioneering adventure and courageous settlement. The representatives were men of rare courage and intrepid character, who were the advance guard of civilization. They were comprised of the returned Indian War soldiery and migrating descendants of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia villagers and farmers, who had voyaged into the woods and down the Valley of Virginia, as early as 1740. They also represented both official and unofficial explorers and representatives of the British Crown, who had traveled even before this into the forests of the Trans-Alleghany region. Notably, the French Nation on the American Continent had, even before the French and Indian wars, penetrated nearly all of the terri-

FRANKLIN, THE UNRECOGNIZED COMMONWEALTH

tory, which afterwards became Tennessee, Kentucky and the Northwest Territory out of which the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois were specifically carved. They always returned from their explorations and hunting expeditions with glowing accounts of the fertility of the soil, the natural advantages of forest and plain and the wonderful rivers of this virgin land. Their descriptions were really the best produced, for that period, and their cartography even excelled the similar sketches of the English in the 18th century.

Commencing with migratory movements of old settler families running westward and southward from the New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware primal settlements, a mixture of blood and origin, as later developed "The Composite American," who personified, was the progenitor of succeeding American civilization.

Old Augusta County, Virginia, out of which were first carved the counties of Fincastle (1771) and Botetourt (1769), and later many other shires, and the coastal and central settlements of North Carolina, had, by the period of the American Revolution (1776-83), distributed pioneers into new settlements in southwestern Virginia, and what was afterward eastern Tennessee, commencing with the Wau-tauga Association of 1772. These marked the chronicles of the settlements upon the Yadkin River in North Carolina, the Holston River in Tennessee, the Clinch Valley environment, and the tributaries to the New River in southwestern Virginia. This mountain-piercing stream, of over four hundred miles, proceeding towards its mouth at the Ohio River, became the Great Kanawha River, its source really being in the Blue Ridge Mountains of western North Carolina. This original New River territory attracted these first settlers and the fertile lands adjacent were populated very rapidly during this period, with only one factor in opposition, namely, the bitter, cruel and continuous conflicts with the natives or Indians, who first inhabited this section. They were of the fierce and ferocious tribes of Cherokees, Shawnees, and others coming from the forests and plains of Ohio, southwardly, and reaching to the bordering outposts of the pioneer settlements. Out of this latter hostile strife grew the determined migrators, both by individual adventure and by military attachment, which made of the subsequent State of Kentucky the "dark and bloody ground," and took many of its representatives into death or Indian captivity. It is not the purpose of this article to recount the

FRANKLIN, THE UNRECOGNIZED COMMONWEALTH

true history and many legendary terms of this Indian border warfare, concerning which are several scattered volumes, by various authors, in popular form, but as yet, with some local exceptions, no technical or documented history has been published, as should be the objective of a renowned scholar and erudite historian, yet to arise.

The subject relates to a governmental unit which sprang up, approximately 1784-88, and did not long endure, as it was never accepted as a part of the United Colonies nor subsequently as a State under the United States Constitution, and it is a misnomer, in fact, to call it a State, even by denomination.

Judge Samuel Cole Williams, Supreme Court Justice of Tennessee, of much judicial repute, has produced the only book covering this historic entity, and, with some documentation, has preserved the essential facts of this episode of attempted Statehood. His book, entitled (A) "History of the Lost State of Franklin," has an inept title, as the region of eastern Tennessee, where it was fomented and the quasi-government setup, never, in fact, became a State. Likewise, not having been a State, it could never have been *lost*. It will be attempted to give, in this magazine form, the essential facts of this movement, culminating with the close of the War of the American Revolution, in eastern Tennessee, which made a bid for Statehood, and never received that honor nor even approached formally to that dignity in the American Union.

In addition to original records giving only too few elucidative facts, there is a general bibliography appended to this article which is deserving of careful investigation by the student and scholar.

In order to understand the events which induced the Frankland movement, as it was first called, the casual factors must be analyzed. In the Revolutionary War the battle of Kings Mountain, October 7, 1780, was not only a glorified victory for the patriots but brought into prominence the figures who marshalled the forces, subsequently organizing as the contemplated State of Franklin in due time. The names of John Sevier, his brother Valentine Sevier, Charles Robertson, William Trimble, John Chisholm, John Bean and others to be found in the books of the bibliography, attached, were the intrepid soldiers and civil organizers of the new Commonwealth.

When King James I made his famous grant of Virginia in 1609, its northern and southern boundaries, as described, reached from sea

FRANKLIN, THE UNRECOGNIZED COMMONWEALTH

to sea, *i. e.*, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, although the territorial extent was then not known. It has been set up with modern limits on the Pacific Coast in Monnette's "California Chronology" (p. 21).

Bordering this grant on the south was early given the northern boundary of what became the State of North Carolina. With the same *ignis fatuus* terminology, the original grant of this territory extended to the Mississippi River, then unknown and unexplored. As each colony had its boundary disputes, particularly after the Revolution, there was an alignment between old Virginia and North Carolina, and, likewise, between North Carolina and South Carolina.

Following the battle of Kings Mountain in bordering North Carolina, in line with the earlier migratory movements, accompanying the Indian Border Warfare, to those with the Cherokee Indians, these areas had been largely settled. The Virginians and North Carolinians, particularly those who had distinguished themselves at Kings Mountain, moved westward down the rivers and their branches, and into the forests of eastern Tennessee and upward through Cumberland Gap into the State of Kentucky and to old Northwest Territory.

The first official act which induced the State of Franklin was the cession by North Carolina to the new government, as represented by the Continental Congress, of the Trans-Montane territory immediately contiguous to the western boundary of modern North Carolina and extending to the Mississippi River. This act of cession was of date June 2, 1784, and gave to the Congress the right within a year to accept the cession of western territory. When such had been done, of course, states might be erected therefrom by the Congress.

The counties as then existing, which really, in turn, describe the confines of the proposed State of Franklin were those of western North Carolina, specifically designated as Washington, Sullivan, Green and Davidson counties. These were subject to the government of North Carolina and each had its county administration, more or less definite, for that period. The cession of 1784, in question, was in effect, legally and actually, the setting adrift of these counties to become naturally a part of a developing State Commonwealth. Probably this induced the attempt for new Statehood as much as any other factor, although the dominance and character of the men, themselves, truly representative of the peoples and the rugged section of eastern Ten-

FRANKLIN, THE UNRECOGNIZED COMMONWEALTH

nessee, could be said to have implanted the strongest cause for the Statehood movement. It should be stated, invariably, that the distances removed from the seat of government at Raleigh, North Carolina, and the difficulties of travel and transportation over the mountains, physically and geographically isolated this particular section and rendered a strong argument for independence and separate government.

As to the name of the proposed State, being either Frankland or Franklin, all of the authorities attach more importance than is deserving. The two different proposals for the name were almost coexistent and the first by some arguing for Frankland, as it were a free land or land of free men, and by others who insisted that it should be called Franklin in honor of Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia. By a majority, though very small, it was decided to call the proposed Commonwealth the "State of Franklin."

It is true that in some of the original records, their styled accounts contain the name as Frankland, but in the papers of one Landon Carter was preserved a pamphlet in which he was definitely called Secretary of State under the Franklin government.

To determine an exact date of the inception of this movement would seem to require some particular point after May, 1784. The activities in promoting the plan for Statehood culminated in an assembly of deputies August 23, 1784, at Jonesborough, with delegates elected for the counties of Washington, Sullivan and Greene. By an examination of the authorities there are revealed, again, the prominent figures of the movement, who afterwards, most of them, became the men of reputation, standing and force, who comprised the first government of the State of Tennessee.

Immediately upon the assemblage of this convention, a declaration was made in the nature of a constitutional organization which set up the proposal for new Statehood and the written formulation of a constitution, in which was proposed a bill of rights. This was borrowed, in general language, from the Constitution of North Carolina, and the convention set up a political unit, with representatives, administrative officers, and formal judiciary. As a *de facto* government, it was thus accomplished, and actually persisted, as a Commonwealth, for the succeeding three or four years prior to its dissolution, 1784 to 1788.

FRANKLIN, THE UNRECOGNIZED COMMONWEALTH

John Sevier presided over this constitutional convention and became the first Governor of the new political entity. Other officers took office and the functions of government were really attempted, although not in a very positive or definite manner, and records of their proceedings are not existent, or completely chronicled,

As appears, Davidson County did not send delegates or participate in the proposed arrangement. This sowed some seeds of the future disintegration of the new Commonwealth. This county adhered in its loyalty to North Carolina and some of its people, as well as others, who subsequently changed their fealty, for various reasons, provided the elements of future dissatisfaction which presaged ultimate ruin of the venture.

After the adoption of the constitution and the organization of the new Commonwealth, probably the most important factor was the attempted imposition of taxes, which developed a partisan attitude, as to whether or not taxes should be paid to North Carolina or to the new government, with the result, as one writer has stated, there were few taxes collected, as an effect of this double application.

While this was in progress, the Congress, for reasons which appear in the records, suddenly repealed the original Session Act of 1784, without knowledge of the new State organizers, which might have had considerable effect upon the movement either to sustain it or to restore more complete allegiance of the Holston-Watauga settlements to North Carolina.

However, delegates were elected to a second convention which met at Jonesborough, December 14, 1784, and quoting from Williams (*supra*), the following names must be preserved, for all time, as representing the personnel of the prominent and active figures of the new Commonwealth.

Among those representing Washington County were John Sevier, William Cocke, John Tipton, Thomas Stewart and Rev. Samuel Houston; from Sullivan County, David Looney, Richard Gammon, Moses Looney, William Cage and John Long; and from Greene County, James Reese, Daniel Kennedy, John Newman, James Roddy and Joseph Hardin. It is believed that Haywood, followed by Ramsey, gives an incomplete list as above, and that Tirril, Samms, North, Christopher Taylor, Thomas Talbot, Joseph Wilson, William Cox, John Manifee, Gilbert Christian, Carnes, Andrew Taylor, Garrett Fitzgerald, Alexander Cavet, Joshua Gist, Benjamin Gist, Ahahel

FRANKLIN, THE UNRECOGNIZED COMMONWEALTH

Rawlings, Joseph Bullard, Valentine Sevier, Charles Robertson, William Evans, John Maughan, George Maxwell, Vincent Provincer, William Davis, Samuel Wear, James Wilson, Joseph Tipton, and Captain David Campbell were also delegates. (p. 39.)

Comment should be made that, among these names are those familiar in the earlier history of this development of the western country; many of whom had been in the more northern origins and episodes of the pioneers; and several of whom became the prominent figures in the ultimate history of the State of Tennessee.

This convention carried forward further organization, in the formation of a separate State, and, by its resolutions and acts, was intended to supplement the preliminary steps taken in the previous organization. These two conventions, whether one be called the formation of an association and the other a constitutional convention, are supported by a few documents and some certain records.

Colonel Arthur Campbell took an active part in this movement for separate and independent government. He definitely had a plan for a new Commonwealth which should include the east Tennessee counties, as named, but intended to incorporate some of the territory of southwestern Virginia. This latter fact invited much opposition, with charges of illegality and disloyalty, and added to the reasons for the subsequent dissolution. His efforts seem to have stimulated and possibly sponsored the presentation to Congress early in 1785 for the establishment of an independent government. His statement and terms are not recited here, but it was a definite proposal, and since it sought authority, might be charged as within full propriety. The significance to the documents, as well as names of personnel which have been preserved, likewise throw light on the persons involved.

Charles Cummins, Chairman	John Anderson
John Campbell	David Looney
John Jameson	John Adair
Robt. Buchanan	John Kincaid
Alexander Wiley	Arthur Campbell
William Tate	Thos. Woolsey
George Finley	John Campbell, S'n'r.
Mathew Willoughby	Richard Brownlow
Gilbert Christian	John Davis (p. 48).

There were further steps taken to formalize the Commonwealth movement and it was presented in definite form to the Assembly of

FRANKLIN, THE UNRECOGNIZED COMMONWEALTH

the State of North Carolina, where only a few votes defeated the purpose of that application. The various petitions to Congress were fruitless and the independent unit was never organized, under any authority either of Congress or of North Carolina, and, the proposed State was never admitted to the American Union.

The character of the men behind the movement augured much for its success and permanency. If the frailties of human nature and normal jealousies which arise among men had not developed, in all probability there would have been a successful issue to the organized effort, and a State of Franklin in the United States might have become a reality.

However, as already indicated, the seeds of dissolution were sown in personal contention, official misunderstanding and border arguments as strange, antagonistic and infelicitous as the average neighborhood quarrel, enlarged to bitter hate, opposition and almost civil war.

This resulted in a military effort and official movement of the State of North Carolina to overthrow the ambitions of proponents of the new Commonwealth, and this was soon pursued, rather vengefully to the point of proscribing the persons and reputations of the very patriotic men of the Revolution and of this movement, who had brought honor to the State of North Carolina.

Thus the State of Franklin ceased to function, and died.

The Franklinites were honest men of character who had won their laurels as eager patriots. This movement was their just ambition. Had it been officially recognized by Congress or encouraged by the State of North Carolina, it would have succeeded.

Now, it is lost in the illusions of time, and the men pressing forward to the hope of their time and opportunity became the heralds and officiates of the great State of Tennessee, duly admitted to the American Union in 1796. The alleged entity of Franklin, the unadmitted Commonwealth, is a glorious story of the past, whose reality is but a vestige in American history and whose glory is the pride, sentimentally, of every pedigreed descendant today of its noble proponents in the stirring days of 1784-88.

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FRANKLIN, THE UNRECOGNIZED COMMONWEALTH

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HON. REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH
Chancellor of the State of New York

Chancellor Reuben Hyde Walworth, Jurist, Reformer and Citizen

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THE study of biography is an efficient means of acquiring a knowledge of history, of inculcating high morals, patriotism and other elements of good citizenship. It far excels the essay for such purposes in that it substitutes for the dry, second-hand statement of the facts of the life of the person being considered, the pulsating, animating presentation of the man himself, who in the hands of the skillful biographer, lives, moves and has his being on the pages of his memoir. Nothing so engages the mind as the doings and misdoings of men, women and children, and though personal observation and the daily press, teeming with every kind of human activity, afford a vast deal of such information, it does not suffice to satisfy the craving for more, so that the novelist and the short story writer are requisitioned to supply the demand. Even neighborhood gossip has its source in this perpetual interest in our fellow-beings. The stage furnishes another field for the gratification of this propensity to be ever soliciting the never-ending exhibition of how people react to new and exciting situations, the movies catering to this desire with unbounded success, showing in life-like talking pictures every kind of humorous and sentimental circumstance and tragic crisis. The stage has proved itself no insignificant teacher of history and many a man has derived his knowledge of English annals mainly from the plays of Shakespeare.

Chancellor Reuben Hyde Walworth was a lawyer who rose to a very high place of distinction in his profession, and though his calling was not one to favor the development of soul-stirring emotions in the minds of those who search out his life-history, it yet abounds in those characteristics which render a man's life commendable and worthy of imitation. From youth up he was industrious, strictly honorable, courageous to assume all places and responsibilities imposed upon him, a practical Christian and a champion of total abstinence from alcoholic drink, all of which worthy elements of mind and soul entitle

CHANCELLOR REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH

him to consideration, to say nothing of the high judicial office which he adorned for many years. These considerations and the fact that Chancellor Walworth's boyhood home was only a few miles from the writer's residence, and that Saratoga Springs, where the greater part of his life was spent, is but an hour's drive away, solicited the preparation of his memoir. And it might be said here of that famous watering place, principally known for its medicinal waters, relaxation and sport, that it should not be forgotten that a great and good man who won an honorable distinction that reached throughout the United States and beyond, once resided here and acquired his fame.

Reuben Hyde Walworth, son of Benjamin Walworth, was born on the 26th of October, 1788, at Bozrah, Connecticut. Benjamin Walworth served with New York troops in the Revolution and in 1793 settled on a farm in the town of Hoosic, Rensselaer County, New York, when Reuben was of the age of five years. The lad grew up in the primitive surroundings which then everywhere prevailed in the rural districts, and though with few advantages of education he profited by the invigorating life of a farm boy and had the inestimable benefit of having distinguished forebears on both his father's and mother's side. The Walworths trace their line to William Walworth, Lord Mayor of London in the Fourteenth Century, who stunned Wat Tyler, the leader of a great insurrection, with a blow on the head with his mace, when a knight of King Richard II dispatched the rebel. His mother, whose maiden name was Apphia Hyde, was of the fourth generation on her maternal side from Mary Chilton, who came to this country in 1620 in the "Mayflower." Both of these genealogies have been traced out and published, that of the Hyde family by Chancellor Walworth in two volumes, published in 1864; that of the Walworth line by Rev. Clarence A. Walworth, a son of the Chancellor, in a work entitled, "The Walworths of America," published in 1897.

Young Reuben remained on his father's farm until the age of seventeen, when having sustained an injury from the overturning of a load of grain he was driving in from the harvest field, from which a temporary incapacity for manual labor resulted, he formed the plan of taking up the study of law. Though his only schooling had been in the neighborhood district school, he had acquired some knowledge of Latin through the instruction of his half-brother, William S. Cardell, who had been educated at Williams College. He entered the law

CHANCELLOR REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH

office of John Russell, of Troy, as a student, and so great was his industry that in two years he was admitted to practice in the Court of Common Pleas. Having chosen Plattsburgh as the arena where he might show what stuff he was made of, he settled there in 1810 and began a career as attorney-at-law. His ability and high character having been quickly recognized, he was made Master in Chancery, an officer of equity courts who inquired into matters submitted and reported to the Court.

From then on there was an uninterrupted advancement of his legal honors, his reputation for a thorough knowledge of the law, probity and fair dealing being universally observed and rewarded. As his career is now well begun it seems meet to pause a moment and reflect upon the question of the determining causes which brought this obscure farm boy to a high place of renown, usefulness and enduring honor. Gray, in his immortal "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," has forever intimated that there lie in these sequestered burial places those who might have shone in exalted spheres of power and fame, but which idea lacks probability; very few there are, I imagine, who can think,

Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire;
Hands, that the rod of empire might have sway'd,
Or wak'd to ecstasy the living lyre.

Rather, in the spirit of youth, stirred by intuitive intimations of inherent power and prophecies of greatness, is to be found the secret of the high success of those who from discouraging and apparently hopeless conditions override obstacles, surmount difficulties, and ascend to places of honor to the astonishment of those of disappointed ambitions who have enjoyed all the advantages considered essential for the gaining of great success. Some have said that the career of Chancellor Walworth depended upon the incapacity caused by the accident on his father's farm, but I believe that this boy in whom dwelt the ambitious instinct of the eagle, would soon have soared away into the free and boundless element of American opportunity.

Two years after his settlement at Plattsburgh he married Maria Ketchum Averill, of that city, on January 16, 1812. She was but fifteen when the young and rising lawyer secured the promise of her

CHANCELLOR REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH

hand, a postponement of their marriage having been agreed upon that she might complete a course of study in which she was engaged. She was of Puritanical descent and in addition to her inherited moral and religious bent, she possessed a courageous spirit which she manifested by driving an intoxicated Indian from her home, making use of a handy pair of tongs for the purpose. Mr. Walworth in the War of 1812 gave evidence of his diversified abilities by serving as colonel of militia and as adjutant-general under Major-General Moores; in the battle of Plattsburgh he rendered efficient and valuable service. He was appointed, in 1818, Supreme Court Commissioner for northern New York, and was elected to Congress from the district comprising the counties of Clinton, Essex, Franklin, Warren, and Washington, in 1821. Steadily rising in the estimation and confidence of the people and of the legal profession, he was appointed, in 1823 by Governor Joseph C. Yates, Circuit Judge of the Fourth District of the State, which position he occupied for the space of five years. He removed from Plattsburgh to Saratoga Springs soon after assuming this office, where he dwelt until his death with the exception of a few years in which he made his home with his family in Albany. His Saratoga residence, located on North Broadway, was called "Pine Grove," or "The Pines," and came to be, after Judge Walworth's elevation to the chancellorship, widely known and venerated by the legal profession and by all classes of citizens.

As Circuit Judge he soon became noted as a fearless and impartial administrator of justice, tempering his decisions, however, with the quality of mercy and giving pious advice to the condemned. A case illustrative of his concern for such unfortunate persons I find in his charge preceding the sentence to death of the Thayers, at Buffalo, April 25, 1825. He said:

The feelings and emotions with which I enter upon the discharge of the solemn and important duty which devolves upon the court, and which I am now about to perform, are too painful to be expressed. To pronounce the dreadful sentence which is to cut a fellow-mortal off from society,—to deprive him of existence—and to send him to the bar of his Creator and his God, where his destiny must be fixed for eternity, is at all times and under all circumstances most painful to the court. But to be compelled at one and the same time to consign to the gallows three young men just arrived at manhood, standing in

CHANCELLOR REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH

the relation to each other of brothers, and connected with society in the tender relations of children, brothers, husbands and fathers, presses upon my feelings with a weight which I can neither resist nor express.

Then follows a homily which would do credit to a minister of the gospel, had such a one been solicited to advise these young criminals how to employ the remaining limited time accorded them of life.

Judge Walworth was appointed chancellor, at that time the highest judicial office of the State, by Governor Nathaniel Pitcher, in April of the year 1828, when he was of the age of thirty-eight. But before entering into the discussion of that greatest period of Chancellor Walworth's life, in which his genius shines with the brightest luster, it is expedient to dwell briefly upon his family affairs. His wife died at Pine Grove in 1847. Of the children of this union, two sons arrived at eminent success; the elder, Rev. Clarence Augustus Walworth, born at Plattsburgh, May 30, 1820; died at Albany, September 19, 1900; the younger, Mansfield Tracy Walworth, born at Albany, December 3, 1830; died in New York City, June 3, 1873.

Clarence Augustus Walworth having been educated at Williams College and Union College, graduated from the latter in 1838. He then studied law for the space of three years, being a student in law offices in Albany and at Canandaigua, and later engaged in the practice of law at Rochester, which he abandoned and became a student at the General Seminary of the Episcopal Church, in New York, spending three years in that institution specializing in linguistic and historical branches. He then studied Roman Catholic theology for three years in foreign parts. He was now attracted by the "Oxford Movement," which, rising in England and winning the endorsement of John Henry Newman, spread to this country largely through the writings of that eminent Anglican clergyman. It was an Anglo-Catholic system which was embraced by certain protestants who abandoned their own faith and joined the Catholic Church, as did Newman, who became a cardinal. Though Clarence A. Walworth had been brought up in the protestant faith he left it to unite with the Catholic church in 1845 and was ordained a priest. His parents, strong Presbyterians, were not alienated, though his mother disapproved of his course. Having engaged in laborious missionary work for several years he was placed over St. Peter's Church in Troy and

CHANCELLOR REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH

in 1866 was appointed pastor of St. Mary's, Albany, where he officiated for thirty-four years, or until his death. He was an accomplished scholar, a profound thinker, an eloquent orator, a sympathetic and faithful pastor. He was the author of several books, one a volume of poems, and remained to his death an inquiring and enthusiastic student. Unusual marks of respect were paid his memory at his death by the press of Albany and the citizenry of his home town; in a public memorial service held on March 21, 1901, "all creeds and classes" united to do honor to the great and good man who through many years had proved himself a faithful friend of God and man.

In 1851 Chancellor Walworth married Mrs. Sarah Ellen Hardin, who with her children came to reside with her husband at Pine Grove; one child, a son was the only issue of the marriage, who died at a tender age. Mrs. Walworth was the widow of Colonel John J. Hardin, who was killed in the battle of Buena Vista in 1847. At the beginning of the Mexican War, Colonel Hardin was serving as member of Congress; he hurried to his home in Jacksonville, Illinois, where he had been one of the pioneers in its settlement, raised the 1st Illinois Regiment, and at its head hastened to the front. Ellen Hardin, Chancellor Walworth's daughter-in-law, was married to his son, Mansfield Tracy Walworth, on the 29th of July, 1852, his brother, Rev. Clarence A. Walworth, officiating. The ceremony was held in St. Peter's Church, Saratoga Springs. This couple were destined to achieve in the coming years decided prominence, the wife for having been one of the three founders of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution and for services connected with field hospitals in the War with Spain; she was the author of books and essays, largely on historical topics and was an authority on the battles and battlefields of Saratoga. She served as director-general of the Woman's National War Relief Association of 1898. Her husband, an alumnus of Union College, 1849, abandoned the practice of law and taking up literature wrote the life of Chancellor Livingston and was the author of several popular novels.

Before entering upon the work of Chancellor Walworth in his high judicial position, it will be expedient to say a few words as to the derivation and nature of the office of chancellor. It was adopted in European countries from the Roman emperors, who employed chancellors as secretaries and later equipped them with judicial powers.

CHANCELLOR REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH

The chancellors in Europe had a diversity of functions in the different countries, always of a high responsibility and closely affiliated with the ruling power. Along with the English law and jurisprudence inherited by us from the mother country, was the office of chancellor, presiding, as in England, in a court of equity, in contradistinction to common, or statute law; for it was recognized then as now, that law is not always synonymous with equity, or natural justice and right. In the State of New York up to the adoption in 1821 of the revised Constitution, the rules and practice of the Court of Chancery were in an unsettled condition, and only a few lawyers, mostly of the cities of Albany and New York, were acquainted with them, but with the conferring by the Constitution upon the district judges of the State, equitable jurisdiction, this branch of judicial practice was increased and became better understood by the lawyers of the State. However, the rules and practice of the Chancellor's Court were confused and unstable, and one of the great services that Chancellor Walworth performed for it was to formulate rules of procedure, which he published in his work, "Rules and Orders of the Court of Chancery of the State of New York." Chancellor Walworth's court was of appellate jurisdiction and of last resort in equity cases. The character, therefore, of the cases which came before him were mostly critical ones, like the majority of patients that seek the hospital in hope of finding a cure for their miseries. The chancellor was, hence, ever beset with complicated, involved and entangled controversies, rendered increasingly so by the confusing and hair-splitting contentions of the lawyers. That the English Courts of Chancery were acquainted with these intricate and nerve-racking equity problems is evidenced by the view of a rhymester, which I find in "Hone's Every-day Book" (Vol. 2) :

"Up!" said the spirit, and ere I could pray
One hasty orison, Whirl'd me away
To a limbo, lying—I wist not where—
Above or below, in earth or air;
All glimmering o'er with a doubtful light,
One couldn't say whether 'twas day or night;
And crost by many a mazy track,
One didn't know how to get on or back;
And I felt like a needle that's going astray

CHANCELLOR REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH

With its one eye out through a bundle of hay:
When the spirit he grinn'd, and whisper'd me,
"Thou'rt now in the Court of Chancery!"

Such having been the uninviting character of the position of chancellor, it is not surprising that several Supreme Court judges declined to assume the place, realizing the responsibility and laborious application necessarily associated with it. Moreover, the previous five judges who had presided on this bench had been jurists of distinction and he who would administer the functions of this high court would have no easy task in maintaining its traditions. It will be interesting to briefly review the lives of the chancellors who had occupied this bench:

Robert R. Livingston (1747-1813) was the first chancellor of the State of New York. He was a member of the prominent and influential family of that name; he was a lawyer and rose to eminence in the Colonial affairs of the Province of New York, embraced the patriot cause and assisted in framing the Declaration of Independence, having been a member of the committee of five who had been appointed for that purpose. He served again as member of Congress in 1780 and later as Secretary of Foreign Affairs and was prominent in the Kingston convention that framed the first Constitution of the State of New York. As chancellor he administered the oath of office to George Washington when he assumed the Presidency on April 30, 1789. He served as chancellor until 1801 when he was appointed Minister to France by President Jefferson, and in 1803 he effected the purchase from France of the vast Louisiana territory for \$15,000,000.

Chancellor Livingston was succeeded by Judge John Lansing (1754-1829), who at the beginning of the Revolution was practicing law in New York City. He abandoned his profession to serve a year as military secretary to General Philip Schuyler and later was a member of Assembly, member of Congress and mayor of Albany. In September, 1790, he was named Justice of the New York Supreme Court, became Chief Justice in 1798 and in 1801 was appointed chancellor which position he retained to 1814, when he was succeeded by James Kent.

Judge James Kent (1763-1847), one of the greatest legal lights this country has produced; upon assuming the office of chancellor, he addressed his energies to the removing of the unpopularity under

CHANCELLOR REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH

which the court had hitherto labored, by instituting changes which were compared in excellence with the work of the English chancellor, Lord Nottingham, whom Blackstone called, "The founder of the equity system of England." Previous to his taking the chancellor's bench in 1814, Judge Kent had earned high legal and judicial honors, he had been professor of law in Columbia College, judge of the Supreme Court, 1798, a position he held until 1814, having been during the last ten years of his service on the Supreme bench, Chief Justice. The record of his work on the bench is highly eminent for industry, for profound legal ability and for permanent benefits. But the lasting monument, however, of Chancellor Kent is his great work in four volumes, "Commentaries on American Law," which has been reprinted in many editions and ranks in this country as does Blackstone's "Commentaries of the Laws of England," in that country. He resigned as chancellor in 1823.

In the year 1823 Nathan Sanford (1779-1838) was appointed chancellor, serving however, but a year or two and resigning on account of impaired health. He was admitted to the bar and appointed commissioner in bankruptcy in 1802 for the district of New York and in the following year he was made United States District Attorney for that district. He served as member of Assembly in 1811 and later as State Senator; in 1816 he was elected to the United States Senate, was a member of the convention to revise the State Constitution in 1821 and two years later was made chancellor. Having resigned, he was elected again to the United States Senate (1825-31) and at the expiration of his term he retired to private life at his home in Flushing, Long Island.

Judge Samuel Jones (1769-1853) was appointed chancellor in 1826. He was educated at Columbia College, admitted to the bar, served as member of Assembly (1812-14) and was recorder of New York City in 1823. In 1828 he resigned the chancellorship to become Chief Justice of the Superior Court in New York City and later served as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State (1847-49) and during these years was a judge of the Court of Appeals.

Judge Walworth was well informed concerning these brilliant men and with the difficulties associated with the position of chancellor, that it had been offered to several judges who had declined, so that he hesitated to assume so arduous an undertaking and so exalted and

CHANCELLOR REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH

responsible a bench; but he felt, being a conscientious man, that duty imposed upon him the obligation of acceding to the request of the Governor. His was a courageous spirit, equipped with confidence in himself, honest, not merely in the conventional meaning of the word, but he was imbued throughout his entire mental, moral and spiritual nature with high probity, which rendered him immune even to the imagination of deceit, deception or misrepresentation. He was but thirty-eight years of age when appointed chancellor, which was early for the duties of so important a place, yet it was in his favor as being at a period of life prior to the establishing permanently in his mind of the manner of thought of the advocate, with its one-sided inclination, rather than the open and disinterested attitude of the judge. His appointment having been confirmed by the Senate, April 22, 1828, he occupied the bench as chancellor for twenty years, holding his court in his home at Saratoga Springs, with the exception of a few years (1829-33) when he resided in Albany. In assuming the bench as chancellor he gave the following address to the bar:

Gentlemen of the bar: In assuming the duties of this highly responsible station, which at some future day would have been the highest object of my ambition, permit me to say, that the solicitations of my too partial friends rather than my own inclination, or my own judgment, have inclined me to consent to occupy it at this time. Brought up a farmer's boy until the age of seventeen, deprived of all the advantages of a classical education, and with a very limited knowledge of chancery law, I find myself at the age of thirty-eight suddenly and unexpectedly placed at the head of the judiciary of the State; a situation which heretofore has been filled by the most able and experienced members of the profession. Under these circumstances, and when those able and intelligent judges, who for the last five years have done honor to the bench of the Supreme Court, all decline the arduous and responsible duties of this station, it would be an excess of vanity in me, or in any one in my situation, to suppose he could discharge those duties to the satisfaction even of the most indulgent friends. But the uniform kindness and civility with which I have been treated by every member of the profession, and, in fact by all classes of citizens, while I occupied a seat on the bench of the Circuit Court, afford the strongest assurance that your best wishes for my success will follow me here. And, in return, I can only assure you that I will spare no exertions in endeavoring to deserve the approbation of an intelligent bar, and an intelligent community.

CHANCELLOR REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH

Chancellor Walworth's elevation to a high place of judicial honor did not prevent the solicitation of the people for his services in yet higher lines, which invitations distinguished his entire career. In 1844 he was nominated by President Tyler to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, but Southern Senators prevented his confirmation, knowing that he was not in sympathy with their views concerning slavery. He was the candidate of the Democratic party for Governor in 1848, but was defeated on account of a "split" in that party. After the abolishment of the Court of Chancery in 1846, Chancellor Walworth by no means subsided into a life of idleness, but continued hearing cases submitted to him as referee. One of these concerned two of the leading iron magnates of that time, Burden of Troy and Corning of Albany, the contention being that Corning had infringed on the patents of Burden. This celebrated case was before Chancellor Walworth as referee for a period of more than ten years, during which time the many phases of the controversy were heard; the decision was not reported until near the end of his life.

He was prominently associated with many religious, temperance and uplifting organizations, a member of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, vice-president of the American Bible Society, president of the State Temperance Society, a member of the Presbyterian Church for more than forty years and served as a ruling elder in that communion. Chancellor Walworth was much more advanced in his views concerning intoxicating beverages than is indicated by the mild word, "temperance," for he held to a belief in total abstinence, which he vigorously championed. In this connection I introduce an anecdote concerning this conviction: William H. Seward, who was one of the many brilliant lawyers who practiced in the Chancellor's Court, said to a group of friends, "Chancellor Walworth and ———— drink more brandy and water than any other two men in the State." This statement coming from so sedate and trustworthy a source, occasioned no little astonishment, but it subsided when he continued, "but the Chancellor drinks all the water." In recognition of his eminence as a jurist, he had conferred upon him in 1835 by Princeton College the degree of Doctor of Laws, which honor was later accorded him by Harvard and Yale colleges.

In January, 1832, at the third anniversary of the New York State Temperance Society, Chancellor Walworth as president gave an address, of which the following is an excerpt:

CHANCELLOR REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH

I cannot forbear to express the hope that the ladies will continue to aid us by their powerful influence, and by pledging themselves to banish ardent spirits, in every form from the nursery and from the social family circle. I have once had the pleasure to remind them of that memorable occasion where the heaven-inspired Zorobabel convinced the haughty Persian monarch and his assembled princes that the influence of woman was more powerful even than strong drink; more powerful than the king upon his throne; yes, more powerful than anything save divine wisdom and truth. If such were her influence in a semi-barbarous age and Nation, what must it be with us, when she is now raised to her proper rank in society?

He died in his eightieth year at his home in Saratoga Springs on the 28th of November, 1867, it being National Thanksgiving Day, and he was buried in Greenridge Cemetery, near the village of his adoption where he had accomplished his greatest work and won his lasting fame. His passing was an irreparable loss not only to the legal profession, but to all high and worthy enterprises, local, State and national; he had been loved and admired by all classes of citizens. At home he was an amiable and kindly disposed neighbor, entering freely into the social activities of the town, ever cheerful and companionable and employing much of his leisure in the cultivation of his flower garden. But far beyond the limits of Saratoga his influence extended and will be acknowledged far into the future years. His opinions and decisions in equity cases which he determined have that profound and comprehensive character, such evidences of wide and careful investigation, that they insure him a permanent place in the legal archives of this and other lands. In the volume of his work, in the many and vast financial issues which he determined as well as in the wisdom of his decisions, he was the peer if not the superior of any of the chancellors of the State who had preceded him. The remarks of Mr. J. P. Butler, one of the speakers at the memorial meeting held in his honor, were inspired by such meditations when he said:

His residence in Saratoga Springs was in its adornments and surroundings in harmony with the mind and character of the man—simple, chaste and rural—his garden abounding with flowers, which he loved to cultivate with his own hands, his home canopied with the rich foliage of lofty primeval (pine) trees. They had grown up with him and were his counsellors, companions and brothers, and they now talk of him. At a time when a leaf stirred not in all their branches, in the stillness of a quiet day, an unusual commotion was heard

CHANCELLOR REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH

amidst that ancient grove. A tremor went through it, and a waving to and fro of its long and many-fingered arms, a sharp snapping of cords, tendons and fibres at the trunk, a cleaving of the air, a breaking of giant limbs, and a crash that made the land quiver and rock. We are here assembled to look in upon that opening, to observe the clear sky beyond and the mighty trunk that lies stretched upon its mother earth; and there it will remain, in obedience to that higher law, that as a tree falleth so shall it lie.

The venerable Walworth mansion is still standing at 527 Broadway, and is occupied by the last remaining members of the family, Mrs. C. B. Walworth and her daughter, Miss Clara G. Walworth, who revere this historic shrine and maintain it for the most part in the same condition it had in the days of the Chancellor. I quote from "Life Sketches of Father Walworth," by Ellen H. Walworth:

The grove of tall, lithe pines about Judge Walworth's Saratoga home, that rocked in the breezes and sang songs to his children and grandchildren, was a beautiful one. It has dwindled to a few giant trunks. . . . At breakfast time the sun lights up the north wing office and courtroom, that can still be quaintly entered by three inside steps. It also finds its way into the old south parlor, with its stately fireplace. . . . One large central room and a broad hall subdivide the space between these wings, making up the ample seventy feet front of the old homestead. . . . It was a white house, with green shutters and several delightful piazzas, with colonial columns.

I also find in the volume referred to the following description of the Chancellor's courtroom:

It was then in the north wing of the old home. It was approached by three little steps from the front hall, just inside the main entrance. In cool weather sparks of a roaring wood fire danced over the andirons, and snapped against the brass-topped fender. Every inch of wall space was lined with leather-bound volumes, whose tops were protected from dust and ashes by long, narrow strips of green baize. A desk for the Chancellor had its water pitcher and tumbler on top as inevitably as the fireplace had its poker, handy for instantaneous use. A long table on which the lawyers could spread their papers and some strong, quaint chairs with a swinging writing-board attached completed the simple equipment of this rural courtroom. But many a famous man, from Daniel Webster down, had his say there, and vast were the interests involved in its disputes.

CHANCELLOR REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH

Presiding here the Chancellor was an independent authority, having his own rules and indifferent to the bickerings and subterfuges of lawyers, whom he would interrupt and in a few clarifying words dispel the fog of beclouding verbiage and restore the contention to the line where it belonged. It will thus be seen that the decisions of Chancellor Walworth, framed in the spirit of disinterested right, truth and justice, have in them the quality of self-preservation. On the other hand decisions governed by statute law, which is ever being enacted and repealed, have not that lasting quality which obtained in the Court of Chancery. The legal profession has ever been the target of merry quips emanating from its practice of employing every means available to carry its ends, but, as just remarked, these tactics had no weight in Chancellor Walworth's court. Inasmuch as precedents, or judicial decisions in similar cases, play a large part in legal disputes, his findings in the adjudication of cases disassociated from entanglements with ever-changing statute law, will be consulted into the illimitable future.

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Josephus. "Antiquities," Book XI, Chap. 3. (Contains explanation of reference to Zorobabel.)



Protégés of the United States in Consequence of the War with Tripoli, 1801-1867

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SOON after the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Tripoli in 1801, two Americans conceived an idea which in its results proved to be extremely annoying to their government until after the close of the Civil War. The Americans in question were James Leander Cathcart and William Eaton, United States consuls at Tripoli and Tunis respectively. Their idea, briefly, was to obtain the coöperation of Hamet Karamanli, exiled elder brother of the reigning Pasha of Tripoli, in organizing a revolution within that regency. Such coöperation, they believed, would soon enable Hamet to succeed his brother, Yusuf, as Pasha; whereupon Hamet, out of gratitude for American aid in recovering his former position and in rejoining his wife and children in Tripoli, would grant a treaty which would be in every respect favorable to the United States.¹

The history of this idea from its inception in 1801 to its ultimate failure in 1805 has been traced in considerable detail by biographers of William Eaton and other investigators of our relations with the Barbary Powers;² but little attention has hitherto been given to the claims of Hamet Karamanli, his suite of followers, and some of his relatives, after Colonel Tobias Lear concluded a treaty with Yusuf in 1805. That treaty, it will be recalled, was formed soon after Eaton had so ably led a small and motley army across the Libyan desert, and, in coöperation with American warships, had captured the Tripolitan town of Derne. We need not here discuss the more general merits and shortcomings of the treaty. It will perhaps suffice to

1. F. R. Rodd: *General William Eaton: The Failure of an Idea* (N. Y., 1932), pp. 157-273.

2. C. C. Felton: *Life of William Eaton* (New York, 1848), pp. 272-76, 288-338. G. W. Allen: *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1902), pp. 200ff. R. W. Irwin: *Diplomatic Relations of the U. S. with the Barbary Powers* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1931), pp. 110-12, 144-60.

observe that Colonel Lear's action took Eaton and Hamet unawares. They were forced to evacuate Derne immediately, and to abandon their entire project—which had at the outset of their campaign become the object of a written convention between them.³ To Eaton the fulfillment of the terms of this convention had become so nearly an obsession that Lear's treaty gave him a shock from which he never completely recovered. Hamet, with no resources at his command and with a group of followers dependent upon him for subsistence, was transferred on an American warship from Derne to Syracuse, Sicily. There he and his retinue received from the United States a temporary allowance sufficient to keep them from starving, but according to Hamet, totally inadequate to maintain them in comfort. In a letter addressed "to the People of the United States," September 1, 1805, he complained bitterly of his situation, and appealed to the United States for further aid. He wrote, in part, as follows:

I am left in Syracuse with thirty dependents; on the pittance of two hundred dollars per month, and no prospect of future establishment. What with the expenses of my retinue, &c. I, a sovereign Prince, am now reduced to the pension of one dollar and fifty cents per day In this situation, I appeal to the virtue, generosity, and candor of the people and Government of America. I trust that a brave and free nation will interest itself in behalf of a fellow prince, who has trusted to its national honor and good faith. I trust the Government will take my case into consideration, and at least send me back to Egypt, indemnified for those comforts lost by uniting my fortune to theirs; and I am confident the American people will feel for the misfortune of one, who has fought in the united cause of their interest, and his own right.⁴

President Jefferson, in response to this appeal, presented Hamet's request to the Senate and House of Representatives, together with an extended statement of the views and proceedings of the Executive, and all papers bearing "any relation to the principle of the coöperation." He cited numerous official communications, not only to prove that the United States had not promised to place Hamet on the throne of Tripoli, but that both Eaton and Hamet had understood "that a coöperation only was intended, and by no means an union of our

3. H. Miller: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the U. S. A.* (Washington, D. C., 1931), II, 552-54. The convention is here printed in full.

4. *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II, 719. Hamet to the people of the U. S., Sept. 1, 1805.

object with the fortune of the Ex-Bashaw." The President suggested, however, that in view of Hamet's "appeal to the liberality of the nation, something equivalent to the replacing him in his former situation might be worthy its consideration."⁵ Jefferson also stated at this time that he had received no recent information as to what steps had been taken to carry into effect Article III of the treaty of 1805 wherein it was stipulated that Yusuf restore to Hamet the latter's wife and children.⁶

This joint message was followed by two measures in Hamet's behalf: (1) the passage of an act, approved April 2, 1806, providing for an appropriation of twenty-four hundred dollars to be applied "to the immediate and temporary relief" of Hamet, "under the direction of the President of the United States";⁷ and (2) executive action to have Hamet's wife and children restored to him, for by June 24, 1806, it was known at Washington that Yusuf had made no move to expedite the matter. Secretary of State Madison accordingly instructed George Davis, United States Consul at Tripoli, to cause the article in question to be made immediately effective. These instructions ran:

It being understood that the Bashaw [Pasha] of Tripoli has not yet executed that part of the 3rd article of the Treaty which stipulated the delivery of the wife and children of the exile his brother on condition of his withdrawing from the territory of Tripoli, it is necessary that you should formally call upon him to do it. . . . Should the Bey [Pasha] disclose an unyielding resolution not to execute the Treaty, you are to report the affair to the Government here unless some other arrangement satisfactory to the Exiled Bashaw would be substituted by the reigning Bashaw for the unexecuted stipulation, giving or withholding in the meantime, if that cannot be done, the consular present according to the apparent expediency of the one or other course, but preferring a forbearance to make the present, if the reasons against that course be not very urgent.⁸

Davis, on the eve of his departure for the Mediterranean in July, assured the Secretary of State that he would pay the most scrupulous attention to the unexecuted portion of the treaty, and expressed con-

5. *Ibid.*, II, 696. President Jefferson's Message to the U. S. Senate and H. of R., Jan. 13, 1806.

6. *Ibid.*, II, 695ff. Corr. regarding Hamet Karamanli.

7. *Public Statutes at Large of the U. S.*, VI, 62.

8. *Despatches to Consuls, Instructions*, I. Madison to Davis, June 24, 1806. (MSS. in Department of State.)

fidence in his own efforts to make an arrangement that would satisfy both Hamet and Yusuf, and that would at the same time fulfill all engagements which the United States had contracted at Tripoli.⁹

Between the time of his departure from America and his arrival at Tripoli, Davis acquired some startling information. At Leghorn he learned from a former Danish Consul at Tripoli, N. C. Nissen, that Colonel Lear had signed a secret article stating that the United States would not have the right to demand the fulfillment of Article III until the expiration of four years, and then only on condition that Hamet should remain perfectly quiet during that period. Davis reported his discovery to the Department of State; then proceeded to Syracuse to interview the ex-Pasha.¹⁰

Arriving there April 14, he immediately waited upon Hamet, "who, without any reserve introduced the subject of his residence in Sicily, which he said was for the sole purpose of obtaining his family and learning the decision of the Government of the United States relative to himself."¹¹ An investigation by Davis disclosed that Hamet possessed a reputation for honesty in his dealings at Syracuse, but that he was deeply involved in debt, and was being kept in a state of beggary by a few nobles who devoured his allowance as soon as he received it.¹²

The two men had a number of conferences, the substance of which was reduced to writing in an exchange of letters, dated April 23 and 24. Hamet asserted that Commodore John Rodgers had offered to establish him in the control of the provinces of Derne and Bengasa after the evacuation of the former province; but that he, Hamet, had refused on the ground that he was the lawful Pasha of all Tripoli. On certain conditions, however, Hamet continued, he would now be content with the two provinces which had been offered him. Yusuf must, first of all, send the male members of Hamet's family to Syracuse with their personal effects. If the females should wish to remain in Tripoli, they might do so, but the males must come to Syracuse and have a conference with him. If after doing this, any member wished to return to Tripoli, he would be at liberty to do so. Hamet also

9. *Despatches, Tripoli*, III. Davis to Madison, July 13, 1806. (MSS. in Department of State.)

10. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Madison, Dec. 27, 1806, and March 2, 1807.

11. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Madison, April 29, 1807.

12. *Ibid.*

PROTÉGÉS OF THE UNITED STATES—1801-1867

demanded sixty thousand dollars from the Government of Tripoli to support his family in a manner suitable to his rank; and "from the Government of the United States forty thousand dollars . . . to reimburse him in some measure for his expenses and losses incurred by the late war; in which he was betrayed, subjected to innumerable difficulties, and transported to Syracuse, where he had remained about two years upon the miserable and insufficient allowance of two hundred dollars per month."¹³

In his reply to this communication Davis expressed a strong desire to be of service to Hamet in restoring the latter's family to him, and of bringing about a reconciliation between him and the reigning Pasha. He suggested that he would be happy to serve as mediator between the two brothers if Yusuf should offer to make Hamet Governor of Derne and Bengasa; but he declined requesting Yusuf to provide sixty thousand dollars for the family of Hamet. "Such language," he wrote, "does not become the agent of a friendly nation." Concerning the demand for forty thousand dollars from the United States, he predicted that his government would disclaim all acts of his which bound it in any manner to the fulfillment of the claims or expectations of Hamet excepting those which had been recognized by the treaty of 1805.¹⁴

Early in May Davis reached Tripoli. He immediately had a conference with the Tripolitan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sidi Dghies, who, as soon as the subject of Hamet's family was mentioned, handed the Consul a copy of the secret article.¹⁵ Dghies then promised to report to the Pasha the American demand that Article III be put into effect without further delay; but at the same time he urged Davis to write to Washington regarding the existence of the secret article. This the Consul refused to do, and, when the proposal was persisted in the following day, suggested that he be given an interview with the Pasha. If negotiations were postponed, he told the Minister, it would become necessary for the American Consul or the family of Hamet to leave Tripoli on an American brig then being held in readiness there. Dghies immediately arranged for an audience, which Davis has thus described:

13. *Ibid.*, III. Hamet to Davis, April 23, 1807.

14. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Hamet, April 24, 1807; Davis to Madison, April 29, 1807. On April 29 Davis wrote Hamet another letter, very similar in content to that of April 24.

15. H. Miller: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the U. S. A.*, II, 554-55.

After considerable discussion, the Bashaw addressed himself to me and requested my opinion on the line of conduct he ought to pursue; that he had strong reasons for wishing to retain the family, and that he had justice on his side.

I told his Excellency that I could foresee no possible ill that could result to him from their immediate delivery; but that his retention of them would do us considerable injury; that our treaty was known to all the world, and our public faith pledged in their behalf; that his brother had coöperated with us, and to deceive him in such a tender point was to disgrace us as a nation.

He asked if I would certify that the treaty had been ratified, to which I consented provided that he would execute the 3d article. He replied that the acts of no individual should involve him with us, and that the wishes of our government should be complied with.¹⁶

The remaining details of the agreement were speedily disposed of; but inasmuch as some time was required for the family of Hamet to prepare for departure, the brig sailed without them. It bore a message from Davis to Hamet to the effect that within twelve days the latter's family, with the exception of two married daughters who preferred to remain at Tripoli, would be ready to embark with a suitable number of slaves, and with various other possessions.¹⁷ By the same conveyance the Consul informed Commodore Hugh M. Campbell, at that time in charge of a Mediterranean squadron, that he had promised to have Hamet's family transferred to Syracuse on an American warship.¹⁸ This turn of events delighted Hamet, who now wrote Davis a letter abounding in expressions of gratitude for the Consul's effective activities in his behalf.¹⁹

But the reunion, so joyfully anticipated, was to be postponed by an unexpected difficulty: Davis was unable immediately to obtain a vessel to convey the members of the family to Syracuse. The warship upon which he had depended for this service was required elsewhere for an indefinite period in the transaction of official business.²⁰ Month after month slipped by; yet no public vessel of the United States appeared at Tripoli. The delay filled Davis with impatience and alarm. He discovered that in Tripoli it was being interpreted as American official disapproval of the arrangements which he had

16. *Despatches, Tripoli*, III. Davis to Sec. of State, June 2, 1807.

17. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Hamet, May 12, 1807.

18. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Commodore H. M. Campbell, May 12, 1807.

19. *Ibid.*, III. Hamet to Davis, May 26, 1807.

20. *Ibid.*, III. Commodore Hugh M. Campbell to Davis, May 27, 1807.

made. He feared that the Pasha would undergo a change of heart and refuse to permit the family of Hamet to leave Tripoli. Finally, he was in receipt of numerous letters from Hamet, complaining about the failure of his family to rejoin him. So disgusted, in fact, did the importunate father become that during the late summer he solicited the interference of the British Consul at Tripoli—a measure for which Davis strongly reproved him.²¹

In October Davis learned that the American naval squadron had been withdrawn from the Mediterranean, and that for his charges he must find some conveyance other than a public vessel of the United States. There was at that time only one merchantman in port at Tripoli: an English packet, which Davis immediately chartered from the British Consul. Sidi Dghies appears to have offered some inconsequential objection to this conveyance, but, at the insistence of Davis, withdrew it. A short time before the vessel sailed, Davis had an interview with the Pasha, who promised to make some provision for the maintenance of Hamet's family after their departure, but declined to name any definite amount in the form of an annuity, or otherwise. That, the ruler asserted, would depend entirely upon the future conduct of his brother.²²

With the exception of this item of future maintenance all arrangements relative to the departure of Hamet's family were completed by October 13. On that date Hamet's wife and twenty persons who were to accompany her went aboard the vessel, which had been "fitted up as conveniently as circumstances would admit," to convey them to Syracuse. "Amidst the cries of nearly two thousand people," wrote Davis to Madison, "the vessel got under weigh, and I accompanied her outside the bar. They all spoke in terms of respect of the Bashaw, particularly the mother, who had received from him assurances of the provision he would make for them, and who had requested that they would always communicate their wishes to the American Consul, which he the Bashaw would certainly fulfill."²³

The arrival of the vessel at Syracuse, October 25, increased the number of Hamet's dependents to more than forty persons, and caused W. W. Barker, United States Navy agent at that place, to

21. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Madison, Aug. 7, 1807; Davis to Hamet, Sept. 9, 1807; Davis to Sidi Dghies, Oct. 1, 1807.

22. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Madison, Oct. 15, 1807.

23. *Ibid.*

PROTÉGÉS OF THE UNITED STATES—1801-1867

wonder how they would all subsist. Despite the fact that Commodore Campbell had departed without leaving a fund to continue the allowance to Hamet, Barker, on his own responsibility, advanced one monthly payment. "With this sum," he wrote Davis, November 15, "'til the 14. January ensuing he hath to maintain or starve 43 persons. He desires me to express to you his sincere sense of obligation and hopes for some relief."²⁴

In reply to this communication Davis indicated a belief that the United States would continue the allowance to the former ruler "until the arrangement in agitation shall be concluded."²⁵ At the time, however, Davis considered that his Government had fulfilled all its agreements with Hamet, and sought to impress him with that idea. With respect to serving as mediator between the two brothers in settling the matter of maintenance, Davis wrote to Hamet:

Should the Bashaw, at any future period lessen or discontinue the pension he has fixed upon his brother (a circumstance by no means probable) it is not to be expected that the United States will use any endeavors to enforce its payment. They are not parties to the contract. It is a grace accorded by that prince [Yusuf] to His Excellency Hamet thro' the mediation and friendly executions of their agent. In case of failure, from whatever cause, of the allowance thus obtained, it will be improper to attach any responsibility to the American Government; and therefore His Excellency will limit his expectations to the good offices of their agents in procuring the due remittance of the sum allowed by his brother.²⁶

The "sum" here referred to was a pension of three thousand dollars per annum which Yusuf now offered his brother on condition that the latter agree to reside in Morocco. This amount Davis considered to be too small, and suggested that the United States supplement it with another pension of one thousand dollars per annum to insure "the permanent comfort of the Exile."²⁷

The succeeding months brought many discouragements to Davis. He received no letters from Hamet, and the reports which arrived through other channels regarding him were very disturbing. Barker wrote that Hamet had recently displayed a desire to remove to the

24. *Ibid.*, III. Barker to Davis, Nov. 15, 1807.

25. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Barker, Dec. 27, 1807.

26. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Hamet, Dec. 28, 1807; Davis to Barker, Dec. 29, 1807.

27. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Madison, Dec. 29, 1807, and Feb. 1, 1808.

United States, and had "invited" him to pay six thousand dollars which Hamet owed in Syracuse.²⁸ In Tripoli it was reported that members of Hamet's suite were slipping away to Tunis, where, the Pasha feared, they would enter into intrigues against him.²⁹ On June 19 Yusuf announced that because of this reported action he would no longer be bound by his previous offer. In consequence of further efforts by Davis, however, he subsequently promised that the pension should be provided if Hamet would retire to Egypt, the United States, or any other place except Tunis or Algiers.³⁰ Meanwhile Davis' superior officers not only ignored his proposal to grant Hamet a pension to supplement that promised by Yusuf, but issued orders that the monthly allowance to the exile be discontinued as soon as his brother had made provision for him.³¹ As a climax to these reversals of his measures, Davis received from Hamet a rejection of Yusuf's offer of a pension. Hamet refused to accept anything less than the governorship of Derne and Bengasa.³²

Davis now concluded that without express orders from Washington he could, in an official capacity, do nothing further regarding Hamet's claims. The failure of all benefits which Hamet had anticipated from the temporary protection afforded him by the United States could no longer, in the opinion of Davis, "be attributed to the agents of government, but must remain solely with himself; for each concession, as predicted, had proved the basis of a new pretension."³³ Davis wrote to Hamet somewhat later, censuring him for rejecting Yusuf's offer, and assuring him that the Pasha would not renew it unless Hamet promised to retire to Egypt, the United States, or any other place except Tunis or Algiers.³⁴

The subject of future residence, coupled with that of maintenance, remained unsettled throughout the succeeding winter. During October Hamet removed to Malta with his family to keep in closer communication with Tripoli, "and," in the words of Barker, "to avoid domestic afflictions to which he hath been devoted in Syracuse."³⁵

28. *Ibid.*, III. Barker to Davis, April 7, 1808.

29. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Madison, June 4, 1808; Davis to J. Pulis, U. S. Consul at Malta, June 22, 1808.

30. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Madison, June 23 and July 13, 1808.

31. *Instructions to Consuls*, I. Daniel Brent to Davis, May 25, 1808.

32. *Despatches, Tripoli*, III. Davis to Madison, July 13, 1808.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Hamet, Aug. 18, 1808.

35. *Ibid.*, III. Barker to Davis, Oct. 7, 1808.

These "afflictions" were indebtedness and ill-health. How Hamet was to escape starvation at Malta Barker had no idea. He only knew that the prince was there awaiting instructions from Davis.³⁶ The latter was greatly perturbed over this situation, and soon informed Joseph Pulis, United States Consul at Malta, that if Hamet persisted in remaining so near Tripoli, he need expect no further assistance "from this quarter."³⁷ Davis also scolded Hamet in a letter of December 5, but at the same time held out the hope of a pension from Yusuf if Hamet would remove to the Levant, Morocco, or the United States. Although the United States had recently stopped Hamet's monthly allowance, Davis was of the opinion that the payments would be continued temporarily if Hamet would accept Yusuf's offer.³⁸ In December he wrote to Madison that Yusuf would pay Hamet's debts in Sicily and Malta if the exile would fulfill the conditions which Davis had stated.

At length Hamet capitulated. In a letter to Davis, January 10, 1809, he wrote pathetically:

My unfortunate situation, my many past fatigues, and the agonizing sensations occasioned by my continued state of mendicity renders me daily more and more desirous of fixing for life.

My brother proposes (thro' you) my removal to America or the Levant, either of which I would accept with pleasure but for the circumstances of America being so far removed, my family having so many objections on account of religion, manners and language, that I cannot feel myself authorized to oblige them to go there. From the Levant I have letters of recent date, and find that country at this moment a prey to civil war and contentions. In consequence I esteem it more to my convenience and doubtless equally consonant with the wishes of my brother to make Morocco my place of permanent residence, and am willing to enter into articles for my removal thereto previous to the end of the month of April coming.³⁹

Hamet's decision must have given Davis a feeling of great relief some months later when he received the following rebuke in a set of new instructions from the Secretary of State:

I cannot conceal from you that the President highly disapproves your having mentioned the United States as a place of residence to

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to J. Pulis, Oct. 20, 1808.

38. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Hamet, Dec. 5, 1808.

39. *Ibid.*, III. Hamet to Davis, Jan. 10, 1809.

Ahmet Carmanli, and is at a loss to imagine what consideration could have induced you to overlook the strong and evident objections to such a proposal, as his residing in this Country, or even his coming here, would be extremely unpleasant and embarrassing to the Government, and entirely without advantage to himself. You will take such measures immediately on the receipt of this letter, as may be best calculated to prevent his coming.⁴⁰

If Hamet was never to embarrass the administration by entering the United States, neither was he to establish his residence in Morocco. Even before Davis and Yusuf could have received Hamet's promise to remove to Morocco, they were evolving a plan whereby Hamet should become Governor of Derne and Bengasa. Unrest in those provinces had proved very disturbing to Yusuf, who, it appears, consulted Davis about the situation, and asked if he had any suggestions to offer. Davis seized this opportunity to advise that the sovereignty of the disaffected provinces be conferred upon Hamet and his heirs. Yusuf, who may have anticipated this advice, immediately concurred on condition that the United States guarantee Hamet's good behavior. Davis rejected this proposal, whereupon Yusuf suggested that John Payne, Secretary to the Consulate, be sent to Malta to confer with Hamet, and to offer him a pension if he would proceed to Morocco, or, as an alternative, assume the governorship of Derne and Bengasa.⁴¹ To this proposal Davis agreed, and drafted instructions to Payne, exercising great care to protect the United States against future claims. Hamet was expressly to understand that whether he went to Morocco or to Derne, the United States would have no concern in any future dispute which might arise between him and his brother; for having fulfilled all their engagements with both, neither had, in fact, any just claim to their interference. But Payne was to recommend to Hamet "in the strongest possible manner his acceptance of the Government now offered him."⁴²

During the month of February Payne had a number of conferences with Hamet, who seemed pleased with Yusuf's offer but insisted upon receiving a guarantee of protection from the United States. Payne refused to use the name of his Government in this transaction, but his personal assurances that Yusuf would fulfill his promises

40. *Instructions to Consuls*, I. Robert Smith to Davis, May 12, 1809.

41. *Despatches, Tripoli*, III. Davis to Madison, Jan. 31, 1809.

42. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to John Payne, Feb. 1, 1809.

PROTÉGÉS OF THE UNITED STATES—1801-1867

appeared to quiet, to some extent, the suspicions of Hamet, who finally agreed to accept his brother's latest offer. But the prince evidently had no intention of withdrawing himself completely from American protection, for he refused transportation to Derne until after Payne had promised him and his family "the protection of an English or American flag" en route; and when Payne attempted to disavow any future obligations on the part of his Government beyond this transportation, Hamet replied that he would continue to rely upon "the friendship and protection of the United States."⁴³

Payne and Davis now speeded up a final settlement as rapidly as the demands and involved finances of Hamet would permit. More clothing, servants, and arms were sent him from Tripoli. Davis prevailed upon the Pasha to assume Hamet's debts until Hamet could pay them; and by April 5 had engaged one of Yusuf's vessels, the *Rais Mohamet Courier*, to transport Hamet and his family to Derne. For this vessel Davis obtained "a safe conduct from Sir A. I. Ball," the Governor of Malta. On May 3, 1809, Hamet sailed for Derne, the governorship of which he took over six days later.⁴⁴

On June 22 Payne reported his expenditures at Malta as totalling \$1,560; and, on July 1 Davis informed the Secretary of State of additional expenditures of the Consulate in Hamet's behalf, making the combined total \$2,360. Yusuf's expenditures were estimated by Davis as being in excess of twelve thousand dollars. "The transaction of this part of my mission," continued the Consul, "having at length been happily concluded, I trust that its result will meet the wishes and intentions of the Government. By placing the Ex-Bashaw and his family in so independent a situation all their obligations toward him, even in their extensive view, are cancelled."⁴⁵ In this opinion the President immediately concurred.⁴⁶

But the United States had not yet made its final accounting with Hamet Karamanli, who soon quarreled with his brother, was driven out of Derne, and eventually retired to Egypt. There he became a prominent officer in the army of the war-like Viceroy, Mohammed Ali. In 1834 he was in command of an army which defeated twenty

43. *Ibid.*, III. Payne to Davis, Feb. 22, 1809.

44. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Hamet, March 3, April 5, 1809; Hamet to Davis, March 17, 1809; Payne to Davis, March 18, 1809; Davis to Sec. of State, May 19, 1809.

45. *Ibid.*, III. Davis to Sec. of State, July 11, 1809.

46. *Instructions to Consuls*, I. Sec. of State to Davis, August 24, 1809.

PROTÉGÉS OF THE UNITED STATES—1801-1867

thousand Arabs,⁴⁷ and subsequent reports reveal that the Sultan of Turkey offered to re-invest him with the governorship of Derne, or, as an alternative, guarantee him an annuity of three hundred dollars per month. Hamet accepted the latter offer. This annuity was paid promptly during the life of Mohammed Ali and that of his successor, Ibrahim Pasha; but after the elevation of Abbas Pasha, a thorough-going hater of foreigners, to the Viceroyalty, Hamet received nothing. By 1853 he was poverty-stricken, and appealing for American aid. In August of that year R. B. Jones, United States Consul-General at Alexandria, wrote as follows to Secretary of State Marcy regarding Hamet.

I called the attention of the Government to his case, pointed out the hardships of his situation, and the shame to this Government in neglecting the rights of a man of 80 years. He has an American passport, and is considered as under American protection.⁴⁸

The despatches do not appear to reveal the precise date of Hamet's becoming a protégé of the United States in Egypt; nor do they seem to contain absolutely conclusive evidence regarding the "American passport" to which Jones referred. Careful searches through the Department of State records have failed to disclose the issuance of such a passport, and it may be that the document in Hamet's possession was the safe conduct issued by Sir A. I. Ball when Hamet and his family were on the eve of departing from Malta for Derne in 1809. The point is an interesting one because of claims which were subsequently based upon this alleged "American passport."

At some time during the period 1853-56 Hamet died. But his death did not deter members of his family from bringing claims against the United States. The first of these was presented by a nephew of Hamet, Mohammed Habat, who had participated in the Derne campaign. He visited Washington in 1856, where he represented himself as being the "attorney of Hussein Bei Caramanly and Hescia, his sister, surviving children of Hamet Caramanly, Ex-Bashaw of Tripoli." On December 1 this Tripolitan presented the claims of his clients to the Secretary of State. He traced in detail

47. *Despatches, Cyprus, Alexandria, Stancho*, I. Jno. Gliddon, U. S. Consular agent at Alexandria to Sec. of State John Forsyth, Dec. 8, 1834. (MSS. in Department of State.)

48. *Despatches, Egypt*, I. R. B. Jones to Sec. of State W. L. Marcy, Aug. 7, 1853. (Letter received, Sept. 24, 1853.) (MSS. in Department of State.)

PROTÉGÉS OF THE UNITED STATES—1801-1867

the relations between the agents of the United States and Hamet, with special emphasis upon the alleged failure of the United States to fulfill its obligations subsequent to the formation of the convention between Eaton and Hamet in Egypt. The Derne campaign, according to Habat's estimate, had cost Hamet approximately one hundred thousand dollars, for only a small fraction of which had he been reimbursed. Habat also stated that pursuant to agreements entered into between Hamet and agents of the United States, "Hamet, his family, and the persons of his suite, were to enjoy, and be recognized as under American protection; and that accordingly, a Passport was delivered to Hamet under date, Malta, the 23rd of April, 1809." Habat now made four specific demands: 1. That the United States aid in obtaining from the Tripolitan government certain proceeds from real estate belonging to the heirs of Hamet, and in securing "all other rights, in Tripoli,—from the time of the annexation of that Regency to Turkey, to the present period; and from this time, to the total extinction of Hamet's direct heirs." 2. That the United States provide "without charge, or hindrance of any kind, passports to the descendants of Hamet, as well as the persons of his suite, in Egypt and elsewhere." 3. That a recommendation be made to Congress to appropriate a sum of money to cover losses which Hamet had sustained in his coöperation with the United States against Yusuf. 4. That Habat be granted his traveling expenses for the journey back to Egypt.

There followed an extended correspondence between Habat and the Secretary of State. When the latter demanded proof that Habat was really the agent of Hamet, it was promptly transmitted to him, together with a passport issued to Habat by Edwin De Leon, the United States Consul-General at Alexandria. "This passport," wrote Habat, "was issued upon the one registered among the archives of the U. S. Consulate-General at Alexandria, of Egypt, given by the agents of United States, on the 23rd of April, 1809, at Malta, to Hamet Bashaw Caramalli and suite,—by which the protection of the United States was secured to their respective families, in consequence of the events at Derne." In a postscript he added "that a copy of the passport delivered at Malta in 1809, and full details relating thereto were sent by him to the Department of State."⁴⁹

49. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1857. Mohammed Habat to Marcy, Jan. 6, 1857.

PROTÉGÉS OF THE UNITED STATES—1801-1867

In his reply Secretary Marcy admitted the possibility of a passport having been granted to Hamet in 1809 by the United States Consul at Malta, but at the same time asserted that such action could not have been taken "pursuant to the instructions to, nor is it mentioned in the despatches of that functionary to this Department." The obligations of the United States to Hamet and his family so far at least as they related to protection to them or to their property had been, in Marcy's opinion, "cancelled by their restoration to and settlement in the Province of Derne." Finally, he refused to disregard existing policy by interposing with the Porte in behalf of the descendants of Hamet and their attorney—all of whom he considered to be "Ottoman subjects."⁵⁰

Mohammed Habat refused to accept this answer to his claims as final, and in a long communication dated January 16, 1857, rebuked Marcy for taking the position that the obligations of the United States to Hamet and his family had been cancelled by the restoration to Derne. After insisting that Hamet had not acquiesced in that arrangement until the passport was granted, recognizing him and suite as American protégés, he continued:

The grant of it in 1809, after Hamet Bashaw had accepted Mr. Consul Davis' proposition and arrangement to return to Derne, and before he proceeded thither, establishes the fact, conclusively that it was given for protection thereafter. It was so stated to Hamet Caramalli by the agents of the Government of the United States; and was, evidently so intended,—since he, and suite, as well as their descendants have, ever since the granting of that Passport, been, and remained under American Protection, and are so registered in its Public Register at Alexandria and Cairo. It is now, therefore, too late to assume that the agent who gave such protection did one thing, and intended another; or that, in so doing, he disregarded the spirit at least of his instructions.

Neither can it be admitted that we have all this period been enjoying "American Protection"—if the same was not sanctioned by the Government of the United States, and recognized by the Tripolitans, and eventually, by the Ottoman Government. It is pursuant to that sanction and that recognition that Mr. Consul Jones, four years ago, renewed, in the Public Registers at Alexandria and Cairo, the list of names of those of us who were entitled to such protection—of which fact I was informed you were duly apprized by him; and upon which

^{50.} *Domestic Letters*, XL. Marcy to Mohammed Habat, Jan. 8, 1857. (MSS. in Department of State.)

PROTÉGÉS OF THE UNITED STATES—1801-1867

I transmitted to you, in my letter of the 6th Instant. Upon a thorough investigation of these facts, you will ascertain, Mr. Secretary, that you are entirely mistaken in the supposition that the descendants of Hamet Caramalli are Ottoman subjects.⁵¹

This communication failed to change the attitude of the Secretary of State, who, in a curt reply again refused to authorize interposition on the part of the United States with the Porte in behalf of the heirs of Hamet. The other claims of the petition he ignored.⁵² Habat thereupon returned to Cairo where he died July 9, 1862. But he remained under American protection to the end, and at the time of his death bore the distinction of being "the oldest protégé of the United States in Egypt."⁵³

In 1858 another claimant to protection appeared in the United States. His name was Soliman Gharbi, and he, too, represented himself as a descendant of Hamet Karamanli. He was, he said, a resident of Alexandria, where he possessed certain property which had been threatened with seizure, and where, without provocation on his part, his person had also been endangered. He requested that such instructions be addressed to the United States Consul-General at Alexandria as would afford to him all the protection which the United States could extend in his behalf. He also declared his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States.⁵⁴

The instructions of the Secretary of State to Edwin De Leon, Consul-General at Alexandria, are so interesting not only with respect to Soliman Gharbi, but the general policy of granting protection to persons residing in Egypt, that they are here given in extenso:

It is necessary to inform you that this government cannot extend to Mr. Gharbi such protection as it is bound to afford to its own citizens residing under foreign jurisdiction; nor is it fair to presume, can he expect any such measure of protection. Yet under the circumstances of the case, and especially in view of the position once occupied toward the Government of the United States by his alleged ancestor, it is deemed proper to commend Mr. Gharbi to your good

51. *Misc. Letters*, Jan., 1857. Mohammed Habat to Marcy, Jan. 16, 1857. (MSS. in Department of State.)

52. *Domestic Letters*, XLVI. Marcy to Mohammed Habat, Jan. 20, 1857.

53. *Despatches, Egypt* III. William S. Thayer, U. S. Consul-General at Alexandria, to William H. Seward, Sec. of State, Nov. 12, 1862.

54. *Misc. Letters*, July, 1858 (?), to William J. Rose, July 12, 1858; William Rose to William Hunter, July 15, 1858; *Instructions, Barbary Powers*, XIV, 200-02, Lewis Cass to Edwin De Leon, Aug. 18, 1858. (MSS. in Department of State.)

offices, and to request you—after you shall have satisfied yourself that he does not seek to screen himself from prosecution for offences against the laws of the country, and that he has given no just cause of complaint to the authorities of the Vice Royalty—to grant him such protection as may be authorized by law and by the regulations of the Department. In this, you will of course be careful not to transcend the authority given to Consular Officers of the United States in the East, by the 28th Chapter of the regulations referred to, which prescribes the issuing, to Aliens under Consular protection, of a simple certificate “that the person to whom it is given is cared for and received under the protection of the government whose agent has granted it.”

You are aware that this authority to protect aliens has not always been used with discretion, and that in consequence of its abuse, the Department has, without entirely forbidding it, discountenanced its exercise as far as possible. It is, indeed, questionable whether the regulation which admits it is consistent with the act of August, 1856, in relation to the granting of passports and certificates.

The Department hopes that you may be able, without committing your government to a defense of the rights of Mr. Gharbi in case of their being invaded, to secure him and his family against further molestation, so long as their conduct is not justly obnoxious to censure.⁵⁵

During and immediately following the Civil War American protection of Hamet Karamanli's family passed through its final phase. The claims of Hamet's descendants and of numerous other individuals in Egypt for protection caused Secretary of State Seward to issue the following instructions to Charles Hale, the Consul-General at Alexandria, October 3, 1864:

Henceforward you will grant no protection to any person whomsoever not actually a citizen by birth, or complete naturalization, or to any other person not actually employed in the Consulate.⁵⁶

Hale hardly knew how to interpret this instruction. His first impression was that it called for a summary withdrawal of protection from all American protégés residing in Egypt who were not citizens of the United States. For a time he made plans to execute it accordingly, but a careful examination of the entire subject of protection in Egypt finally induced him to delay this contemplated action. He

55. *Instructions, Barbary Powers*, XIV, 200-02.

56. *Ibid.*, XIV. Seward to Charles Hale, Oct. 3, 1864.

PROTÉGÉS OF THE UNITED STATES—1801-1867

reported that for such of the protégés as might be expected to abuse American protection by using it as a shield for improper proceedings he had refused to do anything when they had applied for his interference, and with regard to the others he had done nothing. His pursuit of this course he continued, had been chiefly dictated by the commitments of certain of his predecessors; by the fact that in 1864 the protégés of the United States in Egypt had voluntarily subscribed a considerable sum for the relief of Union soldiers in America; and by an unwillingness to give foreign nations an impression of weakness on the part of the United States in war-time.⁵⁷ Hale's reasoning seems to have made no impression upon Seward, who, in 1866, repeated and elaborated his instructions of October 3, 1864:

This direction seems to be too clear and positive to require any interpretation, and certainly does not warrant the continuance of protection to the persons to whom you refer. The Department has no information of the names of those persons, the length of time during which they have had the protection of the Consulate, or the reasons for which this was originally granted. . . .

It is consequently expected that you will carry into full effect the instructions above referred to. The Department would, however, like to be furnished with the details which have been indicated in regard to the persons who are now protected by the Consulate.⁵⁸

Upon receipt of this second instruction Hale lost no time in giving formal notice of it to all persons, other than citizens or actual employees of the United States claiming American protection in Egypt. Of the number of claimants whom he notified, twenty-six resided near Cairo and forty-seven in other parts of Egypt.⁵⁹ "A portion of them," according to one of numerous petitions, "are Swiss citizens, who not having Consuls in the East, entered into American protection. . . . A portion are from Hungary and Poland who, after a valiant defence of their country against despotical powers, were obliged to leave their dear homes Of a portion, their fathers rendered notable service in the war between America and the barbaresque powers, and one of them was killed in fighting, and the commander of the expedition conferred the protection to his descendants, which they until now enjoyed with dignity. . . . A portion also

57. *Despatches, Egypt*, IV. Hale to Seward, Nov. 12, 1866.

58. *Instructions, Barbary Powers*, XVI. Seward to Hale, Dec. 11, 1866.

59. *Despatches, Egypt*, IV. Hale to Seward, April 15, 1867.

PROTÉGÉS OF THE UNITED STATES—1801-1867

who after many years of gratuite service in the American consulate in the East as Interpreters, Clerks, and Secretaries, obtained an official protection for assisting them against the abuses of powers to which they were exposed from the Turkish Authorities."⁶⁰

Interestingly enough only one of the number from whom protection was withdrawn, can be definitely associated with Hamet Karamanli. His name was Jacob Elia Bugdadly, and he was a resident of Cairo. In a petition which he made to Secretary of State Seward in 1867 for a continuation of American protection, he referred to himself as "belonging to Ahmed Pascha Aramaly's men of war in Aderne and Bengasy and heirs in the American protection about twenty years."⁶¹ But the petition was ignored by the Department of State, and on May 11, 1867, Seward informed Hale that the Department saw "no reason to modify its instruction upon the subject of protection by the Consulates in Egypt of persons not citizens of the United States."⁶²

Thus, approximately sixty-two years after the evacuation of Derne by the heroic Eaton and Hamet Karamanli, Secretary Seward's reiterated refusal to recognize Jacob Elia Bugdadly as a protégé of the United States definitely disposed of the last of these claims arising from the war with Tripoli. The fact that American officials had, over so long a period, and in so many instances, recognized an obligation to Hamet and his descendants reveals beyond question a sincere attempt to keep faith with them. With equal force it also reveals the necessity under which those officials were placed to be vigilant and firm in their measures relative to this series of somewhat fantastic claims.

60. *Ibid.*, IV. Petition of Am. protégés at Cairo to Charles Hale, March 26, 1867.

61. *Ibid.*, IV. Bugdadly and others to Seward, March 26, 1867.

62. *Instructions, Barbary Powers*, XIV. Seward to Hale, May 11, 1867.



Bryant, The Poet Of Humor

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RYANT'S genius, after all, was by no means altogether didactic and mortuary"—this statement (1) by Professor Foerster may very well be taken as the theme of this article. There has been too prevalent a tendency on the part of literary critics and historians to regard Bryant the poet as consistently gloomy, solemn, elegiac, and some even go so far as to call him morbid, perpetually haunted by thoughts of death and the grave. His poetry is analyzed as if it were all of a piece—invariably grave, invested with "thanatopsian" overtones and implications, saturated with a grim Calvinistic view of life. Even his contemporaries seem agreed on that score and some modern writers have taken up the familiar refrain.

That Bryant as editor could be biting, witty, satiric, spicing his leaders with telling anecdotes and choice quotations, often of a humorous nature, is generally acknowledged. He wielded a powerful journalistic pen which could, when the occasion demanded it, become playful and engaging. Numerous extracts could be cited from editorial contributions in the files of the "Evening Post" to indicate that he possessed a delightful and ever-present sense of humor. Unfortunately, these editorials have until recently been dismissed as the creditable but fugitive work of a journalist, not to be considered as a serious and permanent contribution to literature. Without stopping to argue this point, one may pause to examine another issue, more relevant to our thesis, namely, that the editor and the poet were two disconnected and conflicting personalities. The view was held that when Bryant composed poetry he was lifted to a sphere far above the petty political problems, the jarring factionalism of the national scene; he dealt with Nature, Humanity, and God in their eternal aspects. In these lyrics he revealed the essential part of himself—the mind lofty and contemplative facing the fundamental unchanging problems of the universe. While there is some truth in this contention, it is not altogether true, and a half-truth may sometimes be

BRYANT, THE POET OF HUMOR

as misleading as an untruth. Whether he be bank president or poet, the personality of a man is not a series of water-tight compartments; it is, on the contrary, an organic entity, multiform but integrated. There is communication and interaction between the parts. The mind is complex, a mansion of many rooms and windows. It may consist of opposites, of contradictions, of lights and shadows, but these are all essential to a full sympathetic understanding of the character of a man. Black and white, darkness and sunlight, evil and good, gravity and gaiety, seriousness and a sense of humor—these are the ingredients which, when mixed, make up the inscrutable soul of a man.

Though it may be supported with a show of proof, the legend of Bryant's inflexible graveyard tendency, must undergo revision in the light of new research. Even as a poet he had his lighter moments, his infectious laugh, his saving sense of humor. Nor need this detract in any way from his high rank as a major American poet. It disposes, however, once for all of the charge that Bryant could not compose in a lighter vein. It may seem difficult to counteract the impression that "Thanatopsis" has produced on many minds, the belief that it sums up his strength and weakness as a poet, but the facts when presented will speak for themselves and make possible the recognition of a more humane and lovable and human-all-too-human figure.

Though the lyrics of a humorous kind in his collected work are few in number, they are nevertheless surprisingly good. Though Professor William Ellery Leonard is inclined to think that the poems, "To a Mosquito" and "A Meditation on Rhode Island Coal," are "painfully facetious," (2) it will be found that they appear facetious only in comparison with the grave and lofty mood in which the rest of his poetry is written. Taken by themselves, they seem neither artificial nor forced, but an effusion of wit in the tradition established by Halleck and his crew. Bryant was apparently enjoying himself hugely during the process of composition. His removal in 1825 to the cultivated literary atmosphere of New York, his contacts with men of letters and fashion, his visits to "Cooper's Club," all these effectively dissipated the cloud of discouragement and gloom that had previously settled upon him. Now that he was saved from the galling hackwork of the law, now that he could devote himself with undivided attention to a profession that he loved, he could unbend and afford to jest, in verse or prose, with a good grace. The constitutional gravity of his

BRYANT, THE POET OF HUMOR

character partly broke down. As editor of "The New-York Review, and Atheneum Magazine," he complained of the lack of literary entertainment in the periodical and poked fun at the multitude of clever men in the city who seemed "to think it a sort of disgrace to be entertaining." (3.)

Another influence at the time must have been that of his friend and boon companion in many a literary escapade, Robert C. Sands, a versatile versifier and irrepressible wit, fertile in literary projects which were often of an amusing nature. Moreover, elegant witty verses were then the fashion; it was in 1819 that the Croakers had startled the citizens of New York City with their mordant satires that were printed in the "Evening Post." Halleck's *vers de société* was extravagantly admired. Finally, the literature of the time, which tended to be dull and unduly solemn, needed, as Bryant fully realized, the bracing tonic of humor.

That Bryant's excursion into this field was not new may be seen by a cursory glance at some of his juvenile productions. As a boy he displayed an unusual gift for satirical gibes and puckish doggerel. He evinced the natural healthy impulses of a boy employing his gifts in the service of lampooning and satirizing his fellow-students. When Congress voted an embargo on all commerce, Bryant, an ardent Federalist like his father, added his voice to the general chorus of villification. "The Embargo" is a violent and scathing polemic in verse. At Williams College, he wrote "Descriptio Guliempolis," a brilliant satire on the poor climate and unwholesome atmosphere of Williamstown.

Some years later he even essayed a dramatic farce, "The Heroes" (4) which proved, unfortunately, a dismal failure. Charles Sedgwick, to whom he had submitted the manuscript in the hope that the Sedgwick family might help him in getting it produced on the stage, wrote him a tactful letter indicating its weakness: "As to its success neither you nor I nor any body else can tell before hand. There are so many considerations about it arising from the lapse of time, the squibs & jokes, the farces &c. &c. that possibly without any regard to the merits of the performance the public may reject it being already tired. But I shall certainly try it & I think N. Y. is the best Theatre for such a show. My brothers will hear it in a few days & will do their best with it." (5) Apparently what the brothers thought about it was

BRYANT, THE POET OF HUMOR

not very complimentary to Bryant's powers as a writer of farces, for Charles Sedgwick was constrained to pen another letter attempting to soothe the ruffled pride of the poet. "Happily for me you are to well acquainted with the opinions of the Sedgk tribe to take in dudgeon Mr. Harry's free sayings abt. the farce. To tell you the truth I was rather amused by his surprise at seeing a farce written by you & by his comparison on the subject." (6) While the members of the Sedgwick tribe may possibly have been justified in their reactions to Bryant's efforts at creating a farce—for the poet was singularly lacking in dramatic power—they were wrong if they believed that the humorous vein was not for him.

Far more interesting than this abortive dramatic farce are the verses Bryant published on a number of occasions in the pages of the "Evening Post." These were dashed off in the heat and spirit of the moment. Though originally not meant to be preserved for posterity, they deserve consideration because they help to limn a Bryant whom we hardly recognize—buoyant, stinging, droll, sardonic, and witty. They demonstrate that he possessed more vivacity and versatility of talent than critics commonly grant him. They break up the "single darkness" in which his poetical remains have been shrouded.

Though Bryant contributed comparatively few signed poems to the "Evening Post," he did publish in its pages some unsigned light verse which can usually be identified by the fact that it is signed "Q," the initial he used for his dramatic criticism. (7) Early in 1829 he penned a clever anonymous ode addressed to Fanny Wright, effectively satirizing her immoral radical doctrines. The poem is rather long, but a short quotation will be sufficient to suggest its quality of penetrating humor:

What has that hapless country done,
That thou should'st cast her off forever,
And on our own ungrateful one
Waste the bright sunshine of thy favor?
For here thou scatterest seed on rocks,
We keep our stupid English fashions,
A stiff-necked generation mocks
Thy novel doctrine of the passions: (8)

Seven days later, on January 24, 1829, in collaboration with the high-spirited Sands, he concocted an elaborate literary hoax, which

BRYANT, THE POET OF HUMOR

consisted in translating a quatrain into all possible languages and thus leading astray solemn pundits who prided themselves on their scholarship. One or two samples of this *jeu d'esprit*, the humor of which has sadly evaporated with time, will serve to indicate its method.

Three ample doors this mansion hath,
Their names—hope, infamy, and death;
The first alone for entrance made,
The others are for those—*who've played*.

Another more sprightly variant reads as follows:

If you want to be worsted,
Bedeviled and bursted,
Go into this den,
Where the trap waits for men—
Each door has its name,
One is hope, one is shame,
And one, as you see,
Is *felo de se*.
Put your foot within one—
There's an end of your fun,
And, as sure as a gun
Thro' the rest you must run. (9)

More strikingly humorous in language and satirical in content is the poem, "The Bee in the Tar-Barrel," signed "Q," which appeared in the "Evening Post" on March 25, 1831. Aside from the signature, the poem is marked as his, apparently in his own handwriting, in the files presented by the owners of the "Evening Post" to the New York Public Library. (10)

THE BEE IN THE TAR-BARREL.

I heard a bee, on a summer day,
Brisk and busy, and ripe for quarrel—
Bustling, and buzzing, and bouncing away,
In the fragrant depth of an old tar-barrel.
Do you ask what his buzzing was all about?
Oh, he was wondrous shrewd and critical:
'Twas sport to hear him scold and flout,
And the topics he chose were all political.
And first and foremost he buzzed of tar,
And called the heads of the government asses,
To let it be carried off so far,
And changed, at Trinidad, for molasses.

BRYANT, THE POET OF HUMOR

For we got the West India trade too soon
From the British folks—he had not a doubt of it;
For himself, he'd have scorned the thing 'as a boon,'
But kept at work till he cheated them out of it.

Then plaintive and piteous his humming grew,
And I thought him complaining of indigestion;
But I listened again, and at length I knew
He had got upon the Indian question.

The world, he declared, would all look glum,
To see us coax the Cherokee nation
From their fathers' graves, from the whites and rum,
Their pockets lined with a compensation.

Next, tones of fury and wrath were heard—
And I started back with sudden wonder;
For the staves were shaken, the hoops were jarred,
And it seemed the barrel was filled with thunder.

"'Twas a crime to fill the land with groans,
'Twas a deed," he said, "most foul and ugly,
To turn our poor unfortunate drones
From the public hive, where they lodged so snugly."

And next—but I started at the sound
Of noses blown and people walking;
And I saw some thirty 'Nationals round,
And found I had dozed while Ketchum was talking.

Q.

Though "The Bee in the Tar-Barrel" abounds in allusions to contemporary political questions—the tariff, the spoils system, the policies of the opposition party, the removal of the Cherokee Indians—the humor is unforced, the satire direct and pungent. More outspoken and controversial in tone and greatly improved in technique is the poem, "The Rats and Mice," which was printed in the "Evening Post" on January 4, 1839, signed with the initial "Q." The barbed shafts of satire strike home; the clever and amusing allegory is directed at the parties and politicians who violate the sacred and fundamental principles of democracy which Bryant vigorously defended, year after year, in the newspaper he was conducting.

BRYANT, THE POET OF HUMOR

THE RATS AND MICE.

Once on a time, as saith our story,
Within a single edifice,
A nation flourished in its glory,
Whose citizens were rats and mice.

The politics they prospered under
Passed far and widely for a wonder,
So based were they on reason's laws,
And equal rights of vermin;—
So planned, the general good to cause,
And cleanly keep Justitia's ermine.

The mice were populous by legions,
But mostly in the upper regions,
Where cracks and crevices so small were,
That none but mice could go at all there.

But there they got a name and grew,
Established trade and ports of entry,
And made improvements not a few,
In cupboards, case and pantry.

The rats rejoiced in cellar spacious,
Where finding ample fare,
With little thought or care,
They grew remarkably audacious,—
Great statesmen they, and rhetoricians,
And eke by nature politicians.

On every great occasion,
The counsel of the nation
Assembled duly in
An empty barrel bin
Yclept Ratopolis,
Where dog and cat police
And foul monopolies,
And all affairs of state,
Gave rise to much debate.

Long lived this great mouse-ratic union,
While enemies were hurt to see
The wondrous peace and courtesy
With which the parties held communion.

At length some busy story-teller
Began to noise it through the house,
That everything down in the cellar
Worked badly for the mouse.

BRYANT, THE POET OF HUMOR

Instead of persons fat and sleek,
They seemed but shadows, thin and weak,
Those cellar mice,—poor starveling wretches,
Like what we're told are seen in churches!
For food,—while rats were proud to waste it,—
These famished mice dared hardly taste it.

And worse,—'twas rumored that
Full many a tyrant rat
Had sold his neighbors to the cat!
Resolved to have investigation
In general council of the nation,
Some garret-mice there brought the charge
Against the race of rats at large.

Up jumped a hundred rats or more,
In furious haste to get the floor;
The one that did, in speech er-rat-ic,
Cried, "Mr. Speaker, I should like to know
What, with our cellar-mice, they have to do
Who live up in the attic!

Our institutions are our own,
We swear they must be left alone;
Our mice (for they indeed belong to us,)
Are better off than those who make the fuss;
A subject that we deign not to discuss,
But let the canting saints,
Who make these sad complaints,
Their whiskers show the cellar side
And we the question will decide,
By means far briefer than haranguing,
That is to say, by *hanging!*

A grey old mouse, that caught the Speaker's eye,
In nick of time, thus made reply:—

"I hold that mice of sense
Will vote to save expense
Of further inquisition,—
And take with full reliance,
This chivalrous defiance,
As equal to confession.
*None but the guilty deprecate
The lightning flash of free debate.*"

Q.

BRYANT, THE POET OF HUMOR

Again, in the spring of 1856, when Preston Brooks brutally assaulted Sumner in the Senate, Bryant's indignation was greatly aroused. On May 30, 1856, a meeting of the people of New York City was held at the Tabernacle to protest against this dastardly attack. When Bryant, who was appointed one of the vice-presidents, came forward he stood "silent for some minutes, unable to make himself heard, by reason of the deafening cheers that rose at his appearance." (11) Bryant did not adopt the extreme attitude of Emerson who on May 26, 1856, at a meeting in Concord to consider the outrage upon Sumner, said, "I think we must get rid of slavery, or we must get rid of freedom." (12) But in anonymous bits of doggerel, throbbing with fierce scorn, Bryant made fun of the failure of the inglorious Brooks to appear at the place appointed for a duel with Anson Burlingame, of Massachusetts. Some quotations will illustrate the forthright and contemptuous manner in which the poet branded Brooks a bully and a coward. On June 13, 1856, he wrote:

Who sent his country's laws to make,
And bound to obey them for her sake,
Dared her and Honor's laws to break?
Preston Brooks!

Who, in the Senate's hall of state,
Dared wreak his vengeful coward hate,
Striving to stifle free debate?
Preston Brooks!

On July 24, 1856, appeared "Brook's Canada Song," six stanzas of scathing satiric humor.

To Canada, Brooks was asked to go,
To waste of powder a pound or so;
He sighed as he answered, No, no, no,
They might take my life on the way, you know.
For I am afraid, afraid, afraid,
Bully Brooks is afraid.

Those Jersey railroads I can't abide,
'Tis a dangerous thing in the trains to ride.
Each brakeman carries a knife by his side,
They'd cut my throat, and they'd cut it wide,
And I am afraid, afraid, afraid,
Bully Brooks is afraid.

BRYANT, THE POET OF HUMOR

There are savages haunting New York Bay,
To murder strangers that pass that way;
The Quaker Garrison keeps them in pay,
And they kill at least a score a day.
 And I am afraid, afraid, afraid,
 Bully Brooks is afraid.

So, dearest Mr. Burlingame,
I'll stay at home, if 'tis all the same,
And I'll tell the world 'twas a burning shame
That we did not fight, and you're to blame.
 For I am afraid, afraid, afraid,
 Bully Brooks is afraid. (13)

On July 30, 1856, Bryant printed "The Artful Dodger," which keeps up the same derogatory refrain.

Bully Brooks he would a-fighting go,
 Heigh, ho! says Bully;
I'm full of valor and froth, you know,
Just give me a club and an unarmed foe,
 With my roly-poly, gammon and dodging,
 And I'll show them Brooks the Bully.

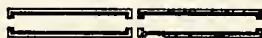
These occasional poems of humor and satire, selected from the files of the "Evening Post," will not alter materially Bryant's established and secure niche in the Parthenon of the American poets. Historically and biographically, however, they are of decided interest in that they portray a man who "had his fun-loving side." (14) These slight but sprightly effusions reveal Bryant in his more congenial and careless moments when he sported with verse as an instrument of stinging satire or playful humor. Incidentally they seem to indicate that Bryant, if he had so desired, could have written topical poetry of a high order, poetry instinct with the passions and tumult of the hour. But this ran counter to his lofty conception of poetry, which rejected the ephemeral, the transient, the purely spontaneous; he felt that the crude ore of the original inspiration must be refined in the fires of a disciplined revision. It was this exacting aesthetic ideal which kept his material within a narrow range. He deliberately narrowed his choice of subject matter and the forms he employed, for he believed that only the perfect would endure.

BRYANT, THE POET OF HUMOR

Nevertheless, these anonymous improvisations enabled him to give his fancy free rein. He need not worry that they would later rise to haunt him or that they would in any way detract from his reputation as a poet. They were not intended for preservation. They were therefore composed in a rollicking, carefree spirit, the meter clattering at a jolly clip; the words he used were colloquial and alive, the tone biting, uninhibited. And the range of subjects is unusually wide: the perversities of doctrine of the immoral Fanny Wright; poetic addresses to the newsboys on the first of the year; literary hoaxes in collaboration with the jovial Robert C. Sands; political satires and rallying cries; sly parodies. We are therefore justified in concluding that Bryant's genius, after all, was by no means altogether didactic and mortuary.

NOTES AND REFERENCES:

- (1) Norman Foerster, "Nature in American Literature," p. 11.
- (2) "The Cambridge History of American Literature," I, 262.
- (3) Parke Godwin, "A Biography of William Cullen Bryant," I, 222.
- (4) Never published.
- (5) February 14, 1823. Manuscript in the New York Public Library.
- (6) March 28, 1823. Manuscript in the New York Public Library.
- (7) Also identified by Professor Allan Nevins in his book, "The Evening Post," p. 127.
- (8) The New York "Evening Post," January 17, 1829.
- (9) Parke Godwin, "A Biography of William Cullen Bryant," I, 238-39.
- (10) Also identified by Professor Nevins, "The Evening Post," p. 127.
- (11) The New York "Evening Post," May 31, 1856.
- (12) *Ibid.*, June 6, 1856.
- (13) Quoted in Godwin, II, 92.
- (14) Nevins, p. 129.





COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

Miniature copied by Charles Fraser in 1845 from original pastel portrait done from life by Henrietta Johnson about 1720. Both pastel and miniature are owned by the Gibbes Art Gallery, Charleston, South Carolina.

Colonel William Rhett, Torrid Politician and Pirate-Chaser Extraordinary

BY MARY-ELIZABETH LYNNAH, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA



HERE are in Carolina great numbers of Fire Flies, who carry their Lanthorns in their Tails in dark Nights, flying through the Air, shining like Sparks of Fire, enlightening it with their Golden Spangles . . . in dark nights they shine like Candles: for which I have often at a distance mistaken them, supposing them to have been the Lights of some adjacent Plantation; and in this I have not been the first that has been so deceived.

"They have a Bird I believe the least in the whole Creation, named the Humming Bird; in bigness the Wren being much superiour, in magnitude not exceeding the Humble Bee, whose Body in flying much resembles it, did not their long Bills, between two and three Inches, and no bigger than Needles, make the difference. I have . . . never observed them to have any Musical Air, but a loud Note to Admiration, crying 'Chur, Chur, Chur, etc.,' which at the distance of half mile is plainly heard: At Barbadoes the Jews curiously skin these little Birds, filling them with fine Sand and perfuming their Feathers, they are sent into Europe as pretty Delicacies for Ladies, who hang them at their Breasts and Girdles.

"To conclude, there grows in Carolina the famous Cassiny, whose admirable and incomparable Vertues are highly applauded and extolled by French and Spanish Writers: It is the Leaves of a certain Tree, which boyl'd in Water (as we do Thea) wonderfully enliven and invigorate the Heart, with genuine easie Sweats and Transpirations, preserving the Mind free and serene, keeping the Body brisk, active, and lively, not for an hour, or two but for as many days, as those Authors report, without any other Nourishment or Subsistance, which, if true, is really admirable."

Such were the glowing attractions of "Carolina, or a Description of the Present State of that Country, and the Natural Excellencies thereof," as set forth in pamphlet form by Thomas Ashe under the Pseudonymic initials "T. A.," in the year 1682.

The advertisement, for such was the essential character of the publication, was primarily designed to extol the advantages and

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

unfold the opportunities awaiting the Colonist in America, to the distinct pecuniary benefit of those real estate moguls of the seventeenth century known in history as the Lords Proprietors.

When the twenty-eight-year-old William Rhett "arrived and settled in this Country 19th Novembr: 1694," as his tombstone in old St. Philip's churchyard, Charleston, South Carolina, declares, he came neither to test the veracity of Ashe, the potency of cassena tea, the carrying qualities of the humming bird's "voice," nor the wattage contained in the firefly's tail-light.

He came, as an enterprising captain of the English merchant marine, at the helm of a sturdy little vessel named the "Providence," of which he was part owner with Nicholas and John Trott of London, men of considerable political prowess in England, and on close terms with certain of the Lords Proprietors, who were, at that time the governors of Carolina's destiny. It was, moreover, this very same friendship with the London Trotts which was, indirectly, to color Rhett's career in the New World, and hasten the disintegration of the proprietary government.

When the staunch "Providence" sailed into Charles Town Bay, safely weighed down by a romantically incongruous cargo of "merchandise, negro slaves, gold, elephants' teeth," and "wax effects," its commander, Captain William Rhett stood side by side with his intelligent young wife, the former Sarah Cooke, who nestled their first-born, tiny Christiana, in her arms, as she surveyed intently the slowly approaching peninsula, and its broad sweep of glistening waters.

Thomas Ashe, towards the conclusion of his famous pamphlet, had been moved to lay strong emphasis on the fact that the settlement of Charles Town owed much of its popularity and growth to the fact that it was "very commodiously scituated from many other Navigable Rivers that lie near it on which the Planters are seated" who bring their products "to the Town as to the Common Market and Magazine both for Trade and Shipping," and it was just this aspect of the coastal settlement's charms which appealed to the ambitious young sea captain, and inspired his determination to carve out a considerable fortune for himself in that particular port.

Born in London in 1666, Rhett, at the time of his introduction to Charles Town, was a reasonably tall, powerfully-built individual, whose piercing eyes betrayed his fearlessness, and indomitable will,

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

whereas his long, well shaped nose and high forehead vouched for his intelligence, and his arrogance.

Only the slightly voluptuous curve of Rhett's lips detracted from the impression that the captain was an iron individual, and puzzled the unbiased observer, who found it almost impossible to make up his mind as to whether it was a sign of latent weakness or of tenderness, carefully concealed. The present-day historian knows that it was a little of both, and all of neither, and the fact that William Rhett was to all intents and purposes "a kind Husband" and "a tender Father" as well as "a religious, constant worshipper of God" and a hot-head politician with the temper of a virago, in no way diminishes, but rather adds a ray of human interest, to the heroic renown which he earned as the pirate-chaser extraordinary, and the liberator of the Carolina coast from the barbaric inroads of bold buccaneers.

Back in the time of Charles II, when Charles Town had its beginning, pirates had been operating on a restricted basis, and with the encouragement and sanction of the king. Designated by the more dignified and less terrifying title of "privateers," and armed with actual commissions from Charles, they had been employed to harass the Spaniards, the deadly enemies of the English Colonists, and had often been openly harbored and entertained by the Carolina planters on their extensive estates. One notorious "privateer," moreover, Henry Morgan by name, had even been rewarded for his services by elevation to knighthood.

By 1694, however, these sea rovers had lost caste, so to speak, and were once more commonly referred to as "pirates." The English had found to their confusion and disgust that any trust imposed in these sea robbers was just so much faith thrown to the winds, for a pirate apparently felt no misgivings either while dispossessing his employer's friends, or his sworn foes. The King's collector of customs, however, one Edward Randolph, bitterly complained to his Majesty that there were certain Carolina planters who were still given to sheltering pirates, evidently considering them exciting guests and fascinating entertainers. This "protection" was impeding the progress of justice, in his opinion, and seriously limiting his number of convictions of piracy.

Fortunately for Carolina, however, the buccaneers were as yet mainly interested in her sea coast as a place of temporary sanctuary.

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

Their operations were, up to this time, more or less limited to more southern waters, but Randolph feared for the consequences, if the loose proprietary rule were to be continued. He, therefore, advocated the discontinuance of the Charter, and the assumption of government by the Crown.

Such was the confused state of affairs in Carolina at the time Captain Rhett and his capable, young wife (his senior by a year), were busily rearranging their lives, and making new friends and a new home in hospitable little Charles Town, where they lost no time before becoming members of St. Philip's Church which originally stood on the site of the present St. Michael's Episcopal Church.

Fellow-churchgoers, such as Jonathan Amory, the Receiver for the Public Treasury, and his wife, Martha, discovered in the Rhetts agreeable companions, and welcomed the young couple into their circle of intimates. In 1695, the year following his arrival in Charles Town, William Rhett rejoiced to find himself the proud possessor of a male heir, which was duly christened William, Junior. Two years later, Sarah, Junior, arrived. By 1698, however, little Christiana had died, and Jonathan Amory had succumbed to the yellow fever, which had swept Charles Town in the month of August.

Sarah Rhett and Martha Amory, bereaved mother and wife, were soon drawn more closely together by their common bond of sorrow, and when the widow felt that she would not survive her husband by many months, she drew up a detailed will, and appointed her closest friend, Captain William Rhett's wife, her executrix.

To Sarah Rhett, Mrs. Amory bequeathed her "gold Watch," her "Horse & Horse-Netts" and her "White quilted Petticoat," which was, no doubt an acknowledged luxury in those difficult Colonial times.

"Unto William Rhett Junr ye Son of Capt Willm: Rhett," she left "ye Sum of five Pounds Carolina Money to buy a Ring."

To Sarah Rhett Junr, "daughter of Ye Sd Capt Willm: Rhett," went "ye Sum of Twenty Pounds Carolina Money," whereas Mrs. Amory's own daughter Ann, was to be presented with her "Gold Shoe Buckles," "A gold Button" of her "Night raile & Six Silver Spoones."

Just how well off the Rhetts were at this period of their life, it is impossible to state. It is, however, reasonable to believe that Captain William Rhett, who continued his connection with the London

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

Trotts (at least as far as the year 1699, as proved by the presence of a power of attorney in the Charleston Probate Court), found the shipping business a profitable and satisfactory mode of earning a living.

Charles Town proper at this time consisted of a few scattered buildings, for the most part churches, concentrated within a very small area, and neatly hemmed in by a formidable framework of walls, or bastions, named in honor of various Proprietors. By land, entrance to and egress from the "fortification of Charles Town," as William Rhett referred to the arrangement in his will, was by way of a couple of drawbridges, on the western extremity. The "fortification" is clearly shown in Edward Crisp's "Plan of Charles Town," which bears the date 1704, and indicates, not only the location of the various houses of worship, but also the situation of the most important private dwellings. Prominent among the latter, is the large mansion, designated by the number "13" on the legend, and described as "Col. Rhetts."

The Rhett dwelling, if Edward Crisp is to be credited with any degree of accuracy as a surveyor, stood just north of the Court of Guard (which then occupied the site of the present Old Exchange or Post Office Building, as it is now called), and overlooked Charles Town Bay, and a wharf indicated as being "Lt. Col. Rhetts Bridge," one of the landmarks of the Cooper River waterfront.

At first glance, this would seem to preclude the widely accepted tradition that the spacious and beautifully constructed brick dwelling on the present-day Hasell Street, was indeed the "Mansion House" to which Colonel William Rhett referred in his will as his place of residence. This, however, is not necessarily the case. Rhett also made mention in his will of other "Town Lotts," and the "Buildings on the Same Standing," and it is quite possible that the Rhett house mentioned by Crisp was a less pretentious, wooden structure, which the Colonel abandoned in a few years, in favor of a new and more imposing brick residence, in keeping with his rising importance, and growing wealth.

At any rate, the tradition, sponsored by Dr. Johnson, still persists that Colonel William Rhett was one of the first, if not actually the earliest, Charlestonian to boast a dwelling made of expensive brick.

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

Another house, which Dr. Shecut's essay on Charles Town's topography written as late as 1719, declares to be one of the port's earliest brick mansions, was the dwelling of Nicholas Trott, on Cumberland Street, just west of the old Powder Magazine. This Nicholas Trott, as it chanced, proved to be the greatest single influence in the life of William Rhett. It is extremely doubtful that Rhett, without the encouragement and political tutoring of this brilliant, if unscrupulous, lawyer, a cousin of the London Trotts, would ever have attained to the political prominence or heroic fame that latter day historians couple with his name.

From the time of Trott's entrance into Carolina (on May 3, 1699) to serve as Attorney General, under Proprietary appointment, the lives and careers of these two men were almost inextricably interwoven, until the association was severed by the death of Rhett in 1722. Trott came to Charles Town *via* London, from the Bahama Islands, where he had served as Governor, succeeding Cadwallader Jones, who had been removed, after charges of misgovernment and treason of a high degree had been lodged against him.

"Wee have thought fitt to Apoint Mr: Nicholas Trot to be Governor of the Bahama Islands wth: orders to Correspond with you-pore Jones sent such esctravagant Letters to all parts that he made both himself and us rediculous," the Proprietors wrote Colonel Philip Ludwell, Governor of the Province of Carolina, on April 12, 1693.

By 1697, however, Trott was likewise accused of misconduct, specifically as regards his alleged "harboring" of pirates, after the manner of his predecessor, and, like "pore Jones," he found himself summarily recalled to London, with this difference—his friends the Proprietors had a new appointment awaiting him—that of Attorney General in their Province of South Carolina, Advocate General and Naval Officer.

Trott's powerful "pull" with the Proprietors served him well in many a later dilemma, and it must be said of him that he spared no effort in sharing his power with his friend William Rhett to whom he constantly opened up new avenues of endeavor, which the sea captain's ambition and ability soon transformed into sources of untold revenue.

Whether William Rhett and Trott had known each other prior to their entering Carolina, may not be stated with certainty. It is

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

quite probable that the friendship dated back to London days, when Captain Rhett was the business partner of Trott's London cousins. It is, however, just as likely that the two struck up an acquaintance in Charles Town where Rhett carried on his shipping, and the former governor of the Bahamas, in his new capacity of naval officer of the Carolina port, was entrusted with keeping an exact record of the entry and clearance of all incoming or outgoing craft. Whatever may have been their first encounter, their attraction for one another was indeed magnetic.

They easily discovered that they shared to an unusual degree mutual likes and hatreds, foibles and abilities, and so became lifelong cronies, Trott remaining throughout, Rhett's politico-mentor, and sponsor, and, eight years after his friend's death, prolonging the close association by marrying William Rhett's sixty-five-year-old widow, "Madam Sarah."

To a man of Rhett's inflammable disposition, politics with their constant prospect of excitement and occasional threats of personal danger, promised a welcome outlet for his emotional reservoir. Carolina, in the last few years of the seventeenth century, was torn with discord fanned by sectional hatred and religious differences, existing between High Churchmen and Dissenters, or "the country party," as they were sometimes called. Up until the death of Joseph Blake the office of Governor of South Carolina had been held by a Dissenter for a number of successive years.

The High Churchmen, prominent among whom were Captain Rhett and Nicholas Trott, who had been suspended from office shortly before Governor Blake's death in 1700, felt that they had been discriminated against, and resolved to exert their utmost endeavors in an effort to fill the gubernatorial vacancy with a communicant of the Church of England.

"From this Election," wrote Oldmixon in his "History of the British Empire in America," "I date the Rise of all the Misfortunes that have since befallen this Colony, and that have given the Government of England so much Trouble."

As it turned out, the High Churchmen saw their hopes materialize into actuality, although, at the beginning, their chances of success appeared threadbare. At the meeting of the Deputies of the Lords Proprietors, to choose the new Governor, the Landgrave Joseph

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

Morton—a staunch Dissenter—received three of the five possible votes, and, according to the procedure in such cases, was as good as elected, provided no “valid objection” was introduced by any of the other Deputies. James Moore, however, pointed out that Morton had had the effrontery to accept an appointment from the Crown, in spite of the fact that he was a commissioned Deputy of the Proprietors. The objection was sustained; Morton was defeated, and Moore, a High Churchman, elected in his stead.

It cannot be said that James Moore was a popular individual, but he was a Churchman, and that was just what men like Trott and Rhett were mostly interested in. The fact that he had been notoriously successful in his trade with the Indians, and was, therefore, despised by less fortunate men who were anxious to subject him to every form of personal abuse, did not worry the Churchmen in the least, even though it did encourage them to train a watchful eye upon his actions.

Nicholas Trott, although on numerous occasions maligned as being a “creature” of his friend, Governor James Moore, proved by his very clever exposure of a plot which the Governor conceived for awarding to himself the monopoly of the Indian trade, that he was far from being subject to the enterprising Moore’s every wish. In fact when the bill, purportedly for regulating trade with the Indians, was introduced in the Assembly, the wily Trott recognized it as a scheme for the enrichment of the Moore family fortunes, which were at a low ebb, in spite of the fact that the Governor had married the stepdaughter of the widow and acres of old Sir John Yeamans. When Nicholas Trott, therefore, applied to the Governor for reinstatement in the offices from which he had been ousted by Governor Blake, it is only natural that James Moore granted his request half-heartedly.

Within a very short while, however, the Governor’s spirits rose. He had formulated another plan, by which he might enrich himself before the expiration of his term of office. An expedition against the Spanish at St. Augustine, with the accompanying possibility of lucrative Indian captives, seemed just the thing. The excuse for the expedition, was the Spaniard’s rumored intent to invade Carolina, as reported by friendly Creek Indians, and with the encouragement of the Governor’s friends, in spite of the objections raised by the Dissentist faction, the plan was carried out, to an unsuccessful conclusion.

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

St. Augustine proved well able to defend herself, and although only two Carolinians died in the attempt to take the city, the province was plunged into a debt of some \$120,000.00, as a result of the expedition.

Another excursion, however, was planned by a majority of the Assembly, having as its goal the capture of Pensacola and other Florida ports under Spanish jurisdiction. It was decided that a vessel should be fitted out to cruise in Florida waters. A brigantine, thereupon, was offered first to Colonel Robert Daniel, hero of the first expedition, and then, upon his refusal, to Colonel William Rhett. Then, with little or no warning, fifteen members of the House, constituting one-half of its members and rendering the formation of a quorum impossible, walked out in protest against proposed bills designed to defray the expenses of the ill-starred expedition against the Spaniards.

Another cause for the withdrawal of the fifteen members (Dissenters from Colleton County, the Non-Conformist stronghold) was the fact that the Governor and his Council had refused to recognize the bill for regulating the elections, which would have placed the voting on a more equal basis. The remaining fifteen members of the House, unable to do business in the absence of a quorum, withdrew in a rage, and when the other half of the membership changed its mind and sought admittance to the House the very next day, instead of being extended a welcoming hand, they were the unwilling targets for all kinds of abuse, all manner of curses and well-aimed blows.

The persecution of the dissenting members was, moreover, carried beyond the bounds of the House itself, and into the very streets of Charles Town, with the result that riots set in, which persisted for four or five days. Here William Rhett, who saw nothing paradoxical in the fact that he was possessed of an ungodly and ungovernable temper, and yet regarded himself as a devoted, if rabid, High Churchman, found innumerable opportunities to display crusaderlike zeal in the chastisement of his Church's sworn enemies—the Dissenters.

His gifts to St. Philip's Church were numerous, and it is interesting to note that the silver service, consisting of a paten, chalice and tankard, as well as an alms plate, which now rests on St. Philip's altar, bears the inscription:

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

THE GIFT OF COL. WM. RHETT TO THE CHURCH OF ST. PHILIPS CHARLES TOWN.

Colleton County, as the stronghold of the Dissentist faction, unhesitatingly accused Rhett of outrageous behavior, in the course of the riots. Governor Moore, needless to relate, did nothing to quell the disturbance, even though he may not have been actually guilty of aiding and encouraging the rioters as the Dissenters declared in their "memorial," or account, of the affair, which they attempted to deliver to the Lords Proprietors by John Ash. Ash and other victims of the rioters appealed to the Governor for aid, but were turned away with the advice that "it was a business for a Justice of the Peace." However, when Landgrave Edmund Bellinger, a justice of the peace, finally intervened, he was strangely rewarded for his trouble by Captain Rhett, who beat him over the head unmercifully with his cane.

It does not take much imagination, to summon up a mental picture of William Rhett, in a terrific outburst of temper, breaking his cane over the skull of a horrified victim. Rhett's participation in the riot, however, was even more extensive, if the complaint of the Dissenters to the Proprietors is to be credited with an outline of truth, colored though it was by prejudice and bigotry.

"The said John Ash [they declared] walking along the Street was assaulted by a rude drunken ungovernable rabble headed encouraged & abbetted by the said *Dearsby, Thomas Dalton, Nicholas Nary* and other persons Inhabitants who set upon the said *Ash* and used him villanously & barbarously; and that evening when he the said *Ash* was retired into a friends chamber for security the same armed multitude came to the House where the said *Ash* was & demanded him down assuring him at the same time that they would do him no hurt, but only wanted to discourse with him; upon which assurance, he came down to them who notwithstanding being encouraged and assisted by Captain *Rhett* & others drew him on board his the said *Rhetts* ship revilling him & threatening him as they dragged him along; and having gotten him on board the said *Rhetts* ship they sometimes told him they would carry him to *Jamaica* at other times they threatened to hang him or leave him on some remote Island."

Charges were hurled directly at the Governor, moreover, in the statement of the Dissenters' grievances which John Ash was in the act of publishing at the time of his death.

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

"One Mr. Stephens [he declared], who was not in Town then, but heard he was named by the Rioters as one of the proscribed, going with several who had been injur'd, to see how Mr. Moore would receive them, was, while sitting at Mr. Moore's own Table, by a Servant of Mr. Moore's pull'd backwards by the Hair of his Head, struck & wounded, and all only for his impertinent Curiosity, as he was told on that Occasion."

Both Governor James Moore and Captain William Rhett continued to enjoy the patronage of the Proprietors, however, in spite of the charges of gross misconduct lodged against them by their enemies, and however much the heated presentation of the Dissentist's side might have eased the tenseness of the situation in the camp of "the country party," it found little or no sympathy, and made very slight impression upon the individuals to whom it was addressed.

In fact, John Ash, the Dissentist envoy, encountered extreme difficulty in his protracted attempts to gain audiences with the various Lords Proprietors, and was forced to fritter away much of his time in stately anterooms, rubbing elbows with petitioners like himself, and awaiting their Lordships' doubtful pleasure.

Far from anxious to have the too obvious defects in their "plantation government" forced upon their attention, the Lords Proprietors were fearful that over-emphasis of their impotency and misrule might result in the withdrawal of their Proprietary Charter. It was necessary that they make some gesture of reorganization, however, so, on June 18, 1702, they quietly removed James Moore, whose election by Council they had never confirmed, and replaced him by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, another High Churchman, whom they considered more capable of defending their interests in Carolina, in case of any outbreak of hostilities with Spain or France.

James Moore, however, was not totally forgotten, nor was Nicholas Trott overlooked, for along with the Governor's commission, which did not actually reach Carolina until 1703, came an appointment for the late Governor as Attorney General, and a commission for Trott as Chief Justice.

Thus three of the most important offices of the Province were filled by High Churchmen, and Dissenters who continued to whine about alleged irregularities in the course of elections found it practically impossible to obtain redress of any kind, or even justice at the

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

hands of their old enemies, who proceeded in spite of tremendous opposition, to exclude all Non-Conformists by legislation from seats in the Commons House of Assembly. Then, to their mutual surprise and probable embarrassment, Conformists and Non-Conformists suddenly beheld party hatreds and political interests swept away at least for the time being, and were forced to defend their city from the inroads of two ancient enemies—the yellow fever, and the French.

The fever had previously paid Charles Town a visit, back in 1699. Its outbreak in 1706, however, was especially ill-timed, coming as it did, almost simultaneously with the report that the French were gathering in Havana preparatory to invading Charles Town. Sir Nathaniel Johnson was to prove himself worthy of the trust reposed in him by the Proprietors, and Lieutenant Colonel Rhett, at the head of the militia, was to be proclaimed the hero of the hour. News of the approach of the French fleet was brought into Charles Town on August 24th, by one Captain Stool, acting in the capacity of a “look-out” along the coast, as commander of a vessel fitted out for that purpose by the far-sighted Governor Johnson.

Sullivan’s Island then verified the number of oncoming vessels as five, by sending up that many separate smoke signals. Lieutenant Colonel William Rhett immediately assumed command of the situation, as ranking officer of the militia. Realizing that Governor Johnson was out at his favorite Silk-Hope Plantation, some miles up the Cooper River, Rhett hastened to dispatch a fast messenger to Silk-Hope, bearing information of the unexpected attack, and then proceeded to arouse the inhabitants and arm them for the inevitable struggle. The entire militia of the surrounding country was summoned to assemble and come to the aid of the stricken Charles Town.

Drums pulsed and guns boomed in town and country, so that all might know of the impending invasion, and the distracted inhabitants of “the fortification of Charles Town,” came near to forgetting their fear of the deadly fever, in the face of this new disaster. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, however, upon coming up to town next day issued instant orders that the country militia should remain assembled at a short distance from the fortification proper, so as not to run the risk of probable infection.

The French had, the previous evening, advanced to the bar, but their only action, so far, had consisted in soundings of the southern

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

bar. Encouraged by the presence of their brave Governor and the fearless, hard-hitting Colonel Rhett, the Charlestonians were even more relieved to learn that the French Fleet's unexpected delay had furnished ample opportunity for the gathering of the country militia.

By August 28th, moreover, the Carolinians were becoming impatient. Instead of storming the fortification, the French had merely crossed the bar and dropped anchor just off Sullivan's Island. These tantalizing maneuvers on the part of the enemy served simply to solidify popular opinion to the effect that it would be advisable for the Carolinians to undertake the offensive, and bring matters to a head.

Colonel William Rhett, experienced seaman, and courageous citizen, was the Governor's natural choice as Vice Admiral, and individuals who had seen fit to denounce his violence and arrogance in the immediate past, gave thanks to God for a man of such durable metal to defend them in this present emergency. Six small vessels, all the seaforce that little Charles Town possessed, were placed under the newly commissioned Vice Admiral's command, and the order to advance was about to be given, when a messenger from the French was observed making his way in under a flag of truce. The Governor received him blindfolded, and was amused by the enemy's demand that Charles Town surrender within the hour.

He then unhesitatingly informed the Frenchman that "it needed not a quarter of an hour or a minute's time to give an answer," and declared that he would defend the town "in the name and by the authority of the great Queen of England." He did not, however, permit his visitor to return to his friends before he had administered a dose of stratagem, which was indeed Indian-like in quality. Making arrangements with his officers to conduct his entire armed forces by a parallel route, and man each section of the fortification in an imposing body just before his arrival, he blindfolded his visitor and set out to conduct him on a tour of inspection. As they arrived at each fort, the Frenchman was requested to remove the bandage from his eyes, and permitted to view the huge number of men assigned to duty in that particular fortification. The same bandage was then rewound about his forehead, and he was guided to the next section of the defense, and the same ceremony reënacted.

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

The result was obvious. Not realizing that the great companies of soldiers which he had seen at every point, were all and the same, the messenger-spy reported on his return to the Fleet that the numbers of the enemy were many times that of the French force, and so it is not surprising that the visiting fleet scurried out to sea, when Colonel Rhett, at the head of his six little vessels headed in their direction.

Nothing more was heard of the French for several days, and then it was rumored that a French ship had been sighted at anchor in Sewee Bay, where its men had gone ashore. The militia had, by this time, been permitted to disband, so Colonel Rhett gathered together a number of volunteers, boarded ship, and sailed away to Sewee, whereas Captain Fenwicke was sent by land to cut off any possible retreat. The French vessel was discovered anchored peacefully in the bay.

As reported, some of the men had gone ashore, but the ninety who were still on board, quickly surrendered to Colonel Rhett, and, once Captain Fenwicke had captured the landing party, little Charles Town realized that, thanks to the courage of her citizenry, in spite of apparently insuperable odds, she had been saved from the first attack of an enemy coming in from the sea.

The defeat of the French was heartening to John Archdale, Carolina's former Governor, who in the year 1706, in his "Description of That Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina," referred to Charles Town "on Ashly and Cooper Rivers, whose Entrance is not so bold as others, nor having so much Water; so that the Enemy and Pirates, etc., have been dishearten'd from disturbing the Settlement until this Year when they (meaning the French) were repuls'd with the loss of about three Hundred Men." The "enemy" had, as Archdale pointed out, already tried their hand at taking Charles Town, it was now the Pirates turn.

Meanwhile, in the interval of peace, life went on in Charles Town at its accustomed pace. Job Howes, the Speaker of the Commons, died, and Colonel William Rhett was called upon to fill the vacancy, in spite of the fact that the Dissenters had regained the control of the Assembly, as their subsequent, unfriendly actions showed. Rhett's closest personal friend, Nicholas Trott, was now, besides holding the office of Chief Justice, serving as Deputy in the Council for his cousin

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

Nicholas Trott of London, who through marriage had to all intents and purpose, been vested with the dignity and power commensurate with a Proprietary share, which had come to him as his wife's portion.

The surly Dissentist Assembly put itself out to cause Rhett and Trott all possible embarrassment. Trott's right to sit as one of the Council was questioned, and his misbehavior on the bench reported to the Queen, who was informed that the people of the province disapproved of him to such an extent that they positively refused to act as jurors until the Chief Justice were either punished for his misdeeds, or else exempt from blame. Colonel William Rhett, they determined, should no longer enjoy the honor of being "sole commissioner for the fortifications," nor should he continue in the capacity of Speaker.

The audacity of the Dissenters was, no doubt, considerably bolstered up by the reassuring knowledge that their agent, Joseph Boone, was over in England, busily stirring up the Board of Trade with blazing accounts of the rankness of the Proprietary rule in Carolina, and then, on the other hand, seeking the Proprietors' favor for his party back home, which was demanding the removal of Governor Nathaniel Johnson, and the unscrupulous fellow whom the Governor refused to eject from the bench—Nicholas Trott, the Chief Justice.

Sir Nathaniel, famous, among other reasons, for the fact that he had introduced the culture of silk worms to Carolinians, at his appropriately named Silk-Hope Plantation, was relieved of his duties as Governor on December 9, 1708. His successors, Colonel Edward Tynte and Robert Gibbes both filled short and relatively uneventful terms, and were followed by the Honorable Charles Craven, in 1712.

William Rhett, once again, found himself Speaker of the Commons. He was, moreover, honored by appointment to a number of offices of public trust. There had been enacted an "Act for Founding and Erecting a Free School in Charles Town for the use of the Inhabitants of the Province of South Carolina," and Colonel Rhett was appointed one of the commission whose duty it was to see that the provisions of the act were carried out.

Much of his time, however, was devoted to furthering the interests of his church. Besides being the "willing almoner" for the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," Rhett was made commissioner for the construction of a new St. Philip's Church, to replace the original one, which had not only been sorely damaged by the ravages

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

of decay, but also had been declared of insufficient size to meet the demands made upon it by the steadily increasing congregation.

Colonel William Rhett, and his friend Nicholas Trott, by now had come to be Charles Town's leading citizens, if not its most beloved inhabitants. The Colonel, enjoying the prestige which accompanied his political affluence, was by virtue of his wealth, one of the "landed gentry" of the Province. He owned, not only numerous town lots and houses scattered throughout the "fortification," but also "Rhettisbury," or "The Point," a plantation which he described in his last will and testament as lying "without the fortification of Charles Town." Later on, in the year 1720, he added another country estate to his already extensive holdings, through the purchase of "a Plantation in Berkley County called the Hagan," formerly the property of one Henry Miller.

It is interesting to note in Rhett's will that these plantations were held in "joynt tennancy" by his wife and himself, and were strictly prohibited from being sold to outsiders after the death of the owners, arrangements having been made for the inheritance of the estates by a succession of descendants. The former sea captain, it would seem, found very little time at his command to be spent with his wife and children, and his old friend, Nicholas Trott, certainly did not try to make things easier for him in this respect.

On August 13, 1713, Trott, who had recently completed his remarkable compilation of the existing laws of the Province, secured the permission of the Lords Proprietors to leave his duties in Carolina temporarily, in order to set his affairs in order on the other side of the Atlantic. While in England, Trott succeeded in impressing the Proprietors with his brilliancy and untiring zeal as a profound student of law, manifested by his prodigious feat of compiling the laws of the Province. In the excitement of the moment, they completely forgot the tyrannical, unscrupulous side of Trott's personality, and heaped upon his willing neck powers exceeding those of Governor Craven himself, and vested him with the extravagant authority which he later misused, enraging the people against him, and indirectly hastening the downfall of his benefactors.

Upon his return to Charles Town, the Chief Justice advised his friend, William Rhett, that the Lords Proprietors had seen fit to appoint him their Receiver General. When, moreover, in 1716, Rhett

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

was made "Surveyor & Comptroller of all the Rates Duties & Impositions arising and growing due to his Majesty in the Provinces of South Carolina & the Bahama Islands" (as his oath of office on file at the Charleston Probate Court bears witness), he preferred to recognize no element of wrongdoing, in the fact that he had accepted service in the name of the Crown, as well as in behalf of the Proprietors, which was, indeed, a very far-sighted, if somewhat unpraiseworthy move. The greater part of the inhabitants of Carolina were too busy looking out for their personal welfare, however, to pay much attention to Colonel Rhett's private or business affairs.

Toward the end of Governor Craven's régime, serious trouble broke out with the Yamassees, an Indian Nation which had been incited by the wily Spaniards of St. Augustine to harass the people of Carolina, particularly along the frontiers, or borderland. Frightful massacres resulted, and it was only after great effort on the part of the Governor and volunteer troops, that the Yamassees were driven into Florida, and away from the scene of their depredations.

News of this disturbance, and information regarding the Proprietors' inability to protect their own provinces from the inroads of outsiders, was communicated without delay to the Board of Trade in London, which became more strongly convinced than ever before that the Charter should be revoked, and the Colonists herded together under the protection of the Crown.

Some time previously the people of Carolina had appointed an agent in England to look after their interests, and through a "committee of correspondence," on which sat Colonel William Rhett, Samuel Eveleigh and Arthur Middleton, the Colonists were in constant touch with their representative, who in turn transmitted their desires and grievances to the ears of the Lords Proprietors, or the Board of Trade, according to the nature of the complaint.

Governor Craven, as it happened, recognizing the troubled state of affairs, and still dissatisfied with Nicholas Trott's accumulation of authority, in spite of the fact that the Proprietors had felt forced to revoke some of his power, retired from office in April, 1716. His Deputy, Robert Daniel, held office until the arrival of the new Governor, Robert Johnson, son of Sir Nathaniel, on April 30, 1717. No one could have been more delighted at the Proprietors' choice of Johnson, then Colonel Rhett and Nicholas Trott, for they saw smooth

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

sailing ahead, as long as this son of their friend, Sir Nathaniel, remained in power.

Governor Johnson's term, however, was ushered in auspiciously. No sooner had he assumed his new duties than the cry of "pirates!" startled the coastal people as nothing had done since the terrifying alarm of "Indians!" over a year before. It soon became obvious to the Governor that the pirates sighted off the Carolina Coast were remnants of the bands of buccaneers which had recently been driven out of their hiding places and strongholds among the Bahamas.

At first these rovers were not inclined to put into the ports of lower Carolina, but appeared to favor the neighborhood of the Cape Fear River, where they established new headquarters, in defiance of the English King, whose offer of amnesty they openly scorned. As early as August, 1717, a brigand by the name of Stede Bonnet, had been known to patrol the Charles Town bar on board his ship the "Revenge," where he had robbed passing vessels, and then sped up the coast to a refuge in North Carolina, evidently not daring to enter Charles Town Harbor. It is said that Bonnet at the outset of his career was an inexperienced seaman, a former "gentleman of Barbadoes," who in spite of his wealth and excellent education, had been driven by some quirk in his make-up to turn pirate in his middle age, as a means of diversion. In 1718, however, Stede Bonnet again visited Charles Town bar, this time in the company of the notorious pirate, Edward Thatch, known to trembling contemporaries as "Black Beard."

Thatch, the more experienced seaman of the two, had forcibly assumed command of the small fleet of four vessels, with which they scoured the Carolina coast, capturing prize after prize. In vain, Governor Johnson petitioned the Proprietors for relief, informing them in a letter, whose contents are preserved among the collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, of the appearance of "four sail" manned by pirates who had captured the pilot vessel at the bar, and taken within the course of a few days "eight or nine outward-bound vessels with several of the best inhabitants of Charles Town on Board." (The worthy citizens were released, needless to say, only after they had been stripped of all their valuables, specie, and most of their clothing.) "Hardly a ship goes to sea," the Governor pointed out, "but falls into the hands of the pirates." The Proprie-

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

tors, however, remained obdurate, and Thatch and Bonnet sailed away to Topsail Inlet, North Carolina, where their forces were dismantled. Bonnet, however, was not yet ready to retire from his exciting life. He, therefore, went through the formalities of changing his name to "Captain Thomas," and that of his ship to the "Royal James," and as soon as he had gathered his men together, swooped down upon Delaware Bay, then hastened back to Cape Fear to overhaul for another expedition.

The people of little Charles Town, learning of Bonnet's whereabouts, were resolved to punish him for the wretched treatment which they had formerly received at his hands, and so when Colonel William Rhett fearlessly offered his services to the Governor as the commander of the proposed expedition to Cape Fear,—his proffered assistance was readily accepted by Robert Johnson, who immediately issued the following commission, on file with the Charleston Probate Office, and dated September 4, 1718:

The Honable Robert Johnson Esq Governr & Commandr in Chiefe & Admirall of South Carolina—

To Collo: William Rhett Vice Admirall

Whereas His Excellency John Lord Carteret Palatine and ye Rest of the True and Absolute Lords Proprietors of Carolina have by their Commission bearing date ye 30th day of Aprile Anno Dom: 1717 authorized and Appointed me to be Commandr in Chiefe and Admirall of that part of Carolina that Lies South and West of Cape Fear, and whereas There is now Several Ships and Vessells that have Invaded this Province and are now of this harbour and Elsewhere on the Coast and have Committed and do Continue to Comitt Piracy and to Take and Plunder Ships and vessells bound out and Into The Same To the Great Prejudice of our Trads And whereas I have Given orders for the forthwith fitting out Two Sloops for the Taking and Destroying the Sd. Pirates and I the Honable Robert Johnson Esq. reposing Especiall Trust and Confidence in The Loyalty Prudence Courage & Conduct of you the said Collo Willm Rhett have and by These Presents do Constitute you the said Collo Willm Rhett to be vice admirall & Comandr in Chiefe of the said Vessells and Men Designed for this Expedition as aforesaid.

And I do hereby Authorize you to hoist his Majesties Union Flag on board any of the Said Ships or vessalls that you Shall Saile in and I do hereby Command and Require all Captains Officers and Soilders and Saylor in any of ye Said vessells to be obedient to you as Their

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

vice admirall and Command. and I do by These presents authorize you the Sd. Collo William Rhett with any of the vessels and men under your Command by Force or arms to Apprehend Take Burn Sink or Destroy any of the said Piratical Vessells or Men belonging to the Same And In Case it Should Please God that you Doop (possibly a misspelling of "drop") in this Expedition I do hereby authorize you to appoint a fitt & proper Person to Succeed you.

Colonel Rhett, however, was not destined to "doop" in the attempt to capture Stede Bonnet, although it appeared for a time that luck was against him. Having received the desired commission on September 5th, he boarded the "Henry" five days later, and set out for Cape Fear, on or about the 20th of September, followed by the ship "Sea Nymph."

Stede Bonnet's fleet, consisting of the "Royal James," was indeed in the river, but Colonel Rhett's ships found it impossible to reach the pirate vessel, which was sighted around the bend. Not having a skilled pilot to guide the two vessels safely between the shallows and sandbars, Colonel Rhett watched helplessly as both of his ships grounded. Late at night the incoming tide floated the "Henry" and the "Sea Nymph," but attack was impracticable until sunrise.

Stede Bonnet, through scouts sent down the river for that purpose, was thoroughly informed as to what ships were lying in wait for the "Royal James." When day broke, therefore, he carried out his desperate decision to make a break for safety past the enemy vessels. Colonel Rhett had foreseen just this maneuver, however, and as the "Royal James" swept down the river, the "Henry" and its sister ship made for it, driving it in upon the shore.

The Charles Town ships, however, also ran aground, and as they toppled over in the same direction as the pirate vessel, their decks were laid bare to the attack, and swept with gunfire by the buccaneers' ship, whose upturned hulk protected its deck and crew.

A terrific and bloody conflict continued for five unremitting hours. It was left to the tide, however, to nominate the victor, as the first afloat would be the likely winner. Colonel Rhett's ship "Henry," to the dismay of the pirate crew, floated first and the surrender of Bonnet followed as a matter of course.

When carried back to Charles Town for trial, in the Court of Admiralty presided over by Nicholas Trott, Bonnet escaped to Sulli-

COLONEL WILLIAM RHETT

van's Island, where he was recaptured by Rhett, and returned for trial, after a two-day search among the sand dunes and their thick overgrowth. The story of the actual trial and final punishment of the brazen pirates has been so often told as not to warrant retelling here. Suffice it to say that they were "hanged by the neck until dead," and their bones buried under what was later called White Point Gardens, and is now known as The Battery.

Colonel William Rhett's reputation as the saviour of the Colonists was made. His subsequent career though interesting was less colorful. The Proprietary Government was finally overthrown on the 21st of December, 1719, and both Rhett and Trott selfishly deserted their friend Robert Johnson in his hour of need, ignoring his pleas for support as coldly as the Proprietors had disregarded the wants of the Province.

Nicholas Trott's public career was terminated, simultaneously with the Charter, whose surrender he negotiated on another trip to England. Rhett, however, continued in the service of the new government by the Crown, whose commission he had accepted even before the demolition of the Proprietary rule.

Death overtook him on January 12, 1722, at the age of fifty-six. His tombstone mentions that he "dyed suddenly but not unprepared." Less formal accounts attribute his passing to a stroke of apoplexy, and considering the restless, turbulent nature of the individual, such an end was quite in character.



Early Phases of the History of the State of Washington*

BY LLOYD SPENCER AND LANCASTER POLLARD, SEATTLE,
WASHINGTON



THE NATIONAL STREAM—Today, such is the magic of maps and the convincingness of things accomplished, we accept the ocean to ocean spread of the United States with little thought of how precariously the Union extended its dominion westward to the sea. Of all the states added in the westward march, none came nearer to being lost to the Union than those of the Pacific Northwest—Washington, Idaho and Oregon, all of which were included in Oregon Territory. The lack of interest among Americans in a far-off and then unneeded country, and the opposition of some to its acquisition, all but enabled the English to make British soil of these 288,000 square miles. That this rich territory, four times as large as the New England States, is today American is due to the vision and the struggles of men and women, diplomats and pioneers, to hold for their country the land discovered and explored by Captain Robert Gray, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. For the Pacific Northwest is the only land the United States acquired by the rights of discovery and occupation.

The early history of the State of Washington is the story of the discoverers and settlers and a part of the history of economic conditions and social forces in both America and Europe in the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries. The life of any community, whether it be of a city, a state or a nation, depends not only upon the immediate character of its people and its geographical environments; events that took place decades previously and that are happening hundreds of miles beyond its borders, and over which a community can have no control, largely influence and

*This article is from advance sheets of "A History of the State of Washington," Lloyd Spencer, Editor-in-Chief, Lancaster Pollard, Associate Editor, in four volumes, to be published by The American Historical Society, Inc.



MISSION ESTABLISHED BY THE OBLATE CATHOLIC FATHERS IN 1847
On the Banks of Abtanum Creek in the Yakima Valley



INDIAN SWEAT-HOUSE, YAKIMA VALLEY

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

sometimes determine its development. Especially is this true of the early history of Oregon Territory, in which Washington State's is included: its explorers and settlers were as much the creatures as the creators of history. Because their deeds make the drama of a local epic and are intimate and appealing, the wider national movement which explains that epic, on which it depends and of which it is a part, is easily and often disregarded. Just as the biography of each man incorporates a part of the biography of many others, so the history of the State of Washington is related to the history of other states and nations. Something of this historical landscape must be known if the story of the State is to be understood. This landscape, this westward-spreading of European culture and of the United States, when the Pacific Northwest first enters into it, is the subject of this chapter, the explanation of why that territory is the only land added to the Union by discovery and occupation and why it was so nearly lost to the Nation.

The first men of European stock to visit the Pacific Northwest, of whom records have been discovered, were not Americans; nor was the first an American man who put foot on land which is now within the State of Washington. They were Spanish and English; and on the basis of their explorations, both Spain and England laid claims to the Pacific Northwest which were not quieted until well into the nineteenth century. The history of these explorations goes back into the 1500's; the first of them was in the seventh year of Elizabeth's reign in England and before there were any colonies in New England. All of these explorations were the effect of European ambitions.

One of these was the same that sent Columbus sailing the sea west of Spain; the desire to find a water passage to India for more economical commerce. Before Cortez unearthed the metal riches of Mexico men had been hunting a northwest passage to the riches of the Orient; and many are the strange maps that profess to point it out which have come down to us. Almost as soon, however, as America had been visited by the Spaniards, its own proved wealth of resources drew adventurers to its shore and led them to navigate its great rivers and to penetrate its seemingly endless reaches of mountains and plains. Europe was entering the Renaissance. Her people were mastered by a re-born curiosity which was fed by the fabulous tales about the New World; they were driven by restlessness of spirit and

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

body after centuries of historical repose, or were stirred by the duty to Christianize the world; they were eager for fame and wealth and power, as individuals and as nations. The Spaniards in particular went seeking the satisfaction of all their longings in the New World across the sea, and made conquest of the land adjacent to the Gulf of Mexico. From Florida to Mexico they pushed northward.

The first expedition into the Pacific Northwest was made by Spaniards from Mexico looking for more cities of gold. Fernando Cortez had returned to Spain after disastrous attempts to sail up the Pacific coast. Antonio Mendoza had succeeded him; and Mendoza looked to land expeditions to discover those cities built of gold, of which he was continuously hearing. He organized a party led by two friars and sent them up the Colorado River. They explored it to its source and penetrated the country so far north as the fortieth parallel. This journey, made in 1540-41, constituted part of the basis for Spain's claim to land of the Pacific Northwest. Other Spaniards explored California both by water and land, but only one expedition, the sailing voyage up the coast and across the Pacific by Urdanata and Miguel deLagazpi, again in the sixteenth century reached the fortieth parallel. While most of these expeditions failed in their immediate purpose of discovering gold or the northwest passage, they accomplished much in extending knowledge of the land north of Mexico and the ocean west of California.

While the Spaniards in the following century did explore along the coast northward and spread Spanish culture throughout the Pacific Southwest, the impetus and power that had sent Spanish ships and men all over the world were checked in 1588 by the defeat of the Spanish Armada off the coast of England. Thereafter, the influence and imperialistic expansion of Spain declined, and England began her great commercial and colonial development. This change represents more than the passing of power from one nation to another; it marks the passing of one kind of civilization and the rising of another.

The conquests of Spain had largely been the conquering of peoples and the exploitation of nations possessing developed resources and wealthy cities, but who were unable to defend themselves successfully. The sixteenth and seventeenth century conquests of England were more largely of lands: the English discovered, settled and developed continents rich in resources but sparsely populated. Like the Greeks,

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

they sent out colonies of their own people and, during this period, less built an empire than founded nations, one of which became the United States.

Not that the English would not have liked to make a profit out of a conquered race or nation: the policies of the court and the practices of English sea captains make the contrary evident. But the English explorers followed the Spanish, Portuguese and Italian seamen by decades, and then to hunt their gold-laden ships. It was, in fact, one of these freebooters, Sir Francis Drake, who was the first Englishman to visit the Pacific Northwest. Half a century after Magellan had circumnavigated the globe for Spain, Drake reached the North American Pacific coast in 1579, and sailed Northward to latitude forty-three, just beyond the southern boundary of the old Oregon Territory and the now State of Oregon. It was on this voyage that the flag of England was for the first time carried around the world.

Much as the English would have liked to find a people to plunder as the Spanish did the Mexicans, they missed that fortune for the greater and nobler one of spreading their civilizations to each hemisphere and every zone. Conditions in Europe aided them. After the defeat of the Armada the English Navy was increased until England did rule the waves. The Continental nations which might have contested that superiority—Spain, Portugal, Holland and France—were busy warring with one another to preserve, with the aid of English manipulations, a European balance of power. But more favorable still was the early transition of England from a feudal to a commercial-democratic state, and into an industrial civilization. With these advantages England began to raise her flag in every corner of the world.

Among the colonists who left England for foreign shores were those whose descendants two centuries later would successfully claim the Pacific Northwest against the Mother Country just as a few decades earlier they would establish their freedom in the federation of American States. In the first years of the seventeenth century the colonies in New England were founded by Englishmen of enterprise and bravery for trade and religious freedom. The London Company established its colony in Virginia in 1606; in 1620 the Pilgrims placed themselves in virtual bondage to that company for funds to carry them to a new world where they might worship as they chose; in 1629

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

was founded the Massachusetts Bay Company, which sent help to the Plymouth settlement and started New England on its course of development. During the next two hundred years England continued to send colonists to America and Englishmen continued to incorporate trading companies, so that the struggle over the Pacific Northwest was principally between one such company, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the children of those earlier companies which had won the Atlantic Northeast. The territory of which Washington State was a part was explored and first settled by men akin in destiny and race.

For, just as the factors and trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company were agents of England's economic fortune, so were Gray and Lewis and Clark, Jason Lee, Marcus Whitman, Ezra Meeker and those pioneer families which came with them and after them, the agents of America's territorial destiny. The settlement of Oregon Territory and its addition to the United States were effects of currents in the national stream, and were for many years almost wholly at the influence of those currents.

By 1788, when Gray made his explorations of the Pacific Northwest coasts, those forces which were to direct the development of America were taking form and acquiring strength. In that year the Constitution went into effect; and the men whose political beliefs were shortly to be the bases of political parties held positions in the government under Washington. Commerce and finance were assuming proportion and influence—Gray's trip was financed as a fur-trading voyage by six Boston merchants. The Atlantic seaboard was rapidly being turned into a land of towns, farms and plantations. Frontiersmen were familiar with most of the country east of the Mississippi River, had begun the settlement of Ohio and were steadily pushing westward.

By 1805-06, when Lewis and Clark made their momentous trip overland to the Pacific, the forces that were taking form in 1788 had become positive. The national parties were clearly defined and already revealed the opposition in thought that was to underlie political action to the present day. Jefferson was President, and was struggling to balance, if not to harmonize, these, the commercial-Federalist (now Republican) and the agrarian-Republican (now Democratic) elements in the states and territories. The contest between these groups and philosophies was to enter into every decision affecting

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Oregon Territory. This difference was marked in the opposition in Congress to the Louisiana Purchase, which had just been made—and after Lewis and Clark had been sent on their journey of exploration. It was fundamental in the fights over the admission of Tennessee and Ohio, the sixteenth and seventeenth states. The formation of just these parties was due, as much as to philosophical beliefs, to the economic growth of the country. The New England States were rapidly becoming a mercantile and maritime unit. Southward and westward agricultural lands were being settled by men who intended to bring their settlements into the Union as states. The territory then in the possession of the United States included all east of the Mississippi River excepting Florida, still claimed by Spain; and, by the Louisiana Purchase, all of the Middle Western States and parts of Colorado, Wyoming and Montana. Oregon Territory, which would yield Washington, Oregon and Idaho entire and the rest of Montana and Wyoming, was to be the next acquisition of the Union and would extend American possessions across the continent.

The history of the United States is the story of a people's expansion over half a continent, and the spread of institutions and habits of mind which were brought to this continent by the English colonists. Other peoples have immigrated and inestimably aided in the conquest of the land, but they have adopted the ways and culture of the English-American stock, become citizens and carried on the development of the American commonwealth.

So, while the chronicled history of the State of Washington may be said to begin with the Spanish explorations, its history in terms of decisive events is a part of the history of American national expansion and cultural development.

The Discoverers—Genuine and invented travels into lands strange in time or in geography have always been a fascinating subject for poetry and speculation—and often of professed history. Such material, of both fiction and fact, the early records of the Northwest coast offer in a harvest abundance. Absorbing as many of these tales are, they will be briefly passed by for the facts; and of the documented visits made to the Pacific Northwest before Cook's only those on which important discoveries and major explorations were made will be treated with any detail.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

The earliest journeys into the land included in Oregon Territory, in search of the Strait of Anian, the northwest passage to the Orient, or of cities roofed with gold, have already been mentioned, as was, later than these Spanish visits, Drake's possible crossing of the forty-second parallel. Other men whose names are prominent among the early travelers in the Pacific Northwest include Juan Rodrigues Cabrillo and Bartolme Ferello, Sebastian Vizcaino and Martin Aquilar, Juan Perez and Bruno Haceta and Juan Francisco deBodega y Qaudra, and Juan de Fuca.

Cabrillo may have passed the boundary of the now State of Oregon in 1542-43, and Ferello shortly after him. They left, however, no observations of the real character of the coast. After their trips none was made until Phillip III ascended the Spanish throne in 1598 and ordered a continuation of Spanish exploration up the coast from California. Vizcaino reached the border of Oregon. Aquilar, separated from his captain by a storm, sailed, perhaps, one degree of latitude farther north; there he reported seeing a large river on which was supposed to be situated a great city previously discovered by the Dutch. This river was itself supposed to be the entrance to that fabled northwest passage, the Strait of Anian. During the next one hundred and seventy years no one, with the probable exception of Drake, sailed so far north. Those who next did so were again Spaniards, who reached, under the command of Perez, something like the fifty-fifth latitude, in 1774. On the return trip they anchored in what is now Nootka Bay and sighted the peak later named Mount Olympus. Thus, while sailing along most of the coast to Alaska and furnishing Spain with another claim to the Pacific Northwest, Perez did not once leave his ship or make one important discovery. The record he left contains only what could be observed of the land or learned about the Indians from aboard ship. In the next year Heceta repeated Perez' voyage in Perez' ship with Perez as second in command, and with one other ship commanded by Quadra. But Heceta and Quadra did land—the landing party that were the first Europeans to put foot on Washington soil were massacred by the natives—and did together and separately make many discoveries of coast geography so far north as latitude fifty-eight.

A fictitious voyage is better memorialized than any of these, and one spinner of sailor's tales is better remembered than these sailors

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

whose ventures were on the sea : the largest strait on the Pacific Coast is named after the imaginative Greek pilot, Apostoles Valerianos, who was called Juan de Fuca. Authorities are now almost wholly agreed that de Fuca never saw the body of water that carries his name, but that he was a lucky liar in stating that he saw a strait, and sailed about in it, so near where one is. Some sailors of the time—it was in 1592 that de Fuca said he made his discovery—were claiming to have sailed across North America by various straits, and scores were telling where they saw the Pacific entrance of a cross-continent waterway; but their guesses did not have de Fuca's accidental agreement with geography. His tale, interesting in itself as well as for its consequence, is reprinted as Appendix II.

While the stories of the journeys of these men are often absorbing and unfailingly entertaining, the story of effective exploration and discovery begins with Cook, the Columbus of the Pacific Northwest. Before his voyages, because fictitious adventures were better reported than real ones, the map of the Pacific Coast north of latitude forty-two was made by cartographers who measured distances with their imaginations, traced the shore-line by traditional myths, and showed North America stretching away into the distance, joining Asia, ending with the Strait of Anian, and generally following lines made after fancy instead of fact. Cook's voyage and report marked the beginning of sound knowledge of the Pacific Northwest.

It may not be said that Captain James Cook, the English navigator, was the first to explore any part of the Northwest coast later included in Oregon Territory, for several had been along that coast before him. Nor did he map with particular fullness or accuracy any part of the coast not seen by Perez, Heceta and Quadra. Perhaps it is claiming too much for him to accept without qualifications what one historian writes:¹ "In taking a general view of Cook one notes that in the Northwest he leaves the first permanent names and selects the ports for the early traders; that he is the scientific pioneer, the harbinger of the fur animal and the initiator of the fur trade." Cook did name capes Perpetua, Foulweather and Flattery; he did determine the longitude of the coast more closely than others before him; he did start the fur trade by the accident of some of his men carrying

1. J. N. Bowman, in the "Washington Historical Quarterly," Vol. I, No. 3.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

skins to China on the continuation of his trip around the world, and there selling them at high prices; and he did make known the possibilities of trade in the Pacific Northwest and something of the character of the land and natives—or rather, his men did, for Cook was killed in the Hawaiian Islands and his record was printed after the news of his voyage had been broadcast by his sailors. It is through and because of all this that he is, in order of effect if not in order of time, the Columbus of the Northwest. And yet he failed to notice the Columbia or the Umpqua rivers, the two largest on the coast; and while at Cape Flattery at the very entrance of the real—if guessed at—strait, he wrote in his "Voyages": "It is in this very latitude where we now are that geographers have placed the pretended strait of Juan de Fuca. But we saw nothing like it; nor is there the least probability that ever any such thing existed."

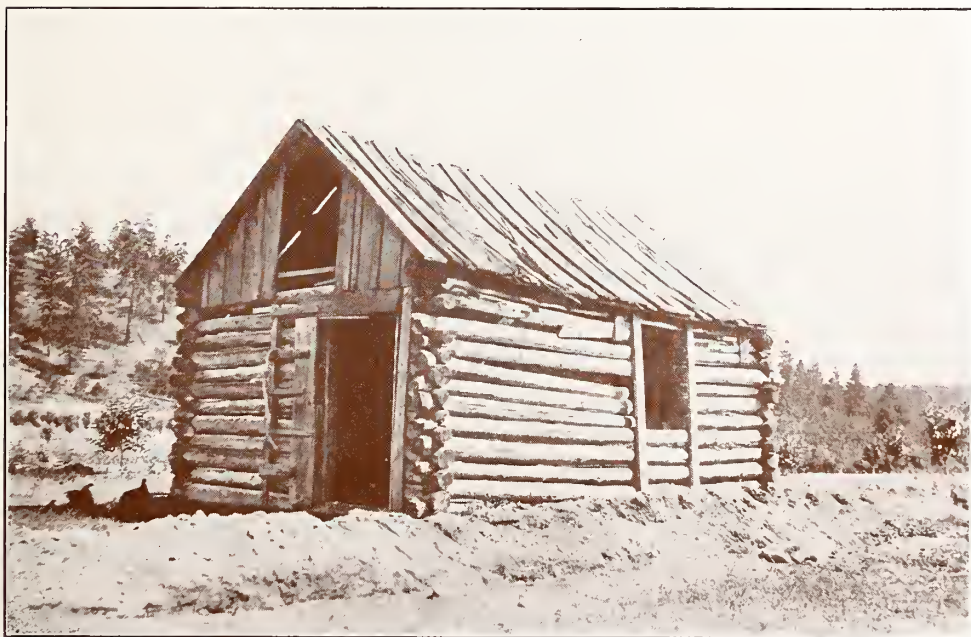
It was Cook's third voyage that brought him to the Northwest coast in 1778. It was intended chiefly to be an exploring trip on which he was to search for the northwest passage, for the discovery of which the English Government was offering a reward of 20,000 pounds. Also, he was instructed to take possession in the name of the King of whatever land he visited that had not been previously discovered. He made important explorations about Alaska, but he was not successful in his search. England owes the possession of Canada only indirectly to him, because of the fur traders who followed him.

It is largely with these trading expeditions and the controversies over the ownership of the land that they provoked among European powers, that a history of Washington for the twenty years following Cook's voyage must deal. They are the beginning of the Pacific Northwest's "medieval" history.

That phase of development did not get well under way until seven years later, in 1785, when the next European vessel after his visited the Northwest coast and, though several traders paid visits to the Indians in the intervening years, it did not reach consequential proportions until 1788. In that year the Americans, Kendrick and Gray, and the Englishmen, Meares and Douglas, arrived and began to bring to a focus the American and European forces which would operate in opposition until the ownership and boundaries of the Northwest were established two generations later.



FORT OKANOGAN, AT THE JUNCTION OF THE OKANOGAN AND COLUMBIA RIVERS
Founded in September, 1811, as a Trading Post



SPOKANE HOUSE
Built in 1810 by Finan McDonald, of the North West Company

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

It is necessary to do little more than name the traders who visited the Northwest coast before 1788. First after Cook was another Englishman, Captain James Hanna, in 1785. He had a skirmish with the Indians, but succeeded in securing a valuable lot of furs. A French navigator, La Pérouse, sailed down the coast in 1786, and made a few new or more accurate observations. Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon, both of whom had been with Cook, were in Northwest waters in 1786-87. The next year saw Captains Duncan and Colnett, and Berkeley (also spelled Barclay²) trading on the coast of Vancouver Island; and the discovery of the Strait of Juan de Fuca by Berkeley—or, as in his own mind and words, its “rediscovery.” The next year, 1788, has been taken as the date of the beginning of the Pacific Northwest’s “medieval” history, because in that year more exploring was done in Northwest waters than in any such period before; because in that year American ships first spread sail and unfurled flag in those waters. And because the presence of English and American ships roused the Spanish to a last futile effort to retain possession of lands first seen by Spaniards, and as a consequence of the Spanish failure, prepared the ground for the conclusive struggle between the British and the Americans for the Pacific Northwest.

While John Meares and William Douglas, English navigators, with their ships “*Felice*” and “*Iphigenia*,” were already at Nootka Harbor when the first American captains, Robert Gray and John Kendrick appeared, since it is Gray we shall follow later and since the chronicle of that year involves all four captains, it is as from the American ship under the command of Gray that the story of the year will be told.

After the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, in 1783, American sea captains, who had been making remarkable voyages before hostilities, discovered in trading in China for silk and tea a new field for profitable navigation. News of the Northwest fur trade suggested still another source of profit to traders, if their ships could first secure furs on the way to China and trade them there, where they had a high value, for China’s produce. Spurred by Cook’s just published report, six Boston merchants and traders—Joseph Barrel,

2. “Barclay”: Is it not likely that this spelling is derived from the English pronunciation of “Berkeley.”

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Charles Bulfinch, Samuel Brown, John Darby, Captain Crowell Hatch and John Marden Pintard—formed a company to engage in this two-way business. They purchased a ship, the "Columbia Rediviva," and a sloop, the "Lady Washington," put Kendrick and Gray in them as captains and made Kendrick commander of the anticipated expedition. Loaded with copper and iron implements to barter to the Indians for furs, the two vessels sailed from Boston in the fall of 1787—American ships before the Constitution had been ratified. That winter, in rounding South America, the ships were separated by storms, and proceeded independently for Nootka.

Gray kept close to shore and with little trouble early in August crossed the southern boundary of the Northwest Territory, to anchor, on August 14, probably in what is now Tillamook Bay. There, after some trading and a show of friendliness by the Indians, a fight broke out between a landing party and the natives. A negro member of the crew was killed and the white men were forced to shoot several of the Indians before they were able to regain the sloop. The Indians continued their attack upon the ship in canoes, but were repulsed. Two days passed before the "Lady Washington" was able to quit the harbor and continue northward. Trading with the Indians when occasion offered, Gray passed the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the bend in the shoreline being noticed, and nearly a year after leaving Boston, on September 16, 1788, entered Nootka Sound. There he found Meares and Douglas.

The American was cordially welcomed by the Englishmen, and pleasantly treated by them during the short time that they were together. The English were busy finishing a ship they were building; and three or four days after the American's arrival, launched the "North West America"—the first ship to be built in the Pacific Northwest. Meares and Douglas had been several months trading and exploring north and south. During June, July and August, while the vessel was building, Meares, sailing southward, reached the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and recorded that he had "rediscovered" it though he knew of Berkeley's earlier discovery. Continuing down the coast he named Mount Olympus and Shoalwater Bay, and arrived at the mouth of the Columbia River. There he tacked about and came to the conclusion that deprived England of one claim to Oregon Terri-

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

tory; he asserted that no river existed there as Heceta had believed. He named the entrance to the river Deception Bay and the cape on its north, Deception. On his way back to Nootka he sent a boat a short distance into the Strait of Juan de Fuca and, at a later date, claimed to have taken possession of the Strait in the King's name, to have purchased land from Tatooche, the chief of that district, and to have secured the exclusive right to trade with the Indians on the Strait. He arrived back at Nootka after some exploring along the western coast of Vancouver Island.

Douglas, who had been trading along the coasts north, arrived a month later with a valuable cargo of furs. He and Meares were pushing forward the work on the new ship, had transferred the furs to Meares' vessel, the "Felice," and made preparations to leave when Gray arrived. Meares sailed a few days later, and the day following his departure, August 22 or 23, Kendrick reached the harbor after a difficult trip. About a month later Douglas sailed with his two ships, the "Iphigenia" and the "North West America," for the Hawaiian Islands, leaving the two American vessels to winter at Nootka.

Before continuing the story of the explorations by Gray and the several captains who in 1789 put in at Nootka, the first incident in the Pacific Northwest's international history will be retraced. Of small consequence in itself, its conclusion was of vital importance as it left the possession of the North Pacific American coast undecided and still open to American acquisition. Gray was an observer of—in fact, an indirect participant in—the local occurrences that initiated the Nootka controversy. He escaped being involved; and so, fortunately, the United States was not entangled in the diplomatic contest which followed. The solution arrived at by the Spanish and English was, by disregarding the presence of Americans in the contested locality, to prove advantageous to Americans by placing no restrictions on their being on the coast—a conclusion which might have been different had the United States been involved in the diplomatic struggle.

News of English and, to a less extent, Russian activity on the Northwestern American coast roused the Spanish, as was previously noted, to what was their final effort to retain possession of the country. Already Spain had asked Russia to forbid the establishment of

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

trading posts in the "Spanish dominion" south of Prince William Sound; and the Russian Government had agreed to do so, if Spain would in turn stop any settlements on Russian territory—an agreement that constituted a tacit division of the Northern Pacific coast between Spain and Russia, with Russia holding most of what is now Alaska. The Spanish Viceroy in Mexico acted to prevent the placing of a settlement by any other nation in the center of the fur trade by sending Estevan Martinez and Gonzalo Haro north in 1789 to establish Spanish authority at Nootka.

Arriving there early in May, Martinez met Gray and Douglas, both of whom he treated with great courtesy, even assisting the Englishman, who was in distress. He then journeyed up Nootka Sound to visit Kendrick. During his absence Haro arrived, and at once seized Douglas and his ship. Meares and Douglas had been sailing under double colors because they had no license from the English companies which held exclusive trading rights in North Pacific waters. Portuguese papers had been secured by these two in order to avoid any conflict with the English companies; and these papers contained a clause instructing the captains sailing under them to capture Spanish, Russian and English vessels. Martinez, on his return, examined Douglas' papers, took the view that instruction to seize Spanish vessels was sufficient ground for seizing the English (pretending Portuguese) ship. Later, however, for some reason not clearly established, the vessel was returned to Douglas, who sailed immediately after signing papers clearing the Spaniards of any guilt. Douglas also signed a document which Martinez believed to be an agreement to sell the "North West America," which was expected shortly. Martinez proceeded to take formal possession of the port, and erected a barracks and mounted guns.

Early in June the "North West America" entered harbor and was seized by Martinez in accordance with Douglas' supposed bill of sale, which was later in dispute. When news was brought later that the company operating Douglas' ship was bankrupt, Martinez retained the "North West America" as security for the stores he had sold the Englishman.

Early in the following month arrived Captain James Colnett, who was sailing with Hudson under a license from the East India Com-

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

pany and with the authority to establish a fort and trading post. In accordance with his own instructions, when he learned of the Englishmen's authorization to construct a post, the Spaniard seized Colnett and his ship, and upon Hudson's return from a short trading trip, Hudson and his ship also.³

This series of acts was reported by the Spanish Ambassador to the British Government along with a request that the Englishmen who had been directly concerned be punished and others deterred from making settlements in "Spanish territory." The answer was a demand for damages and no promises. Each government was suspicious of the other. Each made preparations to defend itself against attack, and war was imminent. Spain, however, did not want war and continued negotiations. Events in Europe later made it to England's advantage, also, to effect a peaceful settlement. The agreement formulated between the two countries late in 1790 provided for what amounted to joint occupation of the coast and the abandonment by Spain of any claims of possession based on Spanish—the first—explorations in the waters of the Pacific Northwest.

It is interesting to speculate on what disposition of the Northwest Territory might have been made had the newly-founded and nationally weak United States been involved as a party in the controversy, and on the reasons why Gray and Kendrick were not treated by Martinez as were the English.

The first of these questions had already been touched upon when it was pointed out that by being ignored the Americans were unhampered in their trading and exploration. As to the second: Douglas suspected an agreement between the Spaniards and the Americans; and it is apparent that the Americans did coöperate with the Spanish captain as far as they could without actively opposing the British. Such "moral" support as they gave, however, and the manning of seized ships on trading voyages, they may have undertaken as business procedures to rid themselves of competition. There has been no good evidence brought forward to prove dishonorable acts or intentions on the part of any of those involved in the affair at Nootka.

3. Colnett had on board somewhere between sixty and seventy Chinese men whom it was planned to marry to Indian women and settle at Nootka . . . as a British settlement! These were the first Chinese in the Pacific Northwest and had this in common with others of their race later introduced: they were brought in by white men for commercial purposes.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

During the spring and summer when Martinez was taking possession of the English ships which put in at Nootka, Gray and Kendrick, who had wintered there, were actively trading among the Indians. During March and April of that year, 1789, Gray had explored the coast southward to and a little below Cape Flattery, entering the Strait of Juan de Fuca and taking part in a whale hunt. When he returned, Douglas with the "Iphigenia" and the "North West America" was back at Nootka after wintering in the Hawaiian Islands. Early in May, as he was leaving the harbor on a trading trip north, he met Martinez' ship and a week later sighted Haro's. On this trip Gray explored the east coast of Queen Charlotte's Island, being the first to do so, and secured a large number of skins. Again returning to Nootka, he witnessed the troubles between the Spanish and the English and for some undetermined reason changed ships with Kendrick. The furs of both boats were loaded on the "Columbia Rediviva," which he now commanded, the crew of the "North West America," which had been made a Spanish prize, were taken on board and Gray sailed for China, leaving Kendrick to follow him later in the year.

In making his way back to Boston by way of China, the Cape of Good Hope and the Atlantic Ocean, Gray was the first American to circumnavigate the globe, ending his voyage in 1790. In September of the same year he sailed from Boston on his second journey to the Pacific Northwest, arriving in the following June. There he found trading poor, other ships having preceded him, and wintered at Clay-quat, where he built the first ship constructed by an American on the Pacific Coast and the second to be built in the Northwest. Launched in April, 1792, and named the "Adventure," it was placed under the command of Robert Haswell, whose log was for more than a century the main source of information about Gray's second voyage. The two vessels parted to go on trading trips, Gray sailing south.

Gray met the English captain, Vancouver, on April 29, 1792, not far below Cape Flattery, and told him of having been, on his journey north, off the mouth of a large river near latitude forty-six. Continuing on his way, Gray made his two great discoveries which were to be a basis for American claims to the Pacific Northwest Territory. On May 7 he discovered the harbor he later named "Gray's Harbor."

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

On May 11 he crossed the bar of the river which Heceta had judged to exist and which Meares had denied. This was the river of which he had spoken to Vancouver and of which the Englishman at the time was skeptical. Gray named it the "Columbia," after his ship the "Columbia Rediviva." The American may be said to be the discoverer of the Columbia River in that, though he was not the first to observe at its mouth those conditions which reveal the estuary of a river, he was the first to cross the bar at its entrance and to discover it by his presence.

After making these discoveries, Gray returned to Nootka and he and Haswell continued trading, going so far north as Alaska. They obtained some skins, experienced considerable trouble with the Indians, and the Columbia was badly damaged in driving on a rock. Before starting the return voyage to Boston, the "Adventure" was sold to Quadra, and all goods were taken on board the "Columbia."

After his voyage Gray never again visited the Pacific Northwest, of which he was the first American explorer, and which his discoveries helped secure for his country. Upon his return to Boston he married, and thereafter limited his sailing to the Atlantic Coast. He died in 1806, and is thought to have been buried at sea.

Captain George Vancouver's explorations in the Pacific Northwest were by far the most extensive of any navigator's so far discussed. The several other captains who were in Northwestern waters during the same period made little contribution to knowledge of the territory. It was the explorations of Vancouver which dispelled most of the mysteries of the Pacific Northwest waters; and, like Gray's, they were a basis for a nation's claim to the Northwest Territory. The record of his sailing will conclude the period of discovery by water as it is a part of the history of the State of Washington.

Vancouver, who had been a lieutenant under Cook, was sent to Nootka as the British representative under the first Nootka treaty, and was making his way there when he met Gray. Before going about his diplomatic task, he tarried to discover and explore the great inland sea into which the Strait of Juan de Fuca led. How thoroughly he did so is illustrated by the scores of names that still remain to the bays, islands and mountains to which he gave them.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

The first day after entering the Strait a mountain was sighted by a young officer and named after him, "Mount Baker." On the same afternoon the point (New) Dungeness was given that appellation in memory of Dungeness in England. The point on which Vancouver made his temporary headquarters was called, after his ship, "Point Discovery." A week later, on May 8, 1792, the mountain was sighted which he named "Mount Rainier," after his admiral. Port Townsend and Hood Canal were next visited and named for other British naval men. Following that, exploration was made in small boats.

One of these exploring expeditions was led by Lieutenant Peter Puget, whose name Vancouver gave to part of the inland sea. Vancouver himself discovered Vashon Island, naming it after a friend. Port Orchard was called so after the man who led a third ship's-boat expedition and came upon it. The permanent names of Port Orchard, Admiralty Inlet, Point Wilson, Point Partridge, Deception Pass, Whidby Island and many others written on his maps by the Englishman attest the scope and accuracy of his explorations in the upper Sound. Possession Sound stands for his act in taking possession for the British King of all the territory he and his men had visited. This ceremony took place where the city of Everett now is, on June 4, 1792, the King's birthday. And, as if to make his country's claim more inclusive, on his return voyage to England he entered the Columbia River and claimed it also for Great Britain.

No one can say how much weight Vancouver's claim might have had in the future debates over the possession of the Pacific Northwest, had he not failed to realize England's expectations at Nootka. After exploring Puget Sound he went there to meet the Spanish representative and to take over the fort, in accordance with the Spanish-British agreement. He and Bodega, the Spanish representative who had replaced Martinez, could not, however, reach any agreement on a basis of the first Nootka treaty, and the matter was again taken up in Europe. The result of the further deliberations was a convention for the mutual abandonment of Nootka. That agreement went further than the first in opening the doors of the Pacific Northwest.

The Americans rushed in. A many-sided fortune aided them. Gray's voyage around the world had stirred their imaginations as Columbus' voyage across the Atlantic had roused the Spaniards' enthusiasm to explore. The reports of great profits in the fur trade,



THE FACTOR'S HOME AT FORT NISQUALLY



FORT NISQUALLY

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

as the reports of gold in Mexico, held forth the promise of wealth to those enterprising enough to take it. American enterprise was not hampered as was the English by the East India and South Sea Companies' monopolies on trade. Further, the Napoleonic wars kept the English occupied in Europe after 1795, and removed most of their competition. In 1792 ships reported in the Pacific Northwest were: British eleven, American seven; in 1801, British one, American fifteen. The Spanish showed little interest in trading, and after the Second Nootka Treaty ceased to be a force in Northwestern waters. The Russians, having but few vessels, were glad to make arrangements whereby the American ships carried the bulk of their furs to China for them. Yankee shrewdness and seamanship contributed their part to the rapidly developed dominance of American ships in the Pacific Northwest.

Most important of all, however, was the release and direction of American vitality. Perhaps the chief characteristic of any community, hamlet or nation, newly and freshly conscious of itself, is a burst of energy leading to the conquest of lands, people, and—under certain circumstances—the arts. Having just severed the umbilical cord which had bound them to England, the colonists became Americans and a free, self-conscious people. The blood of England's most restless and venturesome sons flowed in their veins. An unexplored and unconquered continent stretched around them west and south and north, and east the open sea. Familiar with ships and the axe, the national impulse drove them over oceans and mountains into strange waters and forests. Isolated from the wars the nations of Europe were waging in conquests against one another, the Americans turned to the conquest of half a continent.

To the national impulse, the pioneering spirit that underlies so much of both the good and bad in American history, was added the economic motive. The exploitation of the continent, often the spoliation of natural resources, afforded a release for energy, satisfied the thirst for adventure and brought riches. Gray's voyage was a commercial venture, as were the sailings that followed his. The first American overland expedition into the Pacific Northwest combined the national and economic impulses; the first American settlement in that territory was purely commercial.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

The period of discovery and explorations, which opened in the Pacific Northwest with sea voyages, closes with journeys overland.

As this is a history of the State of Washington, and not of the Pacific Northwest, those explorers who prepared for future expeditions with their journeyings in the upper Mississippi and Great Lakes country, and those who first crossed the Canadian Rocky Mountains to reach the coast, will be given no space. Alexander Mackenzie, who was first to traverse the Northwest to the Arctic Ocean, and Simon Fraser, who crossed Canada to the Pacific, did not set foot on soil later included in Oregon Territory or Washington State. Consequently, interesting as their trips are, and important as they were in the development of Western Canada, they have no place here. The first men to enter overland that part of the northwest which would become American territory, after early Spanish ventures northward from Mexico, were the Americans, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, in 1805-06. Their expedition was scientific, commercial and political in its creation and in its effects; it had its inception twenty years before the actual journey was undertaken, and was due almost wholly to the vision and persistence of Thomas Jefferson.

The first hint of the Lewis and Clark expedition dates from 1783, when Thomas Jefferson thought of, but could not organize, an expedition to explore the land west of the Mississippi River in competition with a projected English survey, and to anticipate or balance any English plans for establishing claims to that territory by exploring it or locating settlements in it. Three years later, while Jefferson was minister to France, his idea of the project was strengthened by a visit from John Ledyard, who had been with Cook and who was enthusiastic about the Pacific Northwest. It was not until he had become President, however, that Jefferson was able to put his plans into effect. In 1803 he inveigled Congress into granting money for the expedition, and Lewis and Clark, a captain and a lieutenant in the United States Army, were selected to lead it. Among the objects of the expedition were: To obtain knowledge of the geography and the character of the natives of the unknown land and to determine if an overland fur trade route would be profitable. After the Louisiana Purchase another element, the political, was added; for it then became imperative to outstrip the English in exploration on which sound claims to the land west of the Rocky Mountains could be based.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

The actual journey was begun in May, 1804, from near the mouth of the Missouri River. That summer the Missouri was followed for some 1,600 miles, and winter quarters were established at Fort Mandan in Mandan Indian country, near the present city of Bismarck, North Dakota. On April 7 of the following years the journey was continued, with changes in personnel bringing the number of persons who formed the group to reach the sea up to thirty-two.⁴

Among the newly added members was Sacajawea, the wife of their official interpreter and a captive from the Shoshone tribe, which was one of those they would pass on their way to the coast. This Indian woman was one of the reasons for the success of the expedition, since among strange tribes her presence showed the group to be a peace party, and because the first Indians they met were her own tribe and their chief her brother. Through the good luck of this meeting the expedition was guided safely over the divide; and the Shoshones further helped by supplying horses and agreeing to guard what supplies it was necessary to leave behind.

Beyond the divide the party's route was down the Salmon River, then up Fish Creek and across the Bitter Root mountains to the upper Clearwater River.

Much of the stores was lost on the trip down the Clearwater and Snake rivers, so that the company was reduced to eating dogs, which the natives were more willing to sell than fish and which the whites preferred to salmon as the Indians cured it. Near the mouth of the Snake a stop of several days was made while relationships with the Indians were improved and equipment was reconditioned. Clark ascended the Columbia River almost as far as the juncture of the Yakima, and, with the aid of the Indians, made a map of the Yakima, Wenatchee and Okanogan rivers.

The journey down the Columbia was begun October 18. It involved difficulties but was uneventful and had continued nine days when the party sighted, between the two capes at the river's mouth,

4. Members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition who reached the sea were, in addition to Lewis and Clark: Patrick Gass, John Ordway, Nathaniel Pryor, sergeants; William Bratton, John Collins, John Colter, Peter Cruzatte, Joseph Fields, Reuben Fields, Robert Frazier, George Gibson, Silas Goodrich, Hugh Hall, Thomas P. Howard, Francis Labiche, Baptiste Lepage, Hugh McNeal, John Potts, George Shannon, John Shields, John B. Thompson, William Werner, Joseph Whitehouse, Alexander Willard, Richard Windson, Peter Wiser, privates; George Drewyer, Toussaint Chaboneau and Sacajawea, interpreters, and York, Clark's negro slave.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

the horizon of the Pacific Ocean—from the river Meares had declared did not exist and between the capes Heceta had first named.

During the rest of October and November, both Lewis and Clark led exploring parties about the country at the Columbia's mouth, Clark going north to Shoalwater (now Willapa) Bay. Winter quarters were selected on the south bank of the Columbia, a stockade and several cabins were built and named Fort Clatsop after the tribe of Indians living in that locality. The expedition remained in winter quarters four months, doing further exploring down the coast to Tillamook Bay. On the return journey, begun in March, the Willamette River was discovered and Mount Jefferson named. The journey ended September 23, 1803, at St. Louis, Missouri.

The one major consequence of the Lewis and Clark expedition was the claim it established for the United States to the Pacific Northwest. To testify of their presence, the leaders left letters with the Indians to show to future travelers, and medals which served the purpose of honoring and delighting friendly chiefs as well as evidencing the Americans' explorations. The expedition's diplomatic purpose was accomplished. Its commercial object, also, was realized; for the feasibility of an overland trade route to the Pacific had been demonstrated.

The journals of the expedition—kept by each American member—yielded, however, but a small amount of specific and detailed knowledge about the geography, natives and resources of the territory traveled; largely because none of the men of the group was a trained scientist. The maps, some of which are fairly accurate, were made with the help of the Indians and by approximations instead of measurements and exact determinations. Some few discoveries were made; and something was, of course, learned of the physical features of the land and of the different characters of interior and coast-dwelling natives.

The historic importance of the Lewis and Clark Expedition lies in its effect of accelerating movements already under way: the Westward flow of commerce and peoples, the sharpening competition between the two English-speaking nations for the possession of the North American Pacific seaboard. The explorations of David Thompson—to confine our attention to men who were in the later-

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

determined boundaries of Oregon Territory—were manifestations of the same broad, history-shaping movements.

Thompson may be said to be the last of the overland explorers, though he was an agent of the North West Company engaged in fur trading; and though such men as Bonneville and Wyeth, Frémont and others, who followed him in time, are thought of as explorers as well as commercial and scientific pioneers. After his explorations in 1807-1810 the first economic approach to the Pacific Northwest had assumed such proportions that traders penetrated almost every river valley and mountain range, and posts and forts rapidly rose in commercially favorable locations. Thompson holds a position unique in many respects: he combined scientific exploration with fur trading, and was more interested in discovery than profits; he was the first man to emphasize the advantages of eastern Washington and the "Inland Empire"; and he began the permanent residence of white men in the Northwest.

Thompson's explorations covered much of the country now included in the western part of Idaho, northwestern Montana, northern Oregon and eastern Washington, as well as Canada bordering Idaho and Washington. His maps were superlative, for some districts being still unimproved upon. A geographer superior to any in the northwest during his time, he was also a man of remarkable foresight regarding resources and potential value of the territory he so exactly charted. He was the founder of the earliest trading posts in that country, having built Kootanae House near Lake Windermere in 1807, Kullyspell House near the mouth of Clark's Fork, and Saleesh House near the present Thompson Falls, Montana, in 1809. In the summer of 1810, two of his men, Finan McDonald and Jaco Finlay, a half-breed, built Spokane House near the present city of Spokane. Spokane House was thus founded before Astoria, was occupied as a fur trading post until 1826, and has since been the center of a populous community and the location of the State's second largest city.

Thompson was the first man to travel the entire length of the Columbia River, descending from Kettle Falls and then ascending to Canoe River in 1811. That year, at the mouth of the Snake River on his way down the Columbia to the sea, he posted a paper beginning, "Know hereby that this country is claimed by Great Britain as part of

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

its territories. . . . ” Almost on the same day he met Chief Yel-lipit of the Walla Wallas, who had been one of those to whom Lewis and Clark gave medals, and who disheartened Thompson with the news of the earlier explorers. When he reached the mouth of the Columbia, Thompson was received by Americans in the American post, Astoria. He had been anticipated in the purpose of his trip, which was that of Lewis and Clark, “to explore this river in order to open out a passage for the interior trade with the Pacific Ocean.” The English had been outrun in the race for the Columbia River and whatever territory its discovery brought as a national dowry.

Beginning in 1811, exploration gave way to commercial enterprise and settlement. The next three decades saw the Pacific Northwest well on its way in all the developments of modern civilization. Before recounting the story of the traders and missionaries, it will be well to describe the country and the Indians the explorers found, the country the pioneers were to settle and populate.

The Land and the Natives—Almost contemporaneous with the explorers, the fur traders and pioneer settlers made their laborious and dangerous way into the Pacific Northwest. Before beginning their story and the record of territorial development, it will be well to describe the country they came to, sketching briefly its geographic environments. For, what the settlers were to accomplish was conditioned by geography as well as by their own determination and the direction of the historical stream. Land and climate are factors easily overlooked in history when, as in the Pacific Northwest, they are happily free of any cataclysmic force, and seem to play a passive part in the affairs of men, being but the seasonal succession of opportunities.

Yet the fact ought not to be overlooked that everywhere “geographic environments do two things: They offer man the stimulus of varying degrees and kind of opportunity, and through climate, affect his energy, health and enterprise, and hence modify the extent to which he utilizes his natural opportunities.”⁵ The Pacific Northwest and the State of Washington are endowed with several requisites for a great and many-sided development: a land of most varied resources, with fertile valleys and forest-covered mountains, with fast-falling

5. R. H. Whitbeck and Olive J. Thomas, in “The Geographic Factor.”

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

streams to harness for power and an extended sea coast for fishing and commerce; a climate well suited to sustained activity, and—a condition of primary importance in the early nineteenth century—a network of navigable rivers and waterways.

In the description of the country we shall follow the explorers, adding to what they found, what the future revealed of resources and the potentials for developing civilization.

White men first approached the Pacific Northwest by the sea, and the land explored by them was that which was accessible by ship and canoe. That included, within the State of Washington, the heavily-forested coastal lowland, approximately one hundred and fifty miles long and from ten to thirty miles wide, and the Puget Sound Basin, also originally heavily forested, which extends in a plain ranging from fifty to eighty miles in width beyond the southern reaches of the Sound and the boundary of the State up the Willamette River Valley almost to the Oregon-California boundary. From the sea and Sound, landmarks over about one-fourth of the State could be surveyed by sight, though much less of the country could be traversed by following the scores of streams flowing from the forest-covered mountains. The aborigines and resources of the two regions were similar, as was the climate with the exception of the amount of rainfall.

Long before there were any settlers, the Indians were utilizing in their primitive manner the same resources the white men were to exploit, and had developed a culture in many respects unique to their locality.

With forest of fir, cedar, pine, spruce, hemlock and alder growing down to the water's edge, the natives naturally became wood-users and wood-workers of remarkable facility. They lived in community houses sometimes as large as forty by sixty feet, well built of split cedar planks—shakes—laid over strong frames. Ingenious methods were devised for erecting the heavy logs of the supporting frame and for raising the roof-tree log. Several families—sometimes as many as forty—lived together in these houses, each with its own open fire and allotted, though seldom enclosed, living space and sleeping quarters. In making wooden furniture, tools and household equipment, as well as in building houses, the Indians, especially those of the northern territory, acquired an advanced technique. The boxes they

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

made were water-tight, and were used for storing goods as well as for boiling food by the old method of dropping hot stones into water. Some of these boxes were made by steaming and bending boards, the natives having acquired great skill in controlling the stresses of wood. Other boxes were literally sewed together with roots, neatly and strongly. Baskets were woven of root-bark and rushes with a twining technique peculiar to themselves, being water-tight or open-work according to their use. Even blankets were woven out of cedar bark, and mats which had a multitude of uses. Dishes were shaped out of blocks of wood, often in pleasing forms with carved decorations. And the tools with which trees were felled, planks split off, boards formed and dishes carved, originally were often of wood also, more frequently of wood and whale bone, seldom of wood and stone or metal.

In addition to these wooden household utensils, the aborigines burned and planed their canoes out of cedar logs, made their implements for food-getting and fighting, carved totem poles, masks and plaques out of wood; those of the lower Sound showing not only proficiency but a feeling for formalized art. The canoe we may take as the link in the aboriginal culture, combining land and water, the use of wood and the principal method of gaining a livelihood. Unlike the Indians of the Eastern States, who made their canoes of bark, the tribes of the Pacific Coast made theirs out of the whole tree trunk, hollowing it by fire, shaping and smoothing it with bone or shell adzes and chisels, decorating it with carving and color. Canoes of the Pacific Northwest Indians ranged in size from small ones of sixteen feet for the use of two or three men on streams and inland bays to boats of sixty-foot length capable of carrying between fifty and sixty men on the open sea. These great canoes had separately made and skilfully attached high, over-reaching prows and bows to take the waves. In them the war parties made their raids and the fishing parties their expeditions after whales, seals, sea otters, the salmon and other fish which constituted the bulk of their food and were a major source of their wealth.

For hunting whales, porpoises, seals and the great sea otter, harpoons were used which originally had heads made of shell or pieces of antler. These heads were detachable, and unshafted as soon as the whale was struck, being permanently fastened by whale-sinew lines to sealskin floats, which hampered the whale while alive and kept



STEPTOE BUTTE, NEAR SPOKANE

Where Colonel Steptoe Held Off the Palouse Indians in the Outbreak of 1858

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

it from sinking after being killed with a lance. All the larger fish were hunted in much the same manner. Halibut were caught on lines with steam-curved wooden hooks, as were cod and salmon. Salmon, the primary food supply from Oregon to Alaska, were also taken as they are today in nets in salt water, in traps or by gaffing when running up the streams to spawn. The fish were cured, sometimes uncleaned except for chopping off the head and tail, by smoke and sun, and on the Columbia River by drying and mashing into a sort of flour, being later boiled for eating just as they had been cured. Clams, fresh and cured, were an addition to the food supply.

There was little vegetable food to vary this diet of fish, though berries of many kinds grew in the forests and some roots were edible. The coast tribes followed agriculture only indifferently or not at all, depending upon wild fruits and vegetables almost entirely. During the months when berries were ripe, the villagers would wander about in mass, picking what berries they could find for winter use. Tribes further away from the water engaged in hunting to a limited extent. The dog was their only domesticated animal; one breed being raised for its long hair, out of which were made those blankets frequently commented upon by the early explorers. Finally, so far as concerns their economic life, the Indians did some trading, principally for hides, with interior tribes; and carried on a limited commerce of goods among themselves.

The economic life of the Indians on the Pacific Coast and around Puget Sound thus took advantage of most of the opportunities afforded by the geographic environment. The white men were to utilize the same resources, but on an incomparably more extensive and efficient scale.

Lumbering on the Pacific Coast lowlands, in the Sound basin and among the accessible valleys of the Olympic and Cascade mountains, early became and has remained the first industry, not only of western Washington, but of the entire State. As the Indians built their villages of wood, so lumber later built cities. Since 1910 Washington has held first rank among the timber producing states. Today, paper pulp mills are offering another market and use for forest products. Fishing, also, has been and is a major industry both off the coast and from the Sound. Oysters of two kinds are cultivated and shipped all over the continent; salmon and shellfish canning account for a good

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

percentage of the State's industrial pay-roll and investment. It was the Indian's fur trade which started the emigration to the Pacific Northwest and, though the fur trade practically ceased in Washington one hundred years ago, the commerce it started has been continued in other products and as a carrier business from many ports located on some of the world's finest harbors. Because of the excellent water transportation facilities and the almost unlimited amount of cheap power, manufacturing industries have grown up in large numbers in the Sound basin.

As the land was logged off, specialized farming followed; in the Sound country, dairying, poultry raising, bulb and berry culture; on the coast, berry growing. Especially is dairying fitted to the land and climate. To agriculture, not practiced by the aborigines, has been added the new resource of hydro-electric power. So many are the streams that can be put to that use, and so sharp is their descent, in Washington State approximately 7,000,000 horsepower can be developed—though not all in the land west of the Cascades, or between the Cascade and the Olympic mountains.

These two mountain ranges constitute in themselves part of the geographic contrast which characterizes the State; they make its divisions in terrain and resources, and largely determine the climate for the coastal and interior regions. The coast itself is a land of mild winters and cool summers, due, partly, to the influence of the warm Japanese Current which moves southward along the shore, and partly to the prevailing westerly winds. After blowing over the Pacific Ocean for 4,000 miles, these winds become moist and of an even temperature, bringing coolness in the summer and heavy rainfall during the winter. They are first forced to rise over the Olympic Mountains. In doing so their moisture is cooled and condensed and falls for four or five months on the coastal plain and the mountain slopes. Sixty to eighty inches of yearly rainfall make that strip of land one of the finest of the world's forest-growing regions. Having passed over the Olympic Mountains, these ocean-tempered and dampened winds cool the Puget Sound Basin in summer, and in winter, in rising over the Cascade range, give down the rest of their moisture in from forty to sixty inches of rainfall annually. In the Sound basin, also, and on the slopes of the Cascades, forests grow in almost tropical density. The climate generally is perhaps the best in the United

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

States for sustained activity, being neither periodically uncomfortably hot or cold.

The white Americans who supplanted the aborigines were to demonstrate the advantage of this climate as they were to develop the resources of the land and sea. Yet, the Indians did not find the long winter rainy season conducive to the development of a very great material culture, or the pleasant summers stimulating to the creation of a very high social culture. Their economics and technology have already been briefly discussed in connection with geographic resources. Their social culture may now be summarized; in particular, those aspects which influenced their relationships with the settlers.

Some of the characteristics of their society which are most interesting from an ethnological viewpoint will be mentioned only. Among these was the practice of head flattening by strapping a board to the child's head so that it grew in a sharp slant backward from the brow. This custom, curious as it is, seems to have had only a "society" importance, like face-painting. It was denied slaves, but had no culture-meaning. The myths of the Indians, their birth and burial customs, their systems and interpretations of taboo, were all of a relatively low order.

Two more interesting folk practices, slave-holding and the giving of potlatches, are also more indicative of the character of the coastal Salish and the Columbia River Chinook tribes. The social structure of these Indians was based not so much, as in lower barbarism, upon prowess in war as upon the ability to acquire wealth: it was quite contemporary in its pluto-democratic temper. Slaves were both a form of wealth and instruments for accumulating more wealth since the product of their labor was the property of their owner. The slaves, as is not unusual in communities where their usefulness is considerable, were well treated. They lived in the same house with, and very much as did, their owners. They suffered no hardships not common to the village, but were denied any liberties attaching to wealth-getting or, except in rare instances, the government of the community.

The potlatch was the Indian's mode of ostentatious consumption. It was a celebration given upon specific occasions, such as receiving a new name, to which the wealthy man invited his friends and acquaintances and at which he made gifts of all his goods to those present.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Since those to whom the gifts were made were expected in turn to give a potlatch of their own and make a richer return for the gifts they received, these occasions were not impoverishing distributions of worldly goods but a sort of loaning at interest. Potlatch obligations were a kind of imposed indebtedness which could not be declined without loss of prestige. The display was the main thing, so that potlatches were contests in ostentation: to be able to give one raised a man in the social scale.

Position in the tribe or village depended partly upon such wealth and partly upon family. For, while honors and rank were inheritable, they could be lost or acquired by losing or acquiring wealth. Under such a system government was necessarily more democratic than arbitrary. The chief had only nominal power and could not enforce his wishes or opinions. The tribal councils, also, while they could decide for the majority, could not compel the minority to accept and abide by their decisions: minorities were free to do as they liked, but without the support of the majority. This type of government was annoying to the settlers when they were attacked by minorities and the tribe claimed to be not responsible; this type of government was also followed by interior tribes and it was the real cause of the Nez Percé War.

The coast tribes south of the Strait of Juan de Fuca were not warlike as were their northern neighbors and the natives east of the Rocky Mountains. Among the Chinook and Salish tribes, wars were infrequently raids to secure slaves and usually punitive expeditions to avenge murder, robbery or unauthorized visits by other tribesmen to fish and berry preserves. The massacre of those on the Astor vessel "Tonquin" was for vengeance. Generally, the Indians of the coast and Puget Sound offered little opposition to the settlers, not alone because of their unwarlike character, but also because even when the settlers arrived the natives were rapidly dying out from venereal diseases contracted of the sailors on the fur-trading vessels.

The culture of these coastal Indians was most strongly defined in the country north of the State of Washington. It is well described by John Jewitt, who was a prisoner among the Nootka natives in 1803-06. His "Narrative" is reprinted in part as Appendix III. Little is known of the life of those aborigines previous to their con-



EZRA MEEKER RETRACING THE OLD OREGON TRAIL



BLOCKHOUSE ON WHIDBY ISLAND
Built During the Indian War of 1855

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

tact with white men: after that contact their culture decayed and their numbers declined.

The Cascade Mountains, which marked the eastern boundary of their territories, and the Olympic Mountains, which separated the natives on the peninsula into coast and Sound tribes, are both of volcanic formation. Puget Sound is of glacial origin. Much of the soil of that region is, consequently, not good for farming though, as has been noted, specialized agriculture can be followed with success. The climate, too, is not fitted for some crops, being too cool. East of the Cascade range is a great plateau built up by volcanic flows, channeled by glacial streams and lakes and drained by the Columbia River and its tributaries. This, the "Inland Empire," was the land first seen and explored by those men who entered the Pacific Northwest overland.

Lewis and Clark, and Thompson, when they descended the western side of the Rocky Mountain divide into that plateau, found a land of arid and semi-arid plains surrounded by mountain ranges. Through the forests of the mountains and the wooded valleys down which scores of streams flowed to the Columbia River, the explorers crossed miles of rolling sage-brush and grass-covered prairie, stretches of gravel desert and barren, deeply-channelled scabland; that empty bed of the Columbia River, the Grand Coulee, which contains the world's greatest dry falls. They skirted lakes in such numbers that they have not been all surveyed, and traversed the Palouse Country, an expanse of land covered by very deep rich soil. Built up of many successive lava flows from volcanoes now low, time-worn peaks, gouged and flooded by the same ice cap that plowed out Puget Sound, the Inland Empire is geographically one of the most interesting localities in America and contains the best fossil history of the continent in its successive layers of earth and stone.

The Columbia River dominated that territory, geographically, economically and socially during the period of explorations and early settlement. The explorers were seeking a fur trade route to the sea, and were primarily interested in the country as it furnished furs and was accessible by the Columbia and its forks and tributaries. The river was for decades the one route followed by settlers as they slowly made their way inland, British and Americans building their posts and towns on or near it. Boundary disputes centered about it. Not until near the end of the nineteenth century, when the railroads

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

reached the coast through Cascade passes, did the Columbia lose its dominance in the history of Eastern Washington.

The climate of that territory is in striking contrast with that of Sound and coast. The westerly winds which equalize the year's temperature and bring heavy rainfalls on the seaward side of the Cascade range are dry by the time they have passed over the 8,000-foot summit of those mountains. Little rain falls over most of eastern Washington during the hot summer months, and little snow during the cold winters.

When the settlers followed the explorers into the plateau, the hills and mountains bounding it were still filled with game, upon which the natives were dependent for a good part of their food and for skins to trade to the Chinook Indians of the Columbia River for salmon. The aborigines there possessed their own culture; but it was influenced by the Columbia River Indians and, early in the eighteenth century, by the introduction of the horse. The horse may be taken as the key to their life, as the canoe was the key to the life of the coast tribes.

What the social structure and folkways of the interior Indians were before they were visited by Lewis and Clark, there is little to reveal. Their culture was not advanced or well integrated, apparently, even before the horse was introduced among them three generations before the nineteenth century. During the first two or three decades of that century their culture underwent further changes not due to contact with white men. Later, in association with the settlers, native life altered so much that many of the old ways and beliefs were continued primarily as hearsay. There had been sporadic westward migrations amongst the aborigines of the upper Columbia River before 1700. This resulted in a mixing or weakening of their cultural forms which made it easy for them to accept the nomadic habits when they intermingled with the tribes which had learned the use of the horse.

When contacted by the white man, the tribes of eastern Washington were largely confirmed nomads. Those strong enough and rich enough in horses ranged wherever game and roots and berries were plentiful; some of the Shoshones crossing the Rocky Mountain divide to hunt buffalo in Blackfeet Indian lands. Other weaker tribes were

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

forced to dwell in the semi-arid country, living a life meagre in every way. Tribal groups were limited in size by the geographical conditions under which they had to live.

The Chinook culture gave way as the Columbia River was ascended, until beyond the Dalles, a great Indian trading and fishing center, the flattened head disappeared, the wooden houses were replaced by mat huts—later buffalo skin tepees similar to those of the Middle Western Plains natives—and the permanent village became a larger or smaller group moving about within its limited or extensive territory.

While most of the natives of the Inland Empire were in some measure dependent upon salmon for food, and nearly all migrated to the streams to fish when the fish were running, game and camas, a root, supplemented their diet. Some of the Indians were also skilful hunters, using bows and stone-headed arrows and running game with horses, and were consequently able to trade tanned skins for fish and other products provided by the trading Chinooks.

At best, however, the life of the interior Indians was harsh. They enjoyed but small material culture, living in mat huts which were often covered with earth in winter, and possessing few household utensils beyond stone mortars and pestles and woven baskets which they either bought or made. Dried roots, meat and fish were ground in these mortars and boiled in water-tight baskets. Their clothing consisted of leather moccasins, leggings and shirt, with skin robes or woven blankets added in the winter—these Indians needed protection from inclement weather, unlike the coast natives who, in summer, went nude or wore only a breech-clout and in winter added only a blanket and woven hat. Yet the eastern Washington aborigines did not possess anything that might not be transported by horse.

The nomadic life and weak culture habits resulted in a loose social organization. There was no sharp class distinction as among the coastal Indians, even in groups whose members owned few and many horses. The power of the chief was weak or strong depending upon his ability and, though the office was hereditary, it might be assumed by a capable man. Authority was as indefinite as among the western Washington tribes. Slaves were taken in war but, apparently, were not purchased or secured in raids. They were treated as members of the group, often being adopted into the tribe.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Perhaps this poverty among them, as the love of wealth among the coast natives, as well as their temperament, is accountable for the passion for gambling common to all of the aborigines of the State of Washington. Whatever the cause, the major, almost the exclusive, form of sport and entertainment was gambling.

The eastern Washington tribes would gamble away all of their horses at yearly races. And not only did their livelihood depend measurably upon the possession of horses, but also their effectiveness in war, to which they were inclined and which they waged with weapons like those of the Indians of the Middle Western Plains. To this disposition to use the means for war they had in their horses, the natives of eastern Washington were more ready to defend their territory than were the natives on the coast. Only limited areas were habitable in the Inland Empire, and those lands were desired by both the natives and the settlers—and fought for.⁶

The inland tribes had few geographic resources which could be developed with primitive means and, in common with the coast tribes, did not practice agriculture, either farming or herding. There was, in fact, little opportunity for them to do so, for farming in the Columbia basin depends upon an advanced technique.

The present record yields of grain on that semi-arid soil are obtained either by specialized methods of dry farming or by irrigation. Both types of farming are now followed in winter and spring wheat growing so successfully that the few counties in the southeast corner of the State produce around 40,000,000 bushels of wheat yearly. In the valleys formed by the mountains and hills which rim the plateau, tens of thousands of tons of apples are grown each year and, in addition to other fruits, grain and alfalfa.

By using the hay and grain harvest in part for fattening and fodder, it is possible to raise hogs, sheep and cattle in large numbers. Dairying is a rapidly developing industry.

The number of streams that can be dammed to furnish water for irrigation is sufficient to water all of the plateau that is arable. Other

6. The most important Indian tribes in the State of Washington are: (Salish, west of the Cascade Mountains) Lumni, Nooksak, Samish, Skagit, Snohomish, Duwamish, Nisqually, Clallam, Chehalis, Cowlitz; (Salish east of the Cascade Mountains) Pisquise, Okanogan, San Poil, Colville, Spokane, Pend d'Oreille, Flathead, Coeur d'Alene; Chinook on the upper and lower Columbia River; Makah; Chimakum, Klikitat, Yakima, Palouse, Nez Perce, Umatilla, Walla Walla, Cayuse, in eastern and central Washington.



COLUMBIA RIVER AT THE NORTH END OF GRAND COULEE
Location of the Grand Coulee Dam



DRY FALLS STATE PARK, GRAND COULEE

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

streams are being made the sites of hydro-electric power plants, including the mammoth Grand Coulee project.

The combination of all these natural resources, plus the transportation facilities offered by transcontinental railroads, is resulting in an expanding manufacturing and shipping business. Meat packing plants, flour mills and railroads have made Spokane, as Spokane House the trading post was, a center of trade.

The country the explorers of the Pacific Northwest discovered was of forest-covered or arid and semi-arid basins and plains between mountain ranges or mountains and the sea; a land inhabited by Indians who were utilizing some of its resources in their primitive manner and some not at all. The fur trade was then its major resource—but of its possibilities Vancouver wrote:

To describe the beauties of this region will, on some future occasion, be a very grateful task to the pen of a skillful panegyrist. The serenity of the climate, the innumerable pleasing landscapes, and the abundant fertility that unassisted nature puts forth, require only to be enriched by the industry of man with villages, mansions, cottages and other buildings to render it the most lovely country that can be imagined; whilst the labour of the inhabitants would be amply rewarded, in the bounties which nature seems ready to bestow on cultivation.

The settlers who followed the explorers, the generations of their children and the later emigrants have gone far in realizing that prophecy; not by adding to or developing any culture existing there, but by bringing their own and recreating it in a new land. The history of the Pacific Northwest is the record of a Nation's expansion, the story of strong and unique personalities and the epic of a land's development.



Williams and Allied Lines

BY MYRTLE M. LEWIS, GLEN ROCK, NEW JERSEY



WILLIAM, in the early days, was one of the most popular of names, and was equalled in the number of its bearers only by John. When surnames first began to come into use, William naturally took precedence. The possessive "s" was added, making Williams, as was also, in some cases, the suffix "son." Thus Williams and Williamson have the same origin, both meaning son of William, and hence come under the classification of baptismal names.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

Roger Williams Arms—Argent a lion rampant gules an orle of nine pheons azure.

(Bolton: "American Armory." "Heraldic Journal," Vol. III, p. 175.)

I. *Roger Williams*, son of James and Alice (Pemberton) Williams, was born in the Cow Lane (the section now known as Snowhill) home in the parish of St. Sepulchres, without Newgate, London, where the family lived, about 1605, which date is confirmed by a legacy left him in 1617 by Margery Pate at St. Sepulchres Parish, London, when he was "about twelve years old." He died some time between January 16, 1682-83, the date of his signature on a deed, and April 25, 1683, the date of a deed drawn up after his death. Ernest Flagg, in his "Genealogical Notes," p. 244, shows that he died before March 15, since a letter from William Adams to J. Richard, dated March 15, 1682-83, contains this sentence: "Mr. Williams of Providence is lately deceased." Roger Williams' father, James Williams, was a citizen and merchant tailor of London, and died in the autumn of 1621, leaving bequests to his wife, Alice, who was baptized February 18, 1564, and four children.

Roger Williams was employed in some capacity, it seems, by the great lawyer Sir Edward Coke, who placed him in the Charterhouse School in 1621, and afterward in Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he took a degree. He was admitted to orders in the Church of England, but soon becoming the friend and companion of John



LANDING OF ROGER WILLIAMS

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

Cotton and Thomas Hooker, adopted the most advanced views of the Puritans. He embarked at Bristol, December 1, 1630, in the ship "Lion," and on February 5, 1631, arrived at Boston, Massachusetts. He had then been recently married, but of his wife's early history very little is known. Her Christian name was Mary. Roger Williams was distinguished as an eloquent preacher and ripe scholar and, soon after his arrival in Massachusetts, he was invited to the church at Salem as assistant to the pastor, Mr. Skelton. He was settled April 12, 1631, as assistant or teacher in the Salem Church. He had been a disturbing element, and soon found his position at Salem so uncomfortable that before the end of the summer he sought shelter under more tolerant jurisdiction in Plymouth Colony. Here he was settled in August, 1631, as assistant to the pastor, Ralph Smith. About this time he was first suspected of the "heresy of Anabaptism." He returned to Salem in 1633, followed by several members of the congregation, who had become devotedly attached to him. In 1634 he was settled as pastor of the church in Salem. Here he soon got into trouble by denying the validity of the charter granted in 1629 by Charles I to the Company of Massachusetts Bay. He maintained that the land belonged to the Indians and not to the King of England, who therefore had no right to give it away. The settlers of Massachusetts condemned Roger Williams and his views. This purely political question was complicated with disputes arising from his advanced views on toleration. He maintained that "no human power had the right to intermeddle in matters of conscience; and that neither church nor State, neither bishop nor king, may prescribe the smallest iota of religious faith." For this he maintained "man is responsible to God alone." He denounced the law requiring every man to contribute to the support of the church. The ministers, with Roger Williams' friends, Cotton and Hooker, at their head, sent a committee to Salem to censure him; but he denied the spiritual jurisdiction and declared his determination "to remove the yoke of soul-oppression." In July, 1635, he was summoned before the General Court to answer to charges of heresy. In October he was ordered to quit the Colony. It was about this time that it was reported many of the followers of Mr. Williams meditated withdrawing from Massachusetts and founding a colony on Narragansett Bay, in which the

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

(The Sayles Line)

Sayle-Sayles Arms—Argent, on a fess cotised engrailed azure between three wolves' heads erased sable, as many griffins' heads erased or.

Crest—In front of a wolf's head couped sable, gorged with a collar gemel or, three escallops gold.

Motto—Who most has served is greatest.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

No more distinguished name than that of Sayles occurs in the history of the State of Rhode Island and in the annals of its business, financial and industrial development in the last century. From the first days of Rhode Island's existence as a Colony the name has carried a prestige and influence in large affairs, which subsequent generations have not allowed to wane.

The Sayles family in Rhode Island dates from the year 1651, when the first mention of the name of the progenitor, John Sayles, appears on the records of the Colony. That he had been here for at least a short period prior to that date is evident from the fact that about 1650 he married Mary Williams, daughter of Roger Williams. They were the progenitors of a family which has figured largely in the affairs of Colony and State from the very beginning. Although not numerous, their descendants have been divided into several clearly defined branches, according to the localities in which they have resided.

The surname is of ancient origin, and considerable interest attaches to the derivation. It is local in source, and signifies literally "at the hurdles," *sayles* being the Old English word for hurdles or the upright stakes in a hurdle. Charles W. Bardsley, in his "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames," in tracing the origin of the name, says: "The only instances I can find, ancient or modern, are in County York. The name has remained there at least five hundred years." From this fact we cannot go far astray if we claim Yorkshire as the home of the early Sayles ancestors.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." "American Families," Vol. XIX.)

I. John (1) Sayles, immigrant ancestor and founder, was born in England, in 1633, and died in 1681, the same year in which the death of his wife occurred, and they were both buried in the Easton burying ground in Middletown, Rhode Island. He is first recorded in Providence Plantations, January 27, 1651, when he purchased a house and lot of John Throckmorton. Tradition has it, however,



Sayle
(Sayles)

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

that he came to America in 1645. On May 12, 1652, he bought land of Ralph Earle, near West River. In the following year, 1653, having already risen to a position of prominence in colonial affairs, he was chosen assistant to the Governor, and he again served in that capacity in 1655, 1657, 1658, and 1659. In 1655 he was admitted a freeman and in 1655 and 1659 was commissioner. From 1655 to 1657 John (1) Sayles served the town of Providence as clerk; was a member of the General Council, in 1658, in which year he was also warden; and served as town treasurer from 1659 to 1660. On May 26, 1660, he sold William Hawkins a piece of property, which indicates how vast were his holdings in the early Colony. On that date he conveyed all rights in land lying between Pawtucket and Pawtuxet rivers, "beginning at the end of seven miles upon a west line from the hill called Foxe's Hill (the town of Providence having the same for a boundary), and so to go up the streams of those rivers until the end of twenty miles from the said Foxe's Hill." On February 19, 1665, he had lot twenty-four in a division of lands. On May 31, 1666, he took the oath of allegiance. John (1) Sayles served on the grand jury in 1669-71, and in 1669-70, '71, '74, '76, '77, '78, was a deputy to the Rhode Island General Assembly. On May 4, 1670, he and three others were appointed to audit the Colony's account. He sold to Stephen Arnold, June 24, 1670, a thirteenth of the island, called the Vineyard, at Pawtuxet, "which my father-in-law Mr. Roger Williams gave me." In 1670-71 he was a member of the town council. On August 21, 1671, he and Thomas Roberts were appointed to prize and transport the horse belonging to the town of Rhode Island and to deliver it to Joseph Torrey in payment for debts due from the town. On May 24, 1675, he drew lot eighteen in the division of lands. His last appearance on the public records is on July 1, 1679, when he was taxed one shilling, three pence.

John (1) Sayles married, in 1650, Mary Williams. (Williams II.) Children: 1. Mary, born January 11, 1652. 2. John (2), of whom further. 3. Isabel. 4. Phebe. 5. Eleanor. 6. Catherine, born in 1671. 7. Deborah (possibly).

(J. O. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 370. "American Families," Vol. XIX, pp. 250-51.)

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

II. John (2) Sayles, only son of John (1) and Mary (Williams) Sayles, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, August 17, 1654, and died August 2, 1727. He was admitted a freeman, May 3, 1681, and in 1688 served on the grand jury. On January 23, 1694, he had laid out to him thirty-five acres, "which land he had of his grandfather Mr. Roger Williams." From 1694 until 1706 he held the office of deputy to the General Assembly. On January 23, 1703, John (2) Sayles sold to Richard Phillips, dwelling house, barn and all lands and meadows at Mashapauge in Providence, for one hundred pounds, reserving forever two poles square, where several graves are contained about thirty rods west of the house, etc. On August 14, 1710, he was licensed to keep an inn or public house and sell liquor. He was taxed June 16, 1713, 16s. 8d. On January 29, 1722, he deeded to his daughter, Mary Smith, and son-in-law, William Smith, for love and good-will, a forty-foot lot on the west side of Town Street extending to the channel and also another small lot. His will, dated September 14, 1726, and proved August 21, 1727, bequeaths to son Thomas, ten acres and ten pounds; to son Richard, ten pounds; to daughter Mary Smith, forty shillings; to son John, "my homestead farm bought of Richard Phillips, with dwelling house, etc., 250 acres in all," and also to John, all movable goods. He also bequeaths the other lands equally to his three sons and to them money and bills of credit. His son John was appointed executor. The gravestones erected on the graves of John (2) Sayles, his wife Elizabeth, and son Daniel, are still to be seen in the old graveyard west of the railroad track, nearly opposite the foot of Earl Street.

John (2) Sayles married Elizabeth Olney. (Olney III.) Children: 1. Mary, born May 30, 1689. 2. John (3), of whom further. 3. Richard, born October 24, 1695, died after May, 1775; married (first) Mercy Phillips; (second) Alice (Ballou) Arnold, daughter of Maturin and Sarah Ballou, and widow of David Arnold; (third) Susanna (Ballou) Inman, daughter of James and Susanna (Whitman) Ballou, and widow of John Inman. 4. Daniel, born December 13, 1697. 5. Thomas, born February 9, 1699.

(J. O. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 370. W. R. Cutter: "New England Families," Vol. IV, p. 1914. "American Families," Vol. XIX, p. 251.)

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

III. John (3) Sayles, son of John (2) and Elizabeth (Olney) Sayles, was born January 13, 1692, and died September 16, 1777. He resided in Smithfield, Rhode Island, and was an influential member of the town, serving as town treasurer from 1731-51; as deputy in 1741, '42, '45; as town clerk in 1756, '57, '58, '59; and as a member of the town council in 1768. His will, dated May 10, 1774, and proved November 19, 1777, makes his wife Sarah executrix and bequeaths to her a lot of land and dwelling house in Providence, cow, a riding horse, great Bible and all personal estate which she brought when she came to live with him (except moneys) and half profits of "my homestead whereon I dwell, with best room and kitchen for life." To his grandson, Stukely Sayles, and his heirs he left "all my homestead farm." To his granddaughter, Leah Sayles, he bequeathed fifty Spanish milled dollars; to son Ezekiel, 6s.; to daughter Mercy Ballard, 7s.; to daughters Mary Ballou, Anne Sayles and Lydia Wheelock, a fifth each of the rest of his personal property, and a fifth to the children of daughter Elizabeth Mowry, and a fifth to the children of daughter Phebe Sayles. The executrix, by reason of her age, asked that Silvanus Sayles might assist her in administration, and he was appointed with her. Ezekiel Sayles was granted an appeal from the probate of the will by the town council provided he filed bond, his claim being that the will was made by unlawful solicitation. The inventory of his estate showed: A horse, eight cows, a pair of young oxen, a yearling bull, two yearling heifers, calf, colt, three hogs, two shoats, nine geese, pewter, china, Bible, Testament, spelling book, spinning wheel, hetchel, cheese tub, churn, one small silver grater, six silver spoons, three large silver spoons, warming pan, etc.

John (3) Sayles married (first), December 1, 1717, Elizabeth Comstock. (Comstock IV.) He married (second) Sarah, who died after 1777. Children, all of the first marriage: 1. Mercy, born July 19, 1718. 2. Elizabeth, born April 14, 1720. 3. Mary, of whom further. 4. Phebe, born February 26, 1723. 5. Anne, born December 9, 1724. 6. Ezekiel, born July 11, 1726. 7. John, born June 24, 1728. 8. Caleb, born May 4, 1730. 9. David, born July 24, 1731. 10. Lydia, born October 26, 1735.

(J. O. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 371.)

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

IV. Mary Sayles, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Comstock) Sayles, was born probably at Smithfield, Rhode Island, April 22, 1721, and died probably about 1811. She married Abraham Ballou. (Ballou IV.)

(*Ibid.*, p. 371. Adin Ballou: "An Elaborate History and Genealogy of the Ballous in America," p. 29.)

(The Olney Line)

Olney Arms—Or, three piles in base gules on a canton argent a mullet sable.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or an eagle's head in flames of fire proper, in the mouth a sprig vert.

Motto—*Silve probate leon.*

(J. H. Olney: "Genealogy of the Descendants of Thomas Olney," called "Olney Memorial," p. 2.)

Olney, as a surname, is thought to be of Saxon origin. Its use can be traced to the ninth century and may have been derived from local surroundings of the family. Some claim that the first to bear the name was Rogerus or Richard de Olney, who came to England with William the Conqueror and remained in the conquered land. This name appears in the Domesday Book, which describes the apportionment of land to the followers of William. Variations in spelling are Olnea, Ollnea, Oleney, Onley, Oligney, Oulney, Colney, and Oneye. In France are found Auldnay and Aulnay. According to Flavell Edmunds, in "Traces of History in the Names of Places," the word "Olney" is derived from *Oln* (from *Olan* or *Holegn*), the holly, and *Ey*, water, in the Anglo-Saxon language. The compounded word therefore means *holly-water*, evidently signifying a place where holly grew in abundance.

Prior to the Norman Conquest, there were three places in England named Olney—Olney Island, in the River Severn, half a mile from the town of Gloucester; Olney in Warwickshire; and Olney, a market town in the north part of Buckinghamshire on the border of Northamptonshire. The earliest members of the Olney family settled in the counties of Buckingham, Gloucester, Northampton, Warwick, and Middlesex. While it is apparent that the Olneys did not all spring from one ancestor, still, owing to their concentration within a small area, there could not have been many founders.

Among the interesting ancestors of the Olney family may be mentioned Henricus de Olneye, incumbent of the church of St. Nicholas, Eydon, Northamptonshire; Sir John de Olneye, whose name appears

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

twice in "The Roll of Arms of the Reign of Edward II," under the caption of Buckinghamshire; John Olney, sheriff of Leicestershire, 6th and 7th of Edward II; Sir John Olney, sheriff of London in 1432, Lord Mayor in 1446 (during 25th year of reign of Henry VI); and Sir William Olneye, Knight (1509-47.)

The city of Hertford, Hertfordshire, England, was the birthplace of Thomas Olney, ancestor of the Olneys in America, but of his immediate connections nothing seems to be known.

(J. H. Olney: "Genealogy of the Descendants of Thomas Olney," called "Olney Memorial," pp. 2, 4, 7-9.)

I. Thomas (1) Olney, immigrant ancestor, was born in Hertfordshire, England, in 1600 and died in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1682. He received a "Permit to emigrate to New England," April 2, 1635, and came to Salem, Massachusetts, in the ship "Planter." In January, 1636, Thomas Olney was appointed surveyor and granted forty acres of land at Jeffrey Creek (now Manchester). That same year he was made freeman and, owing to his sympathy with the views of Roger Williams, he was, with a number of others, excluded from the Colony, March 12, 1638. Seeking some place to live outside of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, this group founded a new settlement, at the head of the bay, which they named Providence, in grateful remembrance of their deliverance from their enemies. They thus became the "Original Thirteen Proprietors of Providence," having purchased their rights from the Indians.

Thomas (1) Olney was a man of prominence in the Colony. In 1638 he was chosen the first treasurer; in 1647 appointed commissioner to form a town government; in 1648 chosen assistant for Providence, holding office almost continuously until 1663; and in 1655, with Roger Williams and Thomas Harris, he was appointed a judge of the Justices' Court. In 1663 his name appears among the grantees of the Royal Charter of Charles II. Thomas (1) Olney was one of the founders of the First Baptist Church in Providence, being at one time acting pastor. Possessor of a large real and personal estate, he occupied one of the better homes in the Plantations.

Thomas (1) Olney married, in England, in 1631, Marie Small, born in 1605, died before 1679. Children: 1. Thomas (2), of whom further. 2. Epenetus, born in 1634, died June 3, 1698; mar-

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

ried, March 9, 1666, Mary Whipple. 3. Nebediah, born in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1637, baptized June 27, 1637, died July 7, 1659. 4. Stephen, born in 1639-40, died in 1689. 5. James, died probably October 17, 1676. 6. Mary, married, December 4, 1663, John Whipple, Jr. 7. Lydia, born in 1644, died September 9, 1724; married, November 26, 1669, Joseph Williams, son of Roger and Mary (Barnard) Williams.

(J. H. Olney: "Genealogy of the Descendants of Thomas Olney," called "Olney Memorial," pp. 11-14. James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. III, p. 313. J. O. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 352. Rhode Island Historical Society: "Chart of Mrs. John B. Lewis," compiled by Georgianna Guild.)

II. Thomas (2) Olney, son of Thomas (1) and Marie (Small) Olney, was born in England in 1632 and died in Providence, Rhode Island, June 11, 1722. He was a leading spirit in the Rhode Island Colony, and was constantly engaged in public affairs as assistant, 1669, '70, '77, '79; member of the town council for thirty years; member of the Colonial Assembly and town clerk. Ordained a minister in 1668, he served as pastor of the First Baptist Church until about 1710-15. He owned a large tract of land known as the Wenscot Farm. His will, which was probated July 9, 1722, follows:

I, THOMAS OLNEY, SENIOR, of the Towne of Providence in the Colony of Rhoad Island & Providence Plantations in New England, yeoman—being now grown antient and well-stricken in years,—But yet thro the Providence of God of sound and perfect mind and memory—Calling to mind the mortality of my body, etc.—am willing while I have time & opportunity to set my house in order; and therefore doe make this my Last Will & Testament in manner and form following:

I give and bequeath unto my son William Olney my two home lots, situate, Lieing and being in said Providence Towne, one of which Lotts was my father Thomas Olney his homestead, and lieth adjoyning on the north side of that which was the homestead Lott of Thomas Angel, deceased, and on the south side of that which was the homestead Lott of Robert Ide deceased,—the other of said Lott and lieth adjoyning on the north side of the highway which Leadeth from the Towne streets into the neck; being that Lott was originally the Lott of William Carpenter, deceased; Each Lott containing of about six acres and a halfe or seven acres of Land—and also the

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

Eastern End of that Lott of Land which was originally the house Lott or Homestead Lott of the aforesaid Robert Ide, and since the homestead of Richard Pray, deceased—the which I purchased of William Pray; from the Eastern end of said Lott to Extend Westward the whole breadth of said Lott—quite thro the Swamp, and until it comes half a pole Westward of a greate Rock which Lieth toward the north side of said Lott almost at the bottom of the hill next the Swamp; also my forty foot Lotts of Land Lyeing by the water-side on the west side of the said Towne streete;—to be unto him my aforesaid son William Olney and to the Lawful Heirs of his body begotten—To Have & To Hold with the Privileges and Appurtenances thereunto belonging.

But my will is and I hereby order that the Burieing-Place in my aforesaid father's homestead Lott where my father and mother and sum of my Children and many other of my Relations are buried,—and where I desire to be Layed myself,—there shall be Reserved a piece of Land of 5 poles square & fenced in Intire for that particular use; for my Children & Grandchildren and so to be Continued to these generations forever—with Free Liberty to Pass from the Said Towne Streete to and from said Burieing Place upon such occasions att all times.

Item—I give and bequeath unto my aforesaid son William Olney my two Rights and a half of Lands and Commons on the West side of the seven mile Line within the Township of Providence aforesaid—that is to say—that which was the original right of Mr. John Clarke, deceased, and my own Right—& half the Right of Wm. Arnold, deceased, and also two Rights and a Quarter of a Right in that which is called the State (?) Common, on the East side of the seven mile Line in said Providence—that is to say—Upon my own Right the Right of Mr. John Clarke & a quarter of the Right of William Arnold; To Have and To Hold the said Lands & Commons with the privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging—unto him my aforesaid son William Olney—his heirs etc.

Item—I give & bequeath unto my aforesaid son William Olney my meadow, Lieing upon the North side of WOONASQUATUCKET River in said Providence—called Arnold's Meadow & a small piece of meadow Lieing a Little (?) by the said River & also about Eleven or Twelve acres of Upland Lieing there—near adjoining where there was once an orchard—& also half my Right in the Thatch Beds in said Providence—Lieing on the South side of the Channel near against my salt meadow called Four-Stack Meadow, & also my Share in the fresh meadow Lieing up by MOSHASSUCK River in Providence aforesaid—Called the Greate Meadow—To Have and to Hold etc.

Item—I give & bequeath unto my aforesaid son William Olney my one hundred and fifty Acres of Land—Layed out together in one

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

Farme within that Tract or Purchase of Land Called (Les ? naig) withing the Jurisdiction of Providence aforesaid; To Have & To Hold etc.

Secondly—I Give & bequeath unto my Grandson Thomas Olney son of my son Thomas Olney deceased, the $\frac{1}{2}$ of my farme and Land at WENSTCOTT in said Providence being the Northern end of said farme and to extend so far Southward as the aforementioned dividing Line—which is to Run straight quite across said farme from the East side to the West side thereof the which Line is to divide the said farme in the middle, so that my said Grandson Thomas Olney shall have the one-half thereof & no more; with all the Buildings & Improvements thereon; on the North side of the said dividing line—to be unto him my aforesaid Grandson Thomas Olney and to the Lawful Heirs, etc.

But in case my aforesaid Grandson Thomas Olney shall dye without lawful Issue—then the said Lands, Buildings, & Improvements shall Revert & Come to his Brother my Grandson Obadiah Olney, etc.

But my Will is & I do hereby order that his Mother—my Daughter-in-Law Lydia Olney shall have the whole Rule of the Homestead there that my son Thomas Olney deceased left her in Possession of During the term of her natural Life as shee hath had hitherto—provided shee remain a widdow. But in case shee marry, then to be quitt of all. And my Will further is that My Grandson Obadiah Olney shall have a . . . being in the house with his brother Thomas until he can GIT a settlement of his own.

Item—I give and Bequeath unto my aforesaid Grandson Thomas Olney the $\frac{1}{2}$ of my salt meadow called Four Stack meadow in Providence aforesaid with the one half of my upland thereto adjoining, & the one half of my meadow behind the Greate Point and a Quarter parte of my thatch bed lieing on the South side of the Channel neare against the said Four Stack Meadow, to be unto him my aforesaid Grandson Thomas Olney & to the Lawful Heirs of his body begotten, and in default of such issue—then the said meadow Lands and Thatch beds with the Privileges thereunto belonging—to Revert and come to his Brother my Grandson Obadiah Olney etc.

I give and Bequeath unto my aforesaid Grandson Thomas Olney all my one hundred and ninety-six acres of Land being Layed out in one farme, etc—is situate Lieing and Being on the westward side of the 7 mile Line within the Township of Providence aforesaid and neere the Collony Line by Killingly Road. To be unto him, etc. (In default of such issue—to go to his brother my Grandson Obadiah Olney.)

I give & Bequeath unto my Grandson Obadiah Olney all my whole Tract of Land and farme—situated & lieing att a Place Called

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

“Observation”—within the Towneship of Providence aforesaid and on the East side of the 7 mile Line—to be unto him etc. But in Case he shall dye and leave the said lands undisposed of as aforesaid, then the said Lands shall be & Remaine to the Lawful Heirs of his body begotten; & in default of such issue, there the whole of the said Lands to Revert & Come to my Grandson his brother Thos. Olney, etc.

Item—I Give and bequeath unto my aforesaid Grandson Obadiah Olney all that my 150 acres of Land Layed out together in one farme on the west side of the seven mile line within the Township of Providence aforesaid, & lieing not far from a place called the Round Hill to be unto him etc.

Item—I Give & bequeath unto him my aforesaid Grandson Obadiah Olney the one halfe of my salt meadow called Four Stack Meadow in sd. Providence, with the one halfe of my upland thereunto adjoyning, and the one half of my meadow behind the Greate Points, and also $\frac{1}{4}$ parte of my Right in the Thatch Beds Lieing on the South Side of the Channel neere against the aforesaid Four Stack Meadow—to be unto him etc. (In default of issue—to Revert to his Brother—my grandson Thomas Olney, etc.)

And my Will is that all the Lands & Meadows I have given to my aforesaid Grandson Obadiah Olney: the profit and benefit thereof shall be to his Use benefit and behalf immediately after my decease; & that he shall, with the advice of the Towne Council of Providence aforesaid, Choose Guardians for the management of the same to his Use till he Come of Age.

Item—I give and bequeath unto my aforesaid two Grandsons Thos Olney and Obadiah Olney the one halfe of my Right in the Commons called the State Commons on the Eastward side of the 7 mile line in Providence aforesaid; to be Equally divided betwixt them, and to be unto them, their Heirs, etc.

4thly—I Give and bequeath unto my Grandson Thomas Olney, son of my son William Olney—all that my Certaine Tract of Land & farme Lieing and being on the East side of the 7 mile Line in Providence aforesaid att a place called WINNEHWOAGUE (?) neere to the Dwelling house of Edward Hawkings to Have & to Hold etc.

5thly—As to all my other Lands & Commons that I shall leave undisposed of att the time of my death, I doe Give and bequeath unto my two Grandsons namely Obadiah Olney and Richard Olney—to be Equally divided betwixt them, and to be unto them etc.

6thly—I Give and bequeath unto my Son in Law John Waterman my Law Booke Called “Cooke upon Littleton”—And I doe also Give my dau Anne Waterman one piece of eight—to be paid by her by my Executor.

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

And after all my debts funeral Charges and other Expenses are duly paid, what thereafter Remaines of my moveable Estate & other Goods be it of what sor & kind soever, I doe freely Give it unto my son William Olney; and I doe name—ordain and appoint my said son Wm. Olney my sole Executor to this my Last Will & Testament.

In Witness whereof I do hereunto sett my hand & seale this 20th day of February—In the 8th yeare of his Majesty's Reign—George King of Great Brittan, etc. & in the yeare of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and twenty one or two.

THOS. OLNEY, SENIOR (Seal)

Signed Sealed etc in Presence of us

NATHLL JENCKES

JAMES BROWNE

JAMES DEXTER

Thomas (2) Olney married, July 3, 1660, Elizabeth March, of Newport, Rhode Island, who died before 1722. Children: 1. Thomas, born May 4, 1661. 2. William, born June 25, 1663. 3. Elizabeth, of whom further. 4. Anne, born January 13, 1668. 5. Phebe, born September 15, 1675.

(*Ibid.* "Representative Men and Old Families of Rhode Island," Vol. I, p. 59. "Providence, Rhode Island, Wills," Book II, p. 126.)

III. *Elizabeth Olney*, daughter of Thomas (2) and Elizabeth (March) Olney, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, January 31, 1666, and died there, November 2, 1699. She married John (2) Sayles. (Sayles II.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Comstock Line)

It is thought that the surname Comstock is derived from the little village of Culmstock in Devonshire, England. Culmstock lies along the small stream Culm for which it is named. In the time of William the Conqueror the name is spelled Colmstocke in the Domesday Book. In Taunton, about ten miles from Culmstock, there were among the early priors, Richard de Colmstocke, elected in 1325, and Ralph de Colmstocke, elected in 1331, resigned in 1338. From authentic English records it is learned that the name existed in England at the time of the settlement of New England.

(Cyrus B. Comstock: "A Comstock Genealogy," p. 1.)

I. *William Comstock*, American progenitor, came from England with his second wife and settled in Wethersfield, Connecticut, having

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

probably followed the emigration at that time from Watertown to Wethersfield. Later he removed to New London, Connecticut. The Wethersfield record gives "The 2d month and 28th day 1641, the lands of William Comstock which he purchased of Rich. Miller on Connecticut River one piece whereupon a barn with two cellars and other buildings standeth as it is now fenced two acres or more."

William Comstock was granted, June 21, 1647, a lot (at Pequot, by the Crown), also ten acres of upland, and ten acres on the east side of the great river (Thames). On December 2, 1651, he was granted additional land by the town. At a New London town meeting held November 10, 1650, William Comstock voted to coöperate with John Winthrop in erecting a cornmill.

William Comstock was twice married, the name of his first wife being unknown. He married (second) Elizabeth. Children: 1. John, died at Lyme, Connecticut, in 1680; married Abigail. 2. Samuel (1), of whom further. 3. Daniel, died at New London, Connecticut, in 1685; married Paltiah Elderkin. 4. Christopher, died December 28, 1702; married, October 6, 1663, Hannah Platt. 5. Elizabeth, died in July, 1659; married, in January, 1651, Edward Shipton, of Saybrook, Connecticut.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8. J. O. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 280.)

II. *Samuel (1) Comstock*, son of William Comstock, died about 1660. In 1653, when war with the Dutch was imminent, Samuel (1) Comstock went on the "Swallow" "frigott" to Block Island and seized the goods and the people then appertaining to a Dutch captain, Kempo Sybando, and took them to New London, apparently to Governor John Winthrop. That same year Samuel (1) Comstock was in Rhode Island. March 1, 1654, John Smith sold his house and lot in Providence, Rhode Island, to Samuel Comstock. The town council of Providence took action about the estates of Samuel Comstock and John Smith deceased on March 9, 1660. On May 4, 1661, Anne Smith, of Providence, widow of John Smith, formerly wife of Samuel Comstock, deceased, sold to Roger Mowey the house and home share of her husband, Samuel Comstock. It comprised four acres in a row of houses in the north part of Providence.

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

Samuel (1) Comstock married Anne, who was living February 10, 1667, and who married (second), after his death, John Smith, the mason. Children: 1. Samuel (2), of whom further. 2. Daniel, born May 12, 1656.

(Cyrus B. Comstock: "A Comstock Genealogy," p. 6. J. O. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 280.)

III. Samuel (2) Comstock, son of Samuel (1) and Anne Comstock, was born at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1654, and died May 27, 1727. On July 1, 1679, he was taxed eight pence. He served as deputy in 1702, '07, '08, '11, and on May 6, 1702, was appointed on a committee by the Assembly to audit the general treasurer's account and other Colony debts. In April, 1708, he was appointed on a committee to fix the rates of grain and other specie brought to the treasury. Ensign Samuel Comstock was a deputy from Providence, May 6, 1707. Captain Richard Arnold, Samuel Comstock and others obtained, April 14, 1707, a grant of land at Woonsocket Hill, Rhode Island. Samuel Comstock and Richard Arnold (whose sister Elizabeth was Samuel's wife) were the first settlers at Woonsocket, Rhode Island. He resided in Providence, but in 1731 a part was set off as Smithfield. At the time of his death Samuel (2) Comstock was called captain. His will was dated December 21, 1726, and proved September 18, 1727, his wife Elizabeth being named executrix. The will of his wife, dated April 10, 1745, was proved December 8, 1747.

Samuel (2) Comstock married, November 22, 1678, Elizabeth Arnold, daughter of Thomas and Phebe (Parkhurst) Arnold, who was born in Watertown, Massachusetts, and died October 20, 1747. Children: 1. Samuel, born April 16, 1679, died April 1, 1727; married Ann Inman. 2. Hazadiah, born April 16, 1682, died February 21, 1764; married (first) Catharine Pray, who died November 27, 1728; (second), August 10, 1730, Martha Balcom. 3. Thomas, born November 7, 1684, died in 1761; married, July 9, 1713, Mercy Jenckes. 4. Daniel, born July 19, 1686, died December 22, 1768; married twice, his second wife being Elizabeth Buffum, whom he married, August 2, 1730. 5. Elizabeth, of whom further. 6. John, born March 26, 1693, died January 12, 1749; married (first) Esther Jenckes; (second) Sarah Dexter. 7. Ichabod, born June 9, 1696, died January 26, 1775; married (first), September 13, 1722, Zibiah



Bellw
(Ballou)

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

Wilkinson; (second), March 26, 1747, Elizabeth Boyce. 8. Job, born April 4, 1699; married (first) Phebe Jenckes; (second), November 22, 1735, Phebe Balcolm.

(J. O. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," pp. 280-81. Cyrus B. Comstock: "A Comstock Genealogy," pp. 11, 14, 19, 22.)

IV. Elizabeth Comstock, daughter of Samuel (2) and Elizabeth (Arnold) Comstock, was born December 18, 1690. She married John (3) Sayles. (Sayles III.)

(J. O. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 281.)

(The Ballou Line)

Bellew-Ballou Arms—Sable fretty or.

Crest—An arm embowed habited the hand proper grasping a chalice pouring water (*belle eau* in allusion to the name, *Bella Aqua* or Bellew), into a basin also proper.

Motto—*Tout d'en haut.*

(Burke: "General Armory.")

While for several generations the universal tradition was held by the Ballou family that it is of French Huguenot descent, it is not substantiated by any evidence found, and is abandoned by the family historian, Adin Ballou, who further says: "The very strong probability, if not absolute certainty, is, that we are the remote descendants of a Norman chieftain, who, in 1066, came over from France into England with William the Conqueror." Extensive research has been made in England and France, without discovering the ancestry of Maturin Ballou, the emigrant to America. Guinebond Balou, French ancestor of the Anglo-Norman Ballous, was probably a marshal in the army of William the Conqueror, and fought in the decisive battle of Hastings, in 1066. Some of his descendants dwelt until late in the fourteenth century in Sussex, England, where they were extensive landlords and held important governmental offices, both in State and church. Later many of them settled in other counties of England and in Ireland, and held large Baronial estates there. In England and Ireland the aristocratic Bellowes have preserved an unbroken descent of domains and titles for at least six hundred years, and in Devonshire they have long enjoyed distinguished heritages and honor. The emigrant ancestor, Maturin Ballou, was almost certainly "the younger son of a younger son of a good family in Devonshire, England," and, like all the unendowed offshoots of feudal nobility, had to seek his

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

fortune for himself, and chose to emigrate to America. The name, as may readily be seen from the pronunciation, is variously spelled Ballou, Bellew, Bellow.

(Adin Ballou: "An Elaborate History and Genealogy of the Ballous in America," pp. v-vi.)

I. Maturin Ballou, born probably in England between 1610 and 1620, was a coproprietor of the Providence Plantations in the Colony of Rhode Island. The earliest recorded document of the Colony, which mentions Maturin Ballou, is an agreement dated 19 of 11 mo. 1645 (January 19, 1646, new style) signed by twenty-eight persons: "We . . . having obtained a free grant of twenty-five acres of land apiece, . . . promise to yield active and passive obedience to authority of King and Parliament, . . . also not to claim any right to the purchase of the said plantations, nor any privilege of vote in town affairs until we shall be received as freemen of the said town of Providence." Maturin Ballou is one of the twenty-eight signers. "At a Meeting at Warwick, May 18th, 1658, Robert Pyke and Maturin Ballue were admitted freemen." The home-lots of Maturin Ballou and Robert Pike, his father-in-law, appear to have been located on or near the little Moshassuck River, probably "near the site of the present (1888) dam." This was in the northerly section of the town as originally settled. Various parcels of out-lands were subsequently assigned to them. Maturin Ballou had land laid out to him as late as February 24, 1661; a receipt from Roger Williams to Widow Belleau is dated 31, 11, '62 (January 31, 1663); he must have died between those two dates.

Maturin Ballou married Hannah Pike, daughter of Robert and Catherine Pike, who was born probably in Providence, Rhode Island, between 1646-49, and died about 1714-15. She is mentioned as having a lot beyond Loquasquussuck, May 6, 1673, her father securing one at the same time. Children, all probably born in Providence: 1. John, of whom further. 2. James, born about 1652, died probably in 1741 or soon after; married, July 20, 1683, Susanna Whitman. (Whitman I, Child 3.) 3. Peter, born about 1654, died September 1, 1731; married Barbara. 4. Hannah, born about 1656, died unmarried. 5. Nathaniel, born about 1658, died in early manhood. 6. Samuel, born about 1660, drowned June 10, 1669.

(*Ibid.*, pp. vi, l.)

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

II. John Ballou, son of Maturin and Hannah (Pike) Ballou, was born, it is conjectured, about 1650, in Providence, Rhode Island, and died probably in 1714. He was admitted a freeman in 1671, and seems to have spent several years of his boyhood in Portsmouth or Newport, Rhode Island. The General Assembly, at the October session in 1684, issued the following order: "John Ballou is allowed three pounds in—or as money to be paid by the General Treasurer for his cure of his wound in the late Indian War." John Ballou owned several parcels of land which provided a spacious homestead, where he and his second wife spent most of their lives.

John Ballou married (first) Hannah Larkin, daughter of Edward Larkin. He was divorced from his first wife by authority of the Colonial General Assembly, May 2, 1676, and he married (second), January 4, 1678-79, Hannah Garrett (*alias* Jarrett), of Rhode Island. Children of the second marriage: 1. John, Jr., of whom further. 2. Maturin, born probably in 1685; married (first) Sarah Arnold; married (second), in 1759, Mary Cooper. 3. Peter, born in Providence, Rhode Island, August 1, 1689; will dated April 18, 1754; married, May 13, 1714, Rebecca Esten. 4. Sarah, born in Providence, probably in 1692 or later; probably died unmarried. 5. Hannah, probably died in infancy. 6. Abigail, born in Providence, probably about 1695; married, June 7, 1713, John Albrough.

(Adin Ballou: "An Elaborate History and Genealogy of the Ballous in America," pp. 18-21, 32, 35-36, 38. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Rhode Island," Vol. III, p. 2303.)

III. John Ballou, Jr., son of John and Hannah (Garrett) Ballou, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, August 26, 1683, and died December 7, 1765. He resided near his uncle, James Ballou, and inherited a generous share of his father's lands. His real estate eventually came to his children through gift or sale. John Ballou, Jr., represented Smithfield as deputy to the General Assembly in 1739, and held several additional local offices. His will, dated April 19, 1755, bequeaths to his son, Peter, the remaining half of his homestead, and indicated distribution of his personal estate among his children.

John Ballou, Jr., married, February 5, 1713-14, Samuel Wilkinson, justice of the peace, officiating, Naomi Inman, daughter of John

WILLIAMS AND ALLIED LINES

and Mary (Whitman) Inman. Children: 1. John, born in Providence (a part later called Smithfield), Rhode Island; married Elizabeth Philips. 2. Abraham, of whom further. 3. David, born in Louisquisset, then Providence, Rhode Island, and afterwards Smithfield; probably died young. 4. Mary, born in Louisquisset; married, April 1, 1734, Joseph Lapham. 5. Sarah, born in Louisquisset; married, in 1730, Daniel Sprague. 6. Tabitha, born in Louisquisset; married Manasseh Kempton. 7. Peter, born in Louisquisset; married Mrs. Alice Mowry.

(Adin Ballou: "An Elaborate History and Genealogy of the Ballous in America," pp. 31, 56-59. J. N. Arnold: "Vital Record of Rhode Island," Vol. II, p. 12 (Providence Marriages). J. O. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," pp. 12, 326-27.)

IV. Abraham Ballou, son of John Ballou, Jr., and Naomi (Inman) Ballou, was born in Louisquisset, Rhode Island (then Providence, later Smithfield, and now Lincoln, Rhode Island). He, with his wife, settled in Glocester, Rhode Island, about 1752, on land given him by his father. Then, for a while, he lived on an estate he purchased and later sold, but eventually he established his home on an extensive tract which he took up, some of it later known as Slaterville. No record of his death has been found, but circumstances point to the probability of its being during his middle age.

Abraham Ballou married, about March 3, 1739, with Daniel Jenckes, town clerk, officiating, Mary Sayles, who died at an advanced age. (Sayles IV.) Children: 1. Simeon, of whom further. 2. David, married Mary Smith. 3. Phebe, married, April 15, 1761, John Smith.

(Adin Ballou: "An Elaborate History and Genealogy of the Ballous in America," p. 57.)





American Historical Socy.

Steel Engraving by Finlay & Conn

Thomas H. Stephens.

Stephens Family

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO.



STEPHENS and its numerous variants, including Stephen, Stephenson and Stephan, are baptismal names, indicating "the son of Stephen." These names were enormously popular in the hereditary surname period, and, as a consequence, have endless representatives, such as Stevens, Stevenson, Stimpson and Stinson, in the directories of today. The great home of the Stephens family in England is in Cornwall, although the name appears frequently in Sussex, South Wales and Hereford. The name was introduced after the Conquest, it is said. The Stephens of Tregenna (Tregony) in Cornwall are descended from the ancient Stephyns of St. Ives, in the reign of Edward IV. St. Ives was erected into a borough by Philip and Mary, in 1558. In 1751 the Stephens family, long stewards of the Earls of Buckinghamshire, began to assert itself. During the long reign of George III, a severe contest for influence over elections was waged between the two families. In 1806 the highest number of votes went to Stephens. Tregony was made into a borough under Queen Elizabeth in 1562. In Cornwall bearers of the name number one hundred and sixty to 10,000 inhabitants. An early pedigree for Stephens of Tregony is recorded as follows: I. Jo. Stevens. II. Tho. Stevens, of Dulo in Cornwall, married Joane, daughter of Collicotte. III. Tho. Stevens, their son, of Tregony, was living in 1620. He married Jane, daughter of Tho. Cock of Bodmin, in Cornwall. Their children were: 1. Henry Stephens (so recorded). 2. John. 3. Arthur. 4. Rafe. 5. Richard. 6. Elizbeth. 7. Agnes.

Stephens Arms—Quarterly 1st and 4th, gules, a sword erect between three five-pointed stars argent; 2d and 3d, argent on a mount vert an ox statant proper charged with a star of five points argent.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, a cubit arm, vested gules, holding an open book proper.
Motto—*Consilio et armis.* (Arms in possession of the family.)

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames."
H. B. Guppy: "Homes of Family Names in Great Britain," pp. 59-60,
554. S. Baring-Gould: "Cornish Characters and Strange Events,"

STEPHENS FAMILY

pp. 524-25. "The Visitations of Cornwall, 1530, 1573, 1620," with additions by Lieut.-Col. J. L. Vivian, p. 445.)

I. Joseph H. Stephens, earliest known member of the family of our interest, was born in County Cornwall, England, before 1830, and died in Michigan, in 1865. He was a mining engineer and, as a young man, he was sent to Michigan to take charge of the Clifton Copper Mine, in which he was killed.

Joseph H. Stephens married, in the United States, Elizabeth Bishop, who was born in Redruth, County Cornwall, England, and came early to this country. She survived her husband until 1874, when she passed away in the same vicinity as Mr. Stephens. They were the parents of twelve children, including: 1. Thomas Henry, of whom further.

(Family data.)

II. Thomas Henry Stephens, son of Joseph H. and Elizabeth (Bishop) Stephens, was born at Clifton, Michigan, January 20, 1863, and died in Detroit, Michigan, October 23, 1932. A man whose activities and achievements extended into many departments of American life, Thomas Henry Stephens was a business man of note, a capitalist and a financier. He centered his many undertakings in Detroit. Here, in the course of an orderly progression of developments, there grew, under his direction, the great Greenslade Oil Company, of which he was president. Wise and judicious in his methods, he possessed at the same time a strong public spirit and a deep sense of integrity, and his many fine qualities combined to make his career useful to a high degree. In his personal relationships he was kindly, considerate, and thoughtful of others. His life was well lived and exemplary.

Thomas Henry Stephens was scarcely two years of age when his father died, and only ten when his mother's life ended. He received his early education in the public schools of Clifton, Michigan, and, at the age of sixteen years, he obtained a position as a bookkeeper with R. S. Patterson, a wholesale jeweler, at Port Huron, Michigan. He continued his work for Mr. Patterson for three years. Then, in further preparation for the responsibilities he was destined to undertake in future years, he took a course at the Detroit Business College,

STEPHENS FAMILY

from which he was graduated in 1882. His next work was as bookkeeper with Stephen B. Drummond, former mayor of Detroit. He held that position for a year, then was bookkeeper for three years, in the employ of John Greenslade. Eventually, he was given an interest in the earnings of the company, which controlled a large vinegar and oil business, and in 1889 he purchased the business of his former employer and organized the Greenslade Oil Company. This enterprise carried on a manufacturing and wholesale business and, in addition, retailed in extensive quantities all kinds and types of oil. At that period, incidentally, three carloads of gasoline were sufficient to supply Detroit's needs for one year.

Later, Mr. Stephens' company became agents for W. H. Doan and Company, bringing the first carload of gasoline in the 'eighties of the last century. The steady development of the business made it one of the chief oil, gas and grease organizations of Detroit. Mr. Stephens himself headed the enterprise as its president until he sold the company, on September 1, 1927, to the Sun Oil Company. He was a pioneer in oil work on a large scale; his firm was one of the few to survive the Standard Oil Company competition. His plans were carefully formulated and executed, and his sound business judgment was manifest in the substantial results that followed all his efforts. The birth and amazing growth of the automotive industries, of course, proved a gigantic boon to the whole oil business, but, with the competition that developed, it was no easy task for Mr. Stephens to establish his company and keep it on such a lastingly solid basis of operation.

Aside from his activities in the commercial world, Mr. Stephens was a leader in civic and social life and an affiliate in many important enterprises. He belonged to the Detroit Club and the Detroit Athletic Club. Fond of golf, he also held membership in the Detroit Golf Club and the Oakland Hills Country Club. His participation in the programs of these groups was of great value to them and to his fellow-citizens, as were his fraternal connections. He was a member of the Free and Accepted Masons, in which order he was associated with Palestine Lodge, No. 357; Peninsular Chapter, No. 16, Royal Arch Masons; Monroe Council, No. 1, Royal and Select Masters; Detroit Commandery, Knights Templar; Detroit Consistory, Ancient

STEPHENS FAMILY

Accepted Scottish Rite; and Moslem Temple, Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. In both the Lochmoor and Oakland Hills Country clubs, he was a charter member.

Quite apart from his business and organization affiliations, which were many, Mr. Stephens was fond of travel both in foreign lands and within the borders of the United States. His motor car played an important part in many of these journeys, both here and abroad, for he always took it with him, motoring through Switzerland and up the Alpine peaks, as well as in the more level parts of Europe. On these trips his devoted wife was always his companion. He was particularly fond of his home life and family, although he also greatly enjoyed his associations with close friends. He loved animals, especially dogs, taking in homeless ones and sheltering them; he was the possessor of a spirit that could harm no living creature. He had four dogs, all adopted from the streets, and they found his home a haven.

Thomas Henry Stephens married, September 18, 1893, Evelyn Greenslade, a foster-daughter of John Greenslade, a native of Somersetshire, England, and an early settler of Detroit. He was Mr. Stephens' predecessor in the Greenslade Oil Company. Mr. Greenslade is now deceased. Mr. and Mrs. Stephens had no children of their own, but Mr. Stephens had the care of a child, and he gave to many other little ones the most loving affection. Mrs. Stephens always aided him in his good works, for both were intensely charitable and public-spirited, keenly feeling an obligation to help those less fortunate than themselves.

Mr. Stephens, at his death, October 23, 1932, was survived by his wife and by two sisters, nine of the twelve children of his parents having predeceased him. He had been active until the day of his passing. His death was most unexpected; he played eighteen holes of golf on the day before he died. His whole life had been one of strong and continuous action. He was a hard worker, and left no stone unturned to advance the projects that he believed worthy of accomplishment. And he died as he had lived, still carrying forward the plans he had for years given his major thought and energies to promote. He will be long remembered by those who knew him, and his memory will linger through the years, a source of satisfaction, joy and inspiration to others.



Evelyn S. Stephens

Lyon Gardiner Tyler, Historian, Educator, Author

BY THE EDITOR



LYON GARDINER TYLER had a place and an interest in the work of this organization over a long period of time, and it was our privilege to publish his "Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography" two decades ago. His passing made it our solemn duty to pay tribute to one whose conception of scholarship was so elevated that nothing short of perfection satisfied him, whose love for Virginia and things Virginian reached the level of his passionate devotion to the memory of his father, and whose contribution to American historical literature was so notable as to be outstanding. As we were gathering the facts of his life for orderly review, and as the memories of past years crowded about, recreating an arresting and charming personality to whom goodbye was due in the printed word that was his familiar medium, there came an editorial from "The Richmond News Leader"* that to us must be the beginning and the end of editorial comment upon the life of Lyon Gardiner Tyler. It has not been surpassed, it has not been equalled, in anything that we have seen. Permission was sought and granted to present it to readers of "Americana," and it is quoted in full, in the belief that we have thus best acknowledged our debt of affection for a friend to whom we were bound by respect, admiration, and mutual interests, and have thus pictured his career in its true significance to those who did not know the depth and strength of its course.

A RESTORER OF PATHS

Dr. Lyon Gardiner Tyler embodied a great tradition. Although his death last evening was not unexpected, since few men survive pneumonia at 82, the news of his passing will be read by many with a peculiar wrenching of heart and in the grim knowledge that another tie which bound Virginia to her heroic past has been severed.

John Tyler had been out of the White House only a little more than eight years when Lyon Gardiner Tyler was born in August, 1853.

* February 13, 1935.

LYON GARDINER TYLER

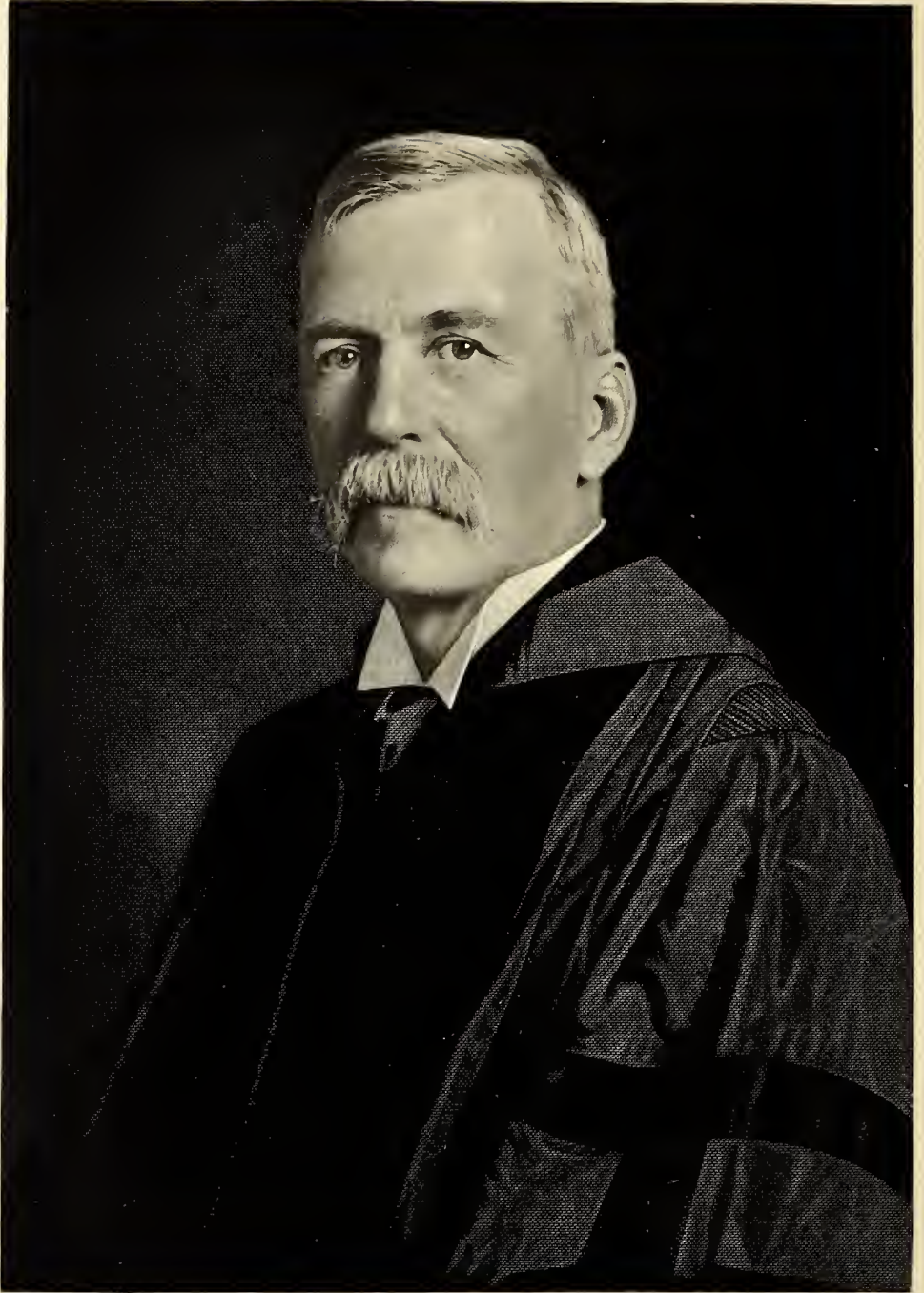
Outwardly, the Union was strong. The compromise of 1850 had not been broken. Northern and Southern Democrats were still of one mind. President Tyler's second marriage to a brilliant New York woman had been in itself an evidence in 1844 that sectionalism had not divided the Union.

By the time young Lyon Tyler came to political consciousness, all this was changed. His earliest memories must have been of the gathering storm, and the picture he had of his father doubtless was that of a venerable and dignified statesman, striving to preserve the federation of the states yet willing to sacrifice everything for the honor of Virginia. All the world knew that an era had ended when John Tyler, returning from the futile "peace conference" in Washington, rose in the Virginia convention of 1861 and, with all the prestige of his great name and his former office, declared himself for secession. In his grave words, on which the convention hung breathlessly, men heard "ancestral voices prophesying war."

The overwhelming tragedy of those dreadful times was reflected in the fate of the Tyler family. Maritally, it was a "house divided." The widow of the ex-President went home to Staten Island when hostilities began, and with her she took her children. Lyon Tyler, destined to be one of the staunchest historical defenders of the Southern cause, first read of the war through the columns of New York papers. When Appomattox set a dark period to the last bloody chapter, Sherwood Forest, the Tyler estate in Charles City County, was a looted ruin. Raiding troopers had despoiled it and had left the floors of the old house littered with family papers that recorded no inconsiderable part of the history of the Nation.

It was characteristic of Lyon Tyler, in that era of ruin, that his first thought should have been to equip himself scholastically for the changed life of Virginia. He entered the University of Virginia when Gildersleeve walked the Range, as Hellenist should, with a Spartan limp. Colonel Venable and Colonel Peters were there, to tell, too, of Homeric struggles. The powerful intellect of John B. Minor was shaping the thought of boys who, in the ravaged wilderness that had been Virginia, still cherished their cultured inheritance. In that great school, Lyon Tyler was graduated in 1875 with the Master's degree, which then represented as lofty an academic standard, probably, as America maintained. The date is of some significance in its relation to Lyon Tyler's historical labors, for it was almost the eve of the introduction of graduate study and of scientific methods of research in the United States.

As instinct had drawn him to the University of Virginia, so impulse carried Lyon Tyler in 1877 to William and Mary, as profes-



Lewis Historical Pub. Co.

Eng. by L. G. Williams & Son, N. Y.

Lyon Gardiner Tyler

LYON GARDINER TYLER

sor of belles-lettres, the very name a survival. Williamsburg had been the scene of his grandfather's first challenge of British misrule; Sherwood Forest was only a little distance away; all around on the desolate Peninsula were reminders that the war was no further removed in time than we of today are distant from the death of Harding. A fitting place it was for the labors of the young and determined scholar, yet, at the moment, an academic death-house. Old Colonel Benjamin Ewell, whose very face told the story of the South's calamity, was struggling vainly to keep the college alive. Students were a thin *cadre*, mustered chiefly from the surrounding counties. The college buildings, wrecked and burned during the struggle, had been repaired only to the extent that they were pronounced habitable.

For a little more than a year, Lyon Tyler taught there and then he went away to Memphis—not to abandon the college but to find means of restoring it. In 1882 he was back in Richmond, practicing law and deep already in historical researches. He had caught, withal, something of General Lee's vision of vocational education, and he had seen in four sessions as principal of a high school at Memphis the need of equipping those future industrial soldiers of the South who could never hope to enter college. It was in this spirit that he joined with Overton Howard in reviving the Virginia Mechanics' Institute. Although he left no record of the fact, who can doubt that he was the more readily prompted to this service by the knowledge that it had been in the old building of the Institute on Ninth Street, destroyed in the evacuation fire of April, 1865, that his father had defended the sovereignty of Virginia? Largely through his appeal, the city appropriated funds for the night school. A path was opened before the ambitious feet of Richmond boys.

Meantime, silence had fallen on the corridors of Their Majesties' college in Williamsburg. Those who should have thronged its classrooms were plowing stubborn fields, or struggling in the cities for a disputed livelihood. The elder sons of William and Mary were too poor to send their own boys there. The best that dauntless Colonel Ewell could do was to ride into town on enrollment day and, with his feeble hands, to pull the bell-rope in the college tower. One student was annually matriculated in order that the old charter might be kept alive, and then the college halls were left again to the bats and the echoes. There was no railway down the Peninsula until 1881, the year the college suspended. The damage done to the Richmond road by McClellan's army had never been wholly repaired. From

LYON GARDINER TYLER

Jamestown, which had given it birth, and from the field of victory at Yorktown, which it had helped to make possible, William and Mary was cut off almost as completely as it had been 150 years before. Brave Colonel Ewell still rang the bell . . . but the path to the door was overgrown with weeds.

No true-born Tyler could divorce himself wholly from politics, certainly not one who had the challenging mind of Lyon Tyler. In 1887 he won a seat from Richmond in the house of delegates and proceeded forthwith to seek state support for William and Mary. By the finest effort and the most skillful diplomacy, he prevailed on the general assembly to appropriate \$10,000 for the college, and in 1888 he became the logical successor of Colonel Ewell as president. The State, acclaiming the choice, acquiesced in Colonel Peters' endorsement that "a man more fit for the position could not be found in America." Within a year, students were returning by the reopened path. The rest, to Dr. Tyler's retirement in 1919, is a fine and familiar story of progress, notable no less for the spirit which the president infused once more into William and Mary than for the additions he made to its plant and to its financial support.

It was not enough for Lyon Tyler to restore the Virginia Mechanics' Institute and to reopen the College of William and Mary. His devotion to the memory of his maligned father sharpened his inborn power of analysis and of synthesis. Those who knew him only in his later years, when he delighted to take down his armor of controversy and to joust with some overconfident historian, must not confuse his *jeu d'esprit* on those occasions with the quality of his serious researches. We have remarked that he was graduated from the University of Virginia just before Gildersleeve and scholars of like mind introduced graduate study in America. Lyon Tyler, with Alexander Brown and Philip Alexander Bruce, were the first to apply the new methods to Virginia history. They succeeded historians who, though conscientious and diligent, did not have the apparatus and did not apply the technique of modern research. The publication of Lyon Tyler's "Letters and Times of the Tylers" (1884) preceded by six years the appearance of Alexander Brown's "Genesis of the United States" and by eleven years Philip Alexander Bruce's "Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century." Without attempting comparisons among them, it may be said that these were the three major works, as distinguished from doctoral dissertations, that opened the new period of scientific historiography in Virginia. In the judgment of many students, Dr. Tyler's most notable single historical work was "The English in America," published in 1905 as one of the volumes in the important series, "The American Nation," edited by Albert Bushnell Hart.

LYON GARDINER TYLER

Dr. Tyler was not content to hew his own way through source materials that often were a jungle of confusion. In the spirit of the true educator, he sought to blaze the trail for future investigators. He founded in 1892 the "William and Mary Quarterly," which became a great depository for documents previously unpublished, and after the direction of that work passed to the college, he established "Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine." It is enough to say of these periodicals that when Dr. E. G. Swem came to select the serials that should be included in his indispensable "Virginia Historical Index," he unhesitatingly included both those that Dr. Tyler had edited. Students will be permanently Dr. Tyler's debtors for those magazines, and scarcely less for his pioneer labors in preserving the crumbling county records of Virginia. We do no violence to the scientific verities when we say that he was the Pertz of Virginia.

He will be buried in that Virginia Walhalla, the "President's Hill" of Hollywood, overlooking the river that was to him both Rhine and Jordan. None will dispute his right to rest with his father, close by the tomb of Monroe and near the grave of Maury. We do not know what inscription will be placed on his stone, but when we remember how he set in the way of advancement the steps of Richmond mechanics, and cleared the road to William and Mary, and made a track through the forgotten records of Virginia, we could wish to have graven in granite over his head these words of Isaiah: *"And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths"*



Arts and Crafts in Essex County

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THE following survey of arts and crafts of Essex County is based on a belief that the historian must correlate the complementing methods of art-critic and archæologist. The latter constructs his idea of a past civilization upon the objects of his discoveries, the former builds his criticism on a determination as to whether or not a given object fits with the accepted taste of the day—usually the day of the critic. It is the aim of this chapter to discover ideas of Essex County people in terms of the arts and crafts which are evident and conversely to explain their arts and crafts in terms of known political and economic history. The ideas of the county are essentially the ideas of the region, but the arts to be discussed will be drawn from within the county boundaries; to this extent the history is local.

Arts and crafts, as used here, refer to two different qualities which are often found within the same object. Craft is the manual science or convention by which an object is produced, and the craftsman is a competent worker who may execute his own design (in which respect he is also an artist) or who merely carries out the design of another, the artist. Art is the form which an object is given which is dictated by the thought of the craftsman, or artist, in accordance with his understanding of the requirements of the object and of its fitness to its surroundings, in accordance, also, with his taste or prejudice determined, in turn, by his own surroundings. Art is shaped by a civilization and shapes it as well.

The two qualities just mentioned vary with each period of history and with the race that nourishes them. Each particular of an animate civilization bears the imprint of mind whether it is a particular which appeals to visual and tactile sense alone, as drawing, painting, or sculpture, or a particular which, in addition to its sensory appeal has some utilitarian purpose as a glass vessel, a chair, a pewter spoon, or

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

a bit of colored fabric. The common belief that the object of utility is aesthetically inferior to the "finer" art is hardly true.

It is hoped to explain the arts and crafts by describing the typical rather than the individual, except in the one or two cases where the individual is known to have influenced the general development. The mention of names is merely to confirm description. Names of many craftsmen can be dated and geographically located; oftentimes their activities overlap county boundaries, but little more is known of them. No attempt has been made to record them all here. It is not possible to attribute to any single one of them much of the work that has survived. The discovery of more names and doubtless of much more information would reward further research.

These men, craftsmen and artists, whose work has formed a part of the life of Essex county, the housewrights, the carvers, the makers of furniture and builders of ships, the ironsmiths, the silversmiths, engravers and painters, architects of churches and designers of monuments, have been influenced by the heritage of the early settlers of the Colony, who, with all the prohibitions and prejudices of their religion, the tradition of image smashing during the time of Cromwell, could not help but bring with them an esthetic exuberance, the habit to make well and finish with a modest flourish of decoration. For the two centuries which preceded the industrial era their work was an integral part of domestic existence executed in the intervals when they were not occupied with the immediate necessities of the day, when they fished and farmed and lumbered, raised cattle for meat and leather, raised sheep for wool, raised children and established schools.

The settlers were principally occupied with living and with trying to make for themselves a life similar to that they had known in their own country, but which would be self-supporting and independent of it. Therefore, their art was concentrated around all household and domestic things and these were commonly manufactured by those who used them. In a description of the early household nearly all the arts of a century, roughly from 1630 to 1730, can be included.

The first shelters which the settlers were able to build for themselves were necessarily crude, for they made use of what materials came most readily to hand. Bent birch poles framed their dome-shaped structure, which was then covered with sticks, bark, grass, or

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

thatch, and stuffed with clay. The chimney consisted for the most part of clay, plastered to a wooden frame; if it drew too well it might catch fire, otherwise it must have contributed strongly to the smoky, dank, dark interior. And yet such shelters were preferable to the caves or pine bough covers adopted by some which allowed passage to the northeast wind still more freely.

There is no evidence that the familiar log cabin of later American history was ever built in the county at this time.¹ The bark houses were replaced by dwellings similar to those left behind in Europe, but simpler, in keeping with the individual's demands and means. In the beginning the floor consisted of a foundation of rounded beach stones laid closely together, over which sand was laid to give an even surface. This then provided drainage and fair insulation from the frosty ground beneath. The wealthier houses had pine plank floorings which covered the boulders; rough timbers constituted the walls, and a thatch pitched roof topped the whole. Clay was stuffed between the boards, filling unavoidable chinks. Light was let through a few small windows, the casements of which were leaded and contained tiny bits of rounded or diamond-shaped glass, or, when this was unobtainable, were covered with oiled paper. Such houses were dark on wintry days, a dim oil lamp or the more cheerful fire giving what light there was. Reconstructions of these houses are to be seen at the pioneer village in Salem which was created in 1930 as part of the Massachusetts tercentenary celebration.

Houses were not only small, at first, but usually consisted of one room, with a bedchamber above it. A contract exists, made by John Davys, joiner, to build in Ipswich a house for William Rix, a weaver, in 1640; it was to be "16 foot long and 14 feet wide, w'th a chamber floare finish't summer and joysts, a cellar floare with joysts finish't, the roofs and wall clapboarded on the out syde, the chimney framed without daubing, to be done with hewan timber." The price was to be £21.² This must have been a well built house; it was more expensive than many. John Woodman bought a house and an acre and a half of land for £13; he bought another for £7; the house of Thomas Firman, who was a leading citizen about 1635, was appraised in his inventory at £15; Robert Whitman bought a house and acre of land for £5, all of them in Ipswich.

1. H. C. Mercer: "Old Time New England," Vol. XVIII, No. 1.

2. J. B. Felt: "Annals of Salem."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

A brick lining was inserted within the walls of the better built houses. This served to insulate the interior. It was reinforced by clapboards laid along the outside, which could be cheaply replaced when weathered, so protecting the expensive brick. Clapboards on some of the houses were laid in barrel stave lengths, for the stave was a useful article and the type of lumber readiest to hand. Inside, a pine sheathing covered the frame timbers, adding to the strength and warmth of the wall.

The outside appearance of these early colonial houses, with overhanging second stories and steep gabled roofs, resembled, within the limitations of materials, the houses which the builders had left at home in England. If the early craftsman did not learn his trade there, he learned it as apprentice in this country to one who had. Often materials for building were imported; in 1629 the following articles were collected in England for exportation: "2 loads of chalk, 10 m. bricks, 5 chaldron of sea coal, 2 fagots of steele, 1 fodder of lead, nail & red lead, 1 tun of iron."³

The demand for ironware stimulated local production. As early as 1643 bog iron ore was obtained from deposits beside the Saugus River in Lynn and there smelted and forged or cast as the need might require. From this source, as well as from Europe, some of the local smiths obtained their raw materials; but the venture was financially mismanaged and finally ceased about 1688. For these few years, however, the production ran, to quote a letter written by Governor Winthrop in 1648, "8 tons per week and their bar iron is as good as Spanish." The industry induced new people to come to the Colony, among them a mechanically minded individual, Joseph Jenckes (1602-1683), who developed the first fire engine, who shaped the scythe in its present form, and who turned his practical nature to the manufacture of dies for the stamping of the "pine tree" coins at the Boston Mint in 1652; an act not pleasing to the English Government, which exercised the sole right of coinage; but the mint operated profitably, probably because those at home were too busy with other affairs to bother about it.

In 1629 glass was asked for by the colonists as well as other materials.

3. J. B. Felt: "Annals of Salem."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

The only attempt at local glassmaking took place at Salem in 1641. There, Obadiah Holmes and Lawrence Southwick, together with the Concklin brothers, engaged in the manufacture of glass during the short period of four years. R. M. Knittle, in her book on "Early American Glass," is inclined to the opinion that "the output included roundels or bull's-eyes, thick coarse metalled lamps, pans and heavy squat bottles." Whatever the output, the enterprise was so short lived that it is of historical rather than of craft interest.

The windows of the better houses, such as the Parson Capen House in Topsfield, which was the wedding gift of a wealthy family to their daughter, were glazed, the panes being small and leaded, of diamond shape. This diamond design in the windows was sometimes repeated in the front door by grooved crossed lines, with iron or brass nails driven where the lines intersected, an instance of the irrepressible desire to decorate harmoniously, if sparingly, in keeping with Calvinistic sternness, yet showing a human wish to recreate the niceties left behind them in England.

Other ornamental architectural features of the outside of the house were the carved drops and brackets at the corners supporting the overhanging second story, and pilastered brick chimney, which can be seen on the Parson Capen House at Topsfield. Most other houses of this period had plain rectangular brick chimneys.

Entering the house, inside the door, was the narrow hallway, with a staircase leading steeply to the rooms above. On either side of the hallway were the principal living rooms of the house, usually the kitchen and the parlor. The parlour was also often used for sleeping as can be seen by the list of furnishings of rooms found in inventories.

In the covering of the wooden floors the householder exercised his ingenuity in a form of simple decoration which could hardly call forth sermons on extravagance from the pastor, or fines from the court; although some of the more distinguished early settlers brought a few rugs, probably Oriental, with them from home, they were used as bed coverings; most of the "common livers," says Felt in his "Annals of Salem," covered the boards of the floor with clean sand:

Every Monday morning, after washing, the floors would be scoured as white as pine would allow them, in all regular establishments, and then the light blue sand, from the beaches of Gloucester

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

and Ipswich, would be thrown on, in handfals, so as to make circular and spotted figures. . . . When tidy housewives had so prepared their floors, they were lothfully crossed, for a day or two, by orderly children, who hated to erase the handywork of their mothers. Especially, if their little heads got inside of the front room door, did the whole appearance seem to salute them—'kept for show—keep off—make no tracks here.'"

The pine sheathing, added for warmth, formed the walls of the rooms and here again the neat and orderly decorative sense of the settler prompted him to finish this purely utilitarian form of paneling with grooving on the boards where they joined; the beams also were simply finished with chamfering. Rarely the walls were plastered. This was considered a luxury owing to the scarcity of lime, which was frequently made of sea shells; this source of lime continued to be used, even in the eighteenth century; in 1724 an order was issued: "muscles shall not be used for making lime, or anything else, except for food and bait to catch fish."⁴

The ceilings of the rooms were usually the planks of the floors above. A witness before the court testified that the floor boards of a house in Rowley were laid so loosely that a person above could look through the cracks and see whatever was occurring below.⁵ This crude workmanship had a practical purpose, that of letting the warmth from the fireplaces in the parlor and kitchen rise into the bleak unheated bedchambers.

The chimney was the central motive around which the house was built. In the kitchen, or hall, as it was then known, the fireplace was the cooking stove, oven, and furnace combined, and the huge hood was often large enough to provide seating space within the brick enclosure. The fire irons, the pots and the kettles, all the ingenious devices for roasting and broiling are evidence of the decorative mind with which the most commonplace things were wrought. The artist has attended to the turn of shovel and slicer handles, to the curve of a skewer hook and the proportion of a trivet, to the mechanical accuracy of a pipe tongs which has been carefully compensated to ensure that both ends meet squarely, to the hinges, the locks and the brackets which everywhere ornament their surroundings. Excellent examples

4. J. B. Felt: "Annals of Salem."

5. T. F. Waters: "Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

of kitchen fireplaces with their practical contrivances may be seen in many of the house museums such as the Whipple House in Ipswich and the Ward House in the garden of the Essex Institute in Salem.

William Bentley, in his diary of Salem, written at the end of the eighteenth century, gives a description of an interior which seemed very old-fashioned to him. In 1796 he speaks of the death of a Mr. Symonds, apparently rather an eccentric old man, with whose loss "the appearance of the last and the beginning of this century is lost. . . . The windows of this (Mr. Symonds') house are of the small glass with lead in diamonds and open upon hinges. The doors open with wooden latches. The chairs are the upright high arm chairs and the common chairs are the short-backed. The tables are small and oval, the chest of drawers with knobs and short swelled legs. The large fireplaces and the iron for the lamp. The blocks of wood in the corners. The press for pewter plates with round holes over the door of it. Large stones rolled before the door for steps. Old Dutch maps and map mondes highly coloured above a century old. The beds very low and the curtains hung upon the walls. . . . "

An inventory of one of the wealthiest houses of the time is interesting, because it shows the type of importation which was in demand and indicates the goal toward which the local craftsman must strive if he wished to win the market for himself. Nathaniel Rogers died in Ipswich in 1655 and left an estate valued at £1,497; he was a wealthy man.

His hall contained a small cistern, with other implements, valued at 17s. (this was an urn, probably of pewter for holding water and wine, and the "other implements" were wine glasses perhaps), two Spanish platters of earthen or china ware, very rare at that time, a chest and hanging cupboard, a round table with five joined stools, six chairs and five cushions. Evidently this was a dining room, for the kitchen was a separate room, with an elaborate set of pewter dishes, flagons, and the like that weighed a hundred and fifty pounds, and the usual paraphernalia of cooking utensiles including a "jacke" for turning the spit.

The parlor contained some rare articles, a great chair, two pictures, a livery cupboard, a clock and other implements worth three pounds, window curtains and rods, and the one solitary musical instrument in all the town, so far as early inventories show, a "treble violl," by which is meant, it may be supposed, a violin. Yet this elegant room had a canopy bed and down pillows.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

The chamber furnishings were exceptionally fine. Its bed and bedding were valued at £14/10. A single "perpetuanny coverlet" was appraised at £1/5. There was a gilt looking glass, a "childing wicker basket" for the babies' toilet, perhaps, a table basket, and a sumptuous store of linen. A single suit of diaper table linen was reckoned at £4, two pair of holland sheets at £3/10, five fine pillow beeres or cases, £1/15, and goods brought from Old England worth over £20.

It is not likely that the implication that all else was locally made is intended; these were probably additional goods brought from Old England; to continue:

In the chamber over the hall, were a yellow rug, a couch, silver plate worth £35/18, and the only watch I have ever found mentioned, valued at £4, in addition to the common furniture. The study gloried in a library, worth £100, an extraordinary collection of books, revealing scholarly tastes as well as a plethoric purse, a cabinet, a desk and two chairs, and a pair of creepers or little fire irons.⁶

The shapes of the furniture, whether of the wealthy or of the less wealthy were for the most part simple. Pine was frequently used in combination with oak, or by itself.⁷ The chest was a common article of furniture; it was simple to make and with its handles easy to move. Often, it was brightly painted, usually a single color, blue, green, brick red, but harmonizing with the general oak and pine surroundings with an effect far from sombre. Later, as life became more sedentary, drawers were set in the base and the chest became heightened. It was then a convenient table; platters, lamps, embroidered covers were placed upon it. The lid became impractical and drawers were installed from bottom to top; the chest was given legs and became the lowboy; another chest was set above it to make a new piece of furniture, the highboy.

Chairs were not common in the seventeenth century; stools and settles were simple to construct and did service for all but the wealthy. Even so "the value of the ordinary chair was slight. A common entry in the inventories is a trifling sum set down to wooden goods and other lumber."⁸

Not so trifling, however, was the Rogers bed, cited above, nor that belonging to John Whittingham and priced in 1648 together with

6. T. F. Waters: "Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony."

8. E. Singleton: "The Furniture of Our Forefathers."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

"two fether beds, curtains, rugg, etc.," at thirteen pounds, which was alone worth more than twice the value of some of the dwellings of the day. We have no picture of either of these beds beyond that which the imagination may conjecture, but it is likely that their worth was concerned with the carving of the wood, as well as with the coverings, probably all imported. The joiner's work was ordinarily more simple. William Averill was the father of seven when he died in 1652, but he owned only one bedstead, which with the bedding, some small linen, and two chests was valued at £5/10, more than half the appraised price of his house and lot, £10.⁹ No mention is made of other furniture.

Furniture undoubtedly existed when the need for it existed. Space in these houses was restricted, cushions were conveniently set on the floor, or upon stools which could be tucked away. A common article was the folding settle; this could be shoved against a wall and become a high-backed seat, but the back was hinged so that it formed a table top when the settle was drawn to the center of the room; drop tables with folding legs were also convenient. The ceiling was low, chests were fitting where large furniture was not. Small value was set upon furniture generally because it was often made by families themselves as required. Names are of little importance, consequently. Only toward the end of the century do itinerant joiners or turners derive profit from the increasing wealth of townships. Belknap lists three joiners of the time who are perhaps typical:¹⁰ John Corning, baptized 1675, died 1733 in Beverly, was one; Samuel Beadle, in Salem, and his son Lemmon (1680-1717) are two others. It was at this stage of its development that furniture begins to undergo a certain skillful refinement. Not only the mere serviceable construction, but also the appearance of the piece is considered. Unnecessary weight is removed, proportion of the parts is studied in relation to the whole. The movement keeps step with the changing attitude of the period. The settler is taking stock of his position, weighing his circumstances with regard to the rest of the world, adjusting his life according to those proportions which seem to him most convenient and which give him the best possible appearance in the eyes of the community. Design, however unconscious, is an integral part of his living.

9. T. F. Waters: "Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony."

10. H. W. Belknap: "Artists and Craftsmen of Essex County."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

The entire interior was probably arranged with a mind to making the rude buildings as attractive as possible. Domestic tableware and kitchenware must have contributed brightly to the scene, pewter, occasional silver, burnished copper, yellow brass. Giles Badger, of Newbury, died in 1647. From his inventory is gained an impression of the appearance his utensils may have made. "He left to his young widow a glass bowl, beaker and jug, valued at three shillings; three silver spoons, £1/0 and a good assortment of pewter, including 'a salt seller, a tunell (funnel), a great dowruff (mixing bowl),' valued at one shilling. The household was also furnished with six wooden dishes and two wooden platters." Wooden tableware was the serviceable and ordinary ware of the day.

William Clarke, a Salem merchant, died in the same year. His possessions were richer: "6 silver spoons and 2 small pieces of plate and the following pewter which was kept in the kitchen—20 platters, 2 great platters and 10 little ones, on great pewter pot, one flagon, one pottle, one quart, 3 pints, 4 ale quarts, one pint, six beer cups, 4 wine cups, 4 candlesticks, 5 chamber pots, 2 lamps, one tunnel, 6 saucers & miscellaneous old pewter, the whole valued at £7. The household was also supplied with 'china dishes' valued at 12 shillings."¹¹ Porcelain had not yet come into general use and was a mark of costly elegance.

The pewter craft did not develop in Essex County until sometime in the middle of the eighteenth century. It probably originated with seventeenth century tinkers, who occupied themselves by repairing the easily broken ware. Thin pewter spoons were bent or broken; tin melts readily and pots became soft and misshapen; constant repairing was necessary. In his book on pewter, J. B. Kerfoot asserts that he has been able to find no pewter objects which can be identified as of colonial workmanship before 1750. Workers limited themselves to trading and repairing. That no markings appear earlier than 1750 does not mean that pewter was not used in this country, however. There are records of men known as pewterers outside of Essex County in 1654, 1660, 1678, and 1683.¹² There was imported pewter as we have seen; but the only name of a pewterer living within

11. G. F. Dow: "Notes on Pewter—Old-Time New England," Vol. XIV, No. 1.

12. W. A. Dyer: "Early American Craftsmen."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

the county boundaries mentioned in the seventeenth century is that of Richard Graves, who arrived in Salem in 1635. He comes to attention because of his frequent citation in court records; the point to be noted in this connection is that pewtering didn't occupy his full time. Ferry tending, stealing fence rails and other wood, gambling, "kissing Goody Gent twice," were some of the other pursuits. The pewter trade at this time was not large; it was not sufficient to warrant the attention which would record its activity, nor to keep one craftsman busy, nor to stimulate the imaginative design that comes with constant preoccupation.

It may seem curious that among the somewhat simple effects of the early settlers silver should play a greater part than pewter. Inventories give the impression that the colonists were very well off, but it must be remembered that only the finer belongings of the wealthier people were worth the trouble to inventory; the majority of the settlers had no inventory at all. The arts of design flourish on the wealth of a community, whether the wealth belongs to a few in proportion to the population or whether it is well scattered; but they flourish only when the wealth is turned to their account. In the seventeenth century it was turned to the account of the silversmith.

In contrast to the dearth of names among pewterers, those known to have worked in silver are far more numerous, and one or two are of real importance artistically. The reason probably lies in the fact that these men were known for their silver rather than for pewter with which they may have worked as well. Either they failed to mark pewter ware, as being of minor importance, or else it has long since been melted to serve Revolutionary guns; certainly much of the early pewter disappeared in this way. Silver being more costly would be less readily melted; rather it would be hidden with the hope that its value might be realized on better opportunity. Much silver has been lost from the vicinity because it was carried off by the wealthy loyalists previous to the Revolution. Whatever the circumstances which impede or reward research, the silver of early years is more commonly to be found than pewter, and the makers of it are in many cases known.

Among others William Moulton, born in England in 1617, who came to Newbury in 1637, is noted as the forebear of a long line of silver workers, rather than for any work which he did. He died in

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

1664. His son was born in that year and is recorded as a maker of silver buckles and ornaments. At the end of the century the third generation, Joseph Moulton (1694-1758?) became a blacksmith and maker of gold beads. For eight generations, until 1917, with the retirement of William Moulton 5th, the succession of gold and silversmiths continues.¹³

Samuel Phillips was a silversmith in Salem. The date of his birth is not known, but he was first married in 1687, later married again in 1704, and died in 1722. At the beginning of the new century Geoffrey Lang (1707-58) was also working in Salem and William Jones (1694-1730) in Marblehead. Names and dates such as these are all the information that is available concerning the activities of the ordinary craftsman. The greater part of their livelihood may have come from the making of buttons and ornaments; such small things the less wealthy might afford.

Yet the number of those who acquired wealth seems to have grown rapidly. These owned more elegant ware than pewter; but because most of it was imported, the less important commissions were given to local craftsmen. To such patronage Essex County silver owes its beginnings. These local commissions were as much the result of convenience as of artistic demand. The wealthy merchant had little security for surplus money gained through the prosperous shipping trade. This surplus consisted largely of coins bearing the stamp of many nations, which were bulky, liable to theft without the possibility of future identification, and, for want of a standard commonly convenient; paper currency was unstable. He, therefore, brought his surplus to the silversmith with the commission that it should be melted and shaped as some useful article, a spoon, a caudle cup, a porringer, a tankard (the refinements of tea and coffee were rare before the eighteenth century), and thereby acquired a handsome realization of his success with the additional safety that the shape and mark increased the chances of recovery in case of loss.¹⁴

The practice of converting surplus coins into silverware continued to the advantage of the designer in spite of the fact that the General Court realized the necessity of a monetary standard and issued an order as early as 1652 for the establishment of a mint at Boston (as

13. H. W. Belknap: "Artists and Craftsmen of Essex County."

14. C. L. Avery: "Early American Silver."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

previously mentioned in connection with the stamping dies by Joseph Jenckes). John Hull (1624-83) was chosen mintmaster and chose in turn his friend, Robert Sanderson (1608-93) to be his partner in the enterprise. To Hull is given credit for the design of the pine, oak, and willow tree coins. The significant fact is not the quality of the design itself, but that he was, in 1652, a recognized silversmith.¹⁵

Although most of Hull's work was done in Boston, and he is generally classified as a Boston artist, he owned property and lived for a time in Old Newbury,¹⁶ and was representative from Wenham in 1668.¹⁷ To him was apprenticed Jeremiah Dummer (1645-1718), who was born in Newburyport, but who likewise did much of his work in Boston. However, the association which these two men had with the people of Essex County and their probable influence on county craftsmen renders them important to an understanding of local work.

Dummer's work is of a good quality and may be taken as typical of the best executed by his contemporaries. Two examples, a tankard and a caudle cup, are worth comment.¹⁸ The tankard is as simple as the architecture of the period; it relies on solid relationship between bowl and handle and upon unelaborate moulding for its artistic appeal. The lid is decorated with plain gadrooned or ropelike moulding which tops the otherwise empty silver surface like ripples on a deep pool. Another example¹⁹ omits this gadrooning, but in addition to an ordinary moulding a design cut from a sheet of silver (cut-card) is applied to relieve bare monotony. The handle here is of a more delicate turn than the other, but it is as stout, for a light empty tankard serves little purpose and the handle must prove its usefulness as well as grace. Usefulness is the heart and grace, the soul of all the Puritan arts.

Dummer's caudle cups and standing cups are of a more delicate order than the tankards, but restraint is their charm; orderly fluting and gadrooning contrast with broad shiny surfaces. The flare of handles, the scyncopated rhythm of moulded stems, the hinted turns at the lip lend an ease to the primly rounded bowls as the Puritans' pleasure and kindness might vary an otherwise straight-sided dignity.

15. C. L. Avery: "Early American Silver."

16. J. J. Currier: "History of Old Newbury."

17. W. A. Dyer: "Early American Craftsmen."

18. Illustrated by E. A. Jones: "Old Silver of Europe and America."

19. Illustrated by C. L. Avery: "Early American Silver."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

Much of the design was borrowed from England. The purchasers of silver were slaves to fashion. They ordered from local craftsmen what was too expensive or too impractical to import, but demanded that the product should resemble the elegant importation. And this it did, but with less sophisticated detail, less ornamentation, less elaboration. Their lives did not possess the complexity of the high world from which they drew their fashion. Decoration which was worked into their silver was, consciously or unconsciously, intended to harmonize with these lives. This is the secret of the colonial artist, who was capable of doing elaborate work. Examples show his skill, but show also that judgment controlled his design. Essex County silver of the period differs from English to the same extent that individual differs from individual, and one social group differs from another.

Pottery is mentioned as early as 1630. An enthusiastic Essex County settler writes to England:

It is thought here is good clay to make Bricks and Tyles and Earthen-pots as need be. At this instant we are setting a Briske-Kil on worke to make Bricks and Tyles for the building of our Houses. For Stone, here is plentie of Slates at the Ile of Slate, Masathulets Bay and Lime-stone, Free-stone and Smooth-stone and Iron-stone and Marble-stone also in such store that we have great rocks of it and a Harbour hard by our plantation is from thence called Marble-Harbour.²⁰

John Pride was known as a potter in Salem in 1641 as was also William Vincent, who had a house in Potter's field about the same year; Thomas Archer (1671-1703) was another. Sometime after 1641 William Osborne founded a brickworks at Danvers which manufactured bricks and simple red earthenware for many years. The industry must have lapsed for a time, however, for about 1750 bricks being unobtainable in Danvers, a brickmaker, Jeremiah Page (1721-1806), was induced to leave Medford to work the local clay. His son John continued after him. Others followed this example, brickworks were operated by Joseph and Israel Putnam, by Nathaniel and Jotham Webb in the eighteenth century, and by Josiah Gray in the early nineteenth century. There were seven Osbornes recorded as potters in the eighteenth century and seven more who spelled their name Osborn. Danversware was probably the product of all these

20. Quoted by C. O. Cornelius: "Early American Furniture."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

craftsmen. Nearly every Essex County town had its local potter as well as its smith, but the style of their ware is not recorded; it was probably useful but not prized.

The textile crafts were practiced from the very beginning to supplement clothing and household linen brought from England.

While the spinning of yarn was done at home by various members of the household, weaving it into cloth was a trade for men. Itinerant weavers would go from house to house, or they would be urged to settle in a community where there was enough demand for their services. As the weaver became prosperous he owned several looms and hired help. William Rix was a weaver in Ipswich.

The woven cloth was principally woolen and linen for utilitarian purposes. As the skill of the weaver increased, linen was woven in a number of patterns, with different colors forming checks. On a journey through the county in 1795 William Bentley "purchased a check handkerchief red and white from the loom of a daughter-in-law who was at work."²¹ Bridal linen, woven by the bride herself, has been preserved, beautiful in texture and design.

Silks were not successfully manufactured in the county and to wear them seems to have been considered, as well as extravagant, "intolerable" in "persons of mean condition." Haniell Bosworth, the cowherd, was fined ten shillings each for his two daughters who had chosen to wear silk, though the wife of John Kimball was allowed to wear her silk scarf unquestioned when he demonstrated his financial independence. While men and women were strongly discouraged by the clergy and government from decorating their persons with finery "although unsuteable to our povertie,"²² women were urged to occupy themselves with needlework, perhaps with the idea that their feminine love of beauty would be turned to useful account in a way which would keep them quietly at home. The advantages of such occupations are pointed out to the young in the verse which forms a part of the sampler in the parlor of the Whipple House in Ipswich and also in a later one in an attic room of the Lee Mansion in Marblehead:

How blest the maid whom circling years improve
Her God the object of her warmest love,
Whose useful hours successive as they glide
Her book, her needle and her pen divide.

21. "Diary of William Bentley."

22. Proclamation of General Court, 1651.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

Probably the activity with book and pen referred to the maid's education. When this was complete, the needle would not need to give up so much of the useful hours to the other two.

And "the selection of design, the care in piecing, the patience in quilting, all make for feminine contentment and domestic happiness."²³

This last psychological remark refers to the making of patchwork quilts, one of the earliest arts to be practiced in Essex County, and a very old art in England. It consisted of piecing together bits of material of different colors to form a pattern; these pieces traditionally had to be scraps of any stuff that happened to be in the household, and new material could not be bought and cut up for the purpose. The wrong side, or lining of the quilt, was one plain piece of material, and there was an interlining between the patchwork and the lining for warmth. To hold the two together, to keep the interlining from slipping, stitching was necessary. The stitching was done according to a design; this was the quilting, which was often seen to best advantage on the lining, making it as beautiful as the patchwork itself. The design of the patchwork was usually geometric; the quilting design consisted of flowing lines. These patterns were often traditional and had their special names, as the patterned weaves of linen each had their name.

Most of the examples which have been preserved are naturally not of the oldest period. A beautiful quilted counterpane made in 1770 by Anne Cleaves, of Beverly, is illustrated in G. F. Dow's article in "Old Time New England" for April, 1927.

Besides its psychological value in making for feminine contentment the making of quilts was a popular art because of their usefulness as a warm bedcovering. Even more frequently used for that purpose than quilts were the "rugs" which are often mentioned in the inventories of the period as part of a bed's furnishings. Rugs were made of thick wool with a shaggy nap. In the same inventories "carpets" are mentioned in connection with tables. "A presse and a litle Table with ther Carpets, £1.10s." were part of the house furnishings of the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, of Rowley. In the wealthier houses these carpets might be Oriental, or they might be made of "Turkey work," an early form of embroidery which had been made in England before

23. Quoted by G. F. Dow: "Old Time New England," Vol. XVII, No. 4.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

the Pilgrim emigration and was very popular with the colonists. Colored yarns were threaded into a foundation cloth to form a pattern, knotted and cut to make the pile. Turkey-work was used for carpets, furniture coverings, and cushions. Very few examples remain, because of the perishable nature of this work and the practical uses to which it was put. Embroideries which were more ornamental and less utilitarian, even though more delicate, have been better preserved. A piece of this kind is the drawn work in ecru linen thread done by Anne Gower, wife of John Endicott, in 1628, now in the Essex Institute of Salem.

Crewel work was very popular in England in the seventeenth century; this was embroidery done on linen with loosely twisted wool yarns called crewels; the design was inspired by the painted India cottons which were much admired in England at that time, and were later brought home from the East by the Salem and Newburyport ships. The colonists attempted the same Oriental motives with the material at hand. Their versions were simpler than the English ones, the designs freer and more sketchy, and stitches less elaborately varied. Individually American, also, were the bright colors derived from the natural dyes of the woods and fields. Pale yellow was obtained from exposure of the woolen yarns to the sun, richer shades from sumach, golden rod, hickory bark, and may weed; brown from walnut bark, purple from oak and maple, red from the cochineal and madder which were imported, golden rod and alum mixed with indigo for green. Blues of different shades were obtained by more or less protracted dipping in indigo vats always standing at the back of the house for laundry purposes. The popularity of the indigo dye may account for the blue and white type of work, an example of which is a counterpane worked in blue on a homespun linen sheet, in Topsfield, 1790,²⁴ of the imported Canton ware brought in through the China trade may have inspired it.

Crewel work was used for bed hangings, mantel valances, table covers, and wall pockets, and was popular in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1793, Susannah English, of Salem, showed her friends a "specimen of her employment at school, nearly three feet by two, edged with points and tufts upon them, 8 sprigs with balls

24. G. F. Dow: "Old Time New England," Vol. XVII, No. 4.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

of gold within the edging, flowerpots and flowers at the lower corners of gold, between them a pot with flowers of Cruel. 2 birds between of gold bodies and one in the centre of the same. Above are worked 2 false pocket holes forming an apron." In the Essex Institute is preserved a piece of embroidery worked in dull colors on ecru linen canvas by Mary Hollingworth, wife of Philip English, a merchant of Salem in 1765.

Embroidered pictures done in petit point were also fashionable in England and copied in America, often worked from English designs. However, Miss Derby, of Salem, had John Singleton Copley's help in making her very elaborate piece in 1765; in a harvest scene full of animation with four differentiated trees, birds, stags and lambs, he painted the faces of the harvesters for her.

Another type of embroidered picture was done in silk floss on satin and other materials, with even more of the composition painted in. One such piece worked by a Salem girl at Miss Peabody's school shows the use of a velvet inlay to depict Cornelia and the Gracchi.

Tufted embroidery on bedspreads, candlewick work, netting for canopies, may be minor skills among the arts of embroidery and needle-work, but they were extensively made and used and have qualities of design as good as the more elaborate forms.

The sampler first served as a record of embroidery stitches and patterns, in place of the rare and expensive pattern books. The earliest samplers were not necessarily worked by young children and were elaborate with flowers, birds and animals, and many intricate stitches. The strips of linen on which they were embroidered were narrow in shape because the looms on which they were woven were narrow. Later the samplers took on the function of a primer for the young; they became wider and took on a border. This is the type of sampler that is typically American.

The sampler of Hannah Johnson, of Newburyport, is an interesting one. In the center was a tree with fruits and flowers, with a bird roosting among them, a cow and a stag on either side, and two other birds, white and black, as large as the beasts; two baskets of flowers are symmetrically arranged, and nearly as large as the tree. Butterflies flit around nearly as large as the birds and the beasts.

This freedom from the restraint of measurement may be a result of Oriental influence; it is certainly in the interests of the design.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

Another sampler of 1787 in the Lee Mansion at Marblehead represents Adam and Eve and the tree of knowledge with the snake curled around it. In the same collection, Polly Ellis, aged fourteen, embroidered what may be intended for a story. Reading from left to right a young lady stands with a parasol in her hand; then a house with all the windows carefully embroidered, then a tree, with a bird flying around it, and in the right hand corner a young man bowing to another young lady.

The alphabet, in small and capital letters, and sometimes numerals, are common to nearly all the samplers. For the young girl these may have been meant as a help in learning to read and write, but when done by a more experienced worker, they were used as models of lettering for marking linen.

The same pride in lettering is also found on more durable material. The stonecutter exhibited his skill similarly. On the gravestone of Dean Parker Noyes, at Newburyport, who died in 1787, is an alphabet cut at the bottom, with samples of letters in capitals and in italic script, for good measure. The gravestone, which is quite unusually elaborate with angels' heads, a border of oak leaves, and scroll decoration, is signed Paul Noyes; he probably cut the alphabet to advertise his ability, for he was evidently well satisfied with his job.

Paul Noyes was a stonecutter of Newburyport, who made gravestones during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In his inventory, 1810, are mentioned thirty-two gravestones valued at \$172, pieces of marble \$2.50, rough stone \$6.50, 1,770 feet of freestones \$480, stone cutting tools and foils \$4.²⁵ The stonecutter was the sculptor of the first two centuries, and these were the materials with which he worked.

The earliest existing stone in the county is said to be that at North Andover, dated 1668. Surviving stones erected before 1725 are rare. James Dickinson died at Rowley in 1705; on his stone is cut in relief a death's head with wings attached and an hourglass. There are other stones in the same burying ground dated 1710-12 and 1722; the same conventional symbol is cut on each; a crude circle for a head, within which are two small circles for eyes, an inverted V for a nose, a straight horizontal line for a mouth.

25. S. Perley: "Essex Antiquarian," Vol. III, No. 12.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

Death's heads or angels' heads are usually found on almost all the stones of the eighteenth century. An elaborate and grim reminder of the duality of life and death is sculptured in relief on the stone of Mrs. Susannah Jayne, of Marblehead.²⁶ The upper half of a grinning skelton is surrounded by a symbol of eternity, a snake swallowing its own tail, and holds in one hand the sun and in the other the moon. The snake is inscribed within a square, the two upper corners of which are filled with angels' heads, the two lower contain bats. Atop the frame is an hourglass braced with two carven bones. Scrollwork and moulding complete the memorial. The stonemason was Henry Christian Geyer, who worked in Boston about the time of the Revolution. County boundaries did not restrict stonemasons any more than other trades and professions.

A more cheerful stone is that of Captain George Jewett, who died at Rowley in 1776. An inscribed verse tells of the alternative sufferings or joys to one of which the departed spirit will be allotted according to his nature. The coy set of the head over the verse and the jaunty halo above it leave no doubt to the observer which of the two fates was to be the happy lot of the deceased.

Attempts at portraiture were variants of the commoner symbols. They appear as early as 1720 if the crude cutting on the stone of William Buttolph, of Salem, may be taken for a portrait.²⁷

Undoubtedly the sculptured stone of Mrs. Anna Barnard, 1774, wife of Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead, was so intended and that of his colleague, Rev. William Whitwell, 1781, was executed with equal fullness of individual contour and decorative simplicity of clothing. The folds of the robe in the portrait, 1775, of Nathaniel Rogers, in Ipswich, are less precise, but the treatment of facial structure, brow ridges, eyes, nose, mouth and cheekbones, high and narrowly placed, even the squaring of the chinbone suggest the same hand. The stone of Rev. Nathan Holt, 1792, is the only one of its kind in the Peabody burying ground. His wigged head is turned fully forward, but his body is turned in three-quarter view in contrast to the square shouldered ingenuousness of the last three mentioned. Very dignified and imposing he is. It seems to have been intended that in death as in life the clergy should impress themselves on the commu-

²⁶. The stone is illustrated by G. F. Dow: "Arts and Crafts in New England."

²⁷. Illustrated by H. M. Forbes: "Old Time New England," Vol. XIX, No. 4.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

nity with all the vigor that local sculpture could command; the best stones ensure that their works shall be remembered.

Sculptures on many stones only appear to be portraits, such as the relief of Judith Thurston, buried in Georgetown, 1788. The body is cut in profile but the head is turned sharply to look full-faced over the shoulder with fixed stare. The stone of Dorothy Bradford in Rowley, 1792, is decorated with the same figure and face, apparently not only done by the same stonecutter, but probably with a stencil. Joshua Osborne was buried in Peabody in 1794. His hair rolls in stony curls over his head, wings fit his shoulders like a cape. The modeling of eyes, nose, and mouth give him an expression which once seen is long remembered. It will be remembered, at least, until seeing the portrait of Polly Very, Salem, 1804, whose face is identical. Polly differs in that she has braids which fall in front of her shoulders. She has no wings, but the branches of a weeping willow fall gracefully toward her.

The willow, alone, or in combination with the urn, marks the dividing line between the centuries. The era of imitative classicism invades even the realm of the dead. The stones of the early nineteenth century were graceful, however, though there is little variety. Stencils seem to have been used invariably, until, toward the middle of the century when conventions seem to have disappeared other than the ornate use of marble (rare until 1840). The third generation of the Republic sprinkled its monuments with embellishment, as it sprinkled its architecture, its painting, and itself with superficiality; but this was long after the vital colonial needs had been satisfied.

The attention given to art while these needs were being satisfied is best observed in a general survey covering a century, roughly from 1730-1830.

By the middle of the eighteenth century great progress had been made in the comforts of living. Craftsmen who had crossed from England found increasing patronage from the colonists during the first hundred years. Local skill had increased with their coming, taste had been formed where previously there had been no time to think consciously of the matter at all. Apprentices who had flourished under local tutelage imparted their knowledge and their local variations to younger men. By the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

the nineteenth century there was sophistication, ease, and the consequent attention to the arts which expand with leisure.

This leisure appears great by contrast with the years of the Revolution, when there was hardship. Though refinements may be observed in the surroundings, restraint is evident also. These people are of the same stock as their forebears. Both private and public economy are subjects of address; vanity must be watched. As late as 1784 a correspondent of the Salem "Gazette" observes that "the extravagances of the present day are fully demonstrated in the broadcloth coats and silk gowns" and after enumerating many similar vices, such as powder, feathers, etc., winds up, "O! the degeneracy of the times!"

This is the reflection of the seventeenth century; this is the race sheltered by sturdy timbered dwelling, which ate from wooden plates, which drank from stout tankards, whose stools and tables had straight stiff legs. But it is more than a reflection, for the source of the image has changed. Vanity is watched with a smile. Looking more intently, one discerns it.

Henry Flynt, in an address to the Ladies of North America, in 1762, closes in this manner: "All I think at present that can be reasonably expected or desired of you, is to consent to lay aside all superfluous Ornaments for a Season—after which they shall be surely returned to you again with Interests. You shall be clothed in Purple, and Scarlet, and Fine Linen of your own, and with other glorious Apparel; which, if possible shall add a Lustre to your native Charms."²⁸ What a condescension when compared with the sternness of a century before!

The tide of maritime prosperity which followed the Revolution and the contact with foreign lands that went with it not only encouraged this condescension toward vanities but also brought to blossom the outstanding Essex County art, wood-carving. But it is important to note that shipbuilding gave this impetus to a craft which was already established and to a great extent characteristic of the region. Vessels had been built in the county as early as 1641; the woodworkers employed in the yards had turned to other occupations in dull seasons, and the embellishment of furniture and architecture shows their skill.

²⁸. Boston "Gazette," November 2, 1762.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

In the furniture making there was room for the specialist and the cabinetmaker appears in the eighteenth century, added to the numbers of turners or joiners who handled any form of woodwork. Specialization led to the study of construction of the piece, "without relying on the heaviness or solidity of the various members. Thus the verticle supports were reduced to a minimum, delicately turned or carved with curved forms."²⁹ The point to notice here is that these curved and carved forms have evolved from a far plainer structure; the entire structure has been refined, not merely the surface decoration and this, perhaps is the indication of a similar change of personal character. It hints, as much as the observed change in the attitude towards manners, at a new way of thinking of material possessions. In the minds of the people there is a just balance between essential simplicity and essential decoration.

Inventories³⁰ of shops show that most of the furniture was made of species of wood which were then cheap and that it was probably intended for the great class of people of small means. Matthew Severett, of Marblehead, in 1745, had maple valued at $3/5$ penny a foot, oak at $3/7$ penny, pine at $2/3$, and a specimen of walnut at $3\frac{1}{2}$ pence, but black walnut belonging to Joseph Symonds, of Salem, in 1769, was worth 8 pence a foot; he also had cherry at $1\frac{2}{3}$ pence. Mahogany is occasionally listed, but in small amounts; in 1770 it cost 18 pence per foot. In 1776 Oliver Moody, of Newbury(port), had eighty-two feet of poplar and fifty-two feet of ash valued at 17 shillings. Poplar was probably used for cheap chair frames, for half a cord of it is valued at 10 shillings in the Beverly chair shop of John Corning in 1734.

Those who strove to please the wealthier trade were fewer in number but had greater opportunity to exercise artistic individuality. An example in point is Sewall Short, who died in 1773 at Newburyport. His total estate was assessed at £897, a sum rather above the fortune of the average artisan. His work must have been of more than ordinary merit, for pieces left unfinished at the time of his death were valued above the normal price for finished work. The following unfinished items were all made of mahogany, which partly accounts

29. C. O. Cornelius: "Early American Furniture."

30. Esther Singleton: "The Furniture of Our Forefathers."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

for the high valuation, but it also suggests that the furniture must have been well made, for the inferior workman did not ordinarily use expensive materials: A desk and bookcase were valued together at £15; another desk was put at £6-15, and a plain desk at £4-0; a bookcase was £4-0, and a plain bookcase was £3-0. Of course, it is impossible to estimate to what extent these figures depend on size or workmanship actually performed, but the difference in price between desk and plain desk and between bookcase and plain bookcase possibly indicates the extra value set upon superior design and workmanship involved in carving the more expensive pieces.

These furniture craftsmen were influenced to no small extent by Chippendale, Hepplewhite and Sheraton importations, but they were artists enough to redesign on their own account, and accordingly many deserve credit above that given the ordinary copyist. Whether the object of design is a rushbottomed, slatbacked chair, or veneered secretary, design is of a complementary importance to workmanship. One individual who had become artistically conscious of his identity was Joseph P. Goodwin, who advertised, in 1771, that he had set up business in Salem, "He makes best mahogany chairs, couches, easy chairs, sofas, and anything in the chair-making business. N. B. he has got two sorts of chairs made by him, which are called as neat as any that are made in Boston."³¹

Although the Boston craftsmen were apparently esteemed in their own day, the woodworkers of Essex County were as important as any. Their product was sold not only in Essex County and in New England, but in the South as well. Salem and Marblehead were the recognized centers, and from them and other towns nearby production sprang plentifully. Combinations of cabinetmakers are recorded. One of the most enterprising was the partnership formed by the Sandersons, Elijah and Jacob, with Josiah Austin, in 1779. It was in the nature of a coöperative venture to which cabinetmakers, carvers, gliders, turners, upholsterers all contributed. Cargoes of the tables, desks, mirrors, and chairs which they made were shipped twice a year to the South, the West Indies, Africa, and South America. The names of ten contributing cabinetmakers and the interest of each is given in an invoice of 1803. Elijah Sanderson, himself, contributed

31. E. Singleton: "The Furniture of Our Forefathers."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

the furniture having the highest value on this occasion; his share amounted to \$1,337. His furniture was initialed, indicating its worth and importance, but except for rare instances when this practice was carried out, it is impossible to authenticate the furniture; the coöperative nature of the enterprise meant that the design of one was in general the design of all. For example, Daniel Clarke was known to have drawn and cut patterns and to have done carving, turning, and reeding for the Sandersons from 1794-1803. Samuel McIntire, more famous for his houses, did the same at various intervals from 1795-1808.³² And there were many others who billed to the Sandersons for work done.

Jacob Sanderson died in 1810. Troubles and law suits followed. Elijah formed a new partnership with Caleb Burbank, a painter; Benjamin Swan, cabinetmaker; and the owners of the schooner "Molly." Elijah Sanderson and Nehemiah Adams contributed to a cargo sent to Rio de Janeiro, which remained unsold for a long time, until more law suits forced a sale at great discount. However, Elijah continued to export in small quantity; the latest known invoice is dated 1819.

There were other various partnerships and projects similar to but independent of the Sandersons. Edmund Johnson made furniture and exported it. He died returning from the South in 1811.

The specialization of the cabinetmaker and the organization of these furniture "trusts" was not typical of the ordinary craftsman. It is interesting, perhaps, to notice to what extent the products of the county were shaped by the hands of men ready to turn from one trade to another. In the Salem "Gazette" of July 3, 1781, appears an advertisement addressed to "Gentlemen and Ladies," accompanied by a woodcut, possibly executed by the hand of the advertiser (an advertisement in a Boston paper of May 3, 1788, is illustrated with a different cut, but apparently by the same hand):

Isaac Greenwood, jun., takes this opportunity to inform you, that at his Shop opposite the Town-House, in Salem, Gentlemen may be supplied with neat walking Sticks, and Ladies with Umbrellas, neater and cheaper than those imported: He makes and mends Umbrella Sticks in the best Manner.

He earnestly wishes, for his Profit and their Good, that they would apply to him for Teeth-Brushes, and Teeth-Powder, which when used will recommend itself.

32. M. W. Swan: "Samuel McIntire and the Sandersons."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

Said Greenwood performs all kinds of turned Work, in Silver, such as Tankards, Cans, &c. also in Brass, Iron, Ivory, Turtle-Shell, Bone, Horn, and Wood of any sort or bigness. Repairs Violins; makes Flutes, Fifes, Hoboys, Clarinets, Chaise-Whips, Tea-Boards, Bottle-Stands, Tamboy Frames, Back-Gammon Boxes Men and Dies, Chess men, Billiard-Balls, Maces, Lemon Squeezers, Serenges, Hydrometers, Shaving Boxes and Brushes, Buckle-Brushes, Ink-Stands, Paper-Folders, Sand-Boxes, Bannisters for Stair-Cases, &c, &c."33

Such versatility does not generally result in the artistic excellence which careful attention to problems of a single art may inspire, but it does indicate an active personality, a ready hand, and a rich imagination that could compass the wide variety of problems put to it. Here was excellent soil prepared for the seed of art.

Further samples of this are discovered in the East India Marine Museum in Salem, which was first opened in 1799, with the purpose of housing "natural and artificial curiosities, particularly such as are to be found beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn." Its present purpose is to form a memorial of the commercial marine period, and it is also interesting from an artistic point of view because it contains not only original work of Essex County artists in portraits and ship paintings, but also curiosities and treasures from all parts of the world where ships in the foreign trade happened to touch. Many of these objects were much admired by the people of the seaport towns and could not help but influence their ideas of beauty and their creative efforts. The paintings of Salem ships brought home from European and Chinese ports, with their delicate and exact technique, served as a model for local ship painting and engraving. Canton china and English ware were so much used in the houses of the wealthy captains and merchants that the local furniture and interiors were made so as to set them off well. Intricate bits of carving, like the Flemish boxwood bead containing Heaven and Hell, presented to the museum by General Elias Haskett Derby, show how the patrons of artists like McIntire admired artistic work of a highly skilled nature. The ship carpenters' and shipbuilders' tools, the little objects made by seamen in their spare time, small lifelike wooden birds, an elaborate ladle, and a chain carved from a single bit of

33. Quoted by H. M. Brooks: "Quaint & Curious Advertisements."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

wood, scrimshaw work (cutting, carving and engraving on whales' teeth and walrus tusks) are reminders of the ready and neat hand, which was trained in the shipyards, and the artistic imagination which was stimulated by anything new and strange. Both this manual skill and this enthusiastic imagination were an important part of life in the seacoast towns of the county in the days of maritime prosperity.

Figureheads done in Essex County, some of which must have been beautiful in their sweep of movement and broad treatment are conspicuous by their absence in this museum, except for a small allegorical female figurehead, oddly Gothic in effect, said to have been carved by Samuel McIntire. So far as is known there are no large figureheads done in Salem in existence; the fate of most of them was to founder with the vessel they adorned. The ship "Merrimack," of twenty guns, built in Newburyport during the French and English War of 1798, for a figurehead had "an eagle perched upon a globe supported by a figure on one side representing Commerce and on the other side representing Justice."³⁴ Five years later she was wrecked on Cape Cod. Joseph True, a carver in Salem, working from about 1816 to 1860, was known as a carver of architectural detail and also as a ship's carver; he executed figureheads, but none are now in existence. The head and hands of a Chinese mandarin figure, dressed in an original costume, owned by the East India Marine Museum, were carved by him in 1838. The effigy of Yamqua, a Canton merchant, evidently on very friendly terms with the Salem merchants whose correspondent he was, like other Oriental merchants whose portraits hang in the museum, has the head and hands carved by Samuel McIntire. These lifelike effigies were evidently long popular in Salem as a form of sculpture. "Prior to 1725 Lemmon Beadle had made the representation of a watchman, with his equipments, and stationed upon our watch-house."³⁵ This evidently was the same Lemmon Beadle who has already been mentioned as a joiner.

In Newburyport much carving of a similar nature was also done. There is record of a Joseph Wilson, a ship carver, who in 1800 carved an eagle for the altar of St. Paul's Church, for which he was paid \$25; he also carved a mitre, probably placed above the belfry as an emblem of office of the first Bishop of Massachusetts and Rhode

34. Felt's "Annals of Salem."

35. Newburyport "Herald," October 12, 1798.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

Island, and a small "eggle" for which he received \$9. He also is said to have carved two "open mouthed lions" and a number of images, some of them supposed to represent Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Bonaparte, and Franklin, apparently rather inaccurately portrayed, since their identities appear to have been interchangeable; all these were raised on pillars around the house of "Lord" Timothy Dexter, whose own image formed part of this galaxy; he was a leather dresser from Malden and in 1798 purchased a house in Newburyport, where he seems to have caused much excitement and some scandal because of his eccentricities. The images have been described as "gaudily painted and having little merit as works of art and less of likenesses."³⁶ In spite of such discouraging criticism, the Wilson family continued to work in Newburyport as carvers, later in the nineteen century.

Very often, in the county, carpentry and carving were practiced as a sort of family occupation, fathers, sons and brothers working together and handing down their ability and craftsmanship to their descendants.

In Salem the famous McIntire family are a striking example. Samuel McIntire, already mentioned as a carver, is now held to be the finest artist that Essex County has produced, and in his life time he was well known and esteemed as a sculptor, an architect, and a carver of interior ornaments and furniture. His father, Joseph, was a housewright and Samuel received his training in his father's shop and in the shipyards. In the course of his life and work he was often assisted by his two brothers, Joseph, born 1748, and Angier, born 1759, also woodcarvers. His son, Samuel Field McIntire, born 1780, carved "ships heads, Festoons for Sterns, Tablets and Blocking for Chimney pieces, Brackets, Draperies, Pottres for Friezes, Eagles from 5 inches to 2 feet 6, a variety of Figures, Butter and Cake Stamps, Furniture, Carving and Bellows Tops."³⁷ And he continued his father's business. Felt, in his "Annals of Salem," speaks of Samuel McIntire's nephew, the son of his brother, Joseph, in 1849, as having "exhibited a similar genius," by which he meant genius as a sculptor.

36. J. J. Currier: "Ould Newbury."

37. H. W. Belknap: "Artists and Craftsmen of Essex County."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

Of McIntire's sculptures, as distinct from his decorative pieces, few are now known to exist. In portraiture, his best known works are the profile bas-relief of Washington, full of character, which is now in the Essex Institute, and the portrait of Governor Winthrop, made for the Rev. William Bentley, in 1798. Mr. Bentley wrote in his diary when the bust was finished and brought to him, "I cannot say that he has expressed anything which agrees with the Governor," but in later years he seems to have changed his mind, for in his eulogy of McIntire at the time of his death he says, "In sculpture he had no rival in New England and I possess some specimens which I should not scruple to compare with any I ever saw."

McIntire carved the figure of a Reaper on the summer house of Elias Haskett Derby's Peabody farm; it has now been moved to the William Crowninshield Endicott gardens in Danvers. Like his son, he also had a flock of eagles always on hand; one of them was placed on the City Hall in 1802, another more conventionalized grasped the shield of the Stars and Stripes, an olive branch, and thunderbolts in a bas-relief over the Old Custom House door in 1805; the eagle on the barn of the Pierce Nichols house is more lifelike and sympathetic, perhaps because it did not have to sustain the dignity of topping a public building.

Though McIntire never went to Europe, as Bulfinch did, nor even far from Salem, where all of his work was done as an architect, he was not narrow or provincial in his inspiration. Classic art he knew well from the books which were his education; "he made an assiduous study of the great classical masters with whose work, notwithstanding their rarity in this country, Mr. McIntire had a very intimate acquaintance."³⁸ In the advertisement of his possessions which were offered for sale after his death, are listed, "Encyclopedia," complete; "Paladia Architecture," best kind; one large "Book Antique Statues," excellent; Langley's architecture.

Perhaps he also made use of the pattern books for architecture which were current at the time; in Connecticut a mantelpiece has been found so much like a mantelpiece known to be by McIntire as to suggest the use of a manual used by both carvers in this case.³⁹

38. C. A. Place: "From Meeting House to Church in New England."

39. W. Nutting: "Furniture Treasury."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

In Newburyport, the church of the First Religious Society, built in 1801, with Timothy Palmer the recorded architect, is almost a duplicate of McIntire's Old South Church on Chestnut Street in Salem, built in 1804, now burned down, but formerly much admired for its graceful spire. Whether McIntire copied the Newburyport church, or whether he really designed it according to an unconfirmed tradition, or whether McIntire and Timothy Palmer made use of the same design from a manual, it is not possible to tell; very little is known of Timothy Palmer; another Palmer, Andrew Palmer, of Newburyport, also built, in 1814, a very beautiful church in Wayland, Massachusetts.

Of the very early type of meetinghouse which preceded the church there are no examples left standing in Essex County at the present day, nor is much known from which the appearance of them could be completely reconstructed. However, from old contracts, with their measurements, even though they may not be of meetinghouses built in the county, it appears that the first meetinghouses were not temporary makeshifts, but were square wooden buildings, covered with shingles or clapboards, whose pitched or hip roof was sometimes thatched; a tower or "turret" with its bell, might be in the center of the roof. In the floor plan of the meetinghouse there was no chancel, the pulpit and the main entrance were opposite each other, and when the meetinghouse was not strictly square, as often the case, they faced each other across the width of the building. "The Puritan meetinghouse was a house for worship and a place for public meetings, in opposition to the church idea and plan." (The church plan always had the chancel and pulpit at the end of the structure across the length of the church from the main entrance.) The interior finish of the meetinghouse was extremely plain, daubed with clay or sometimes plastered; in the very early days this was a luxury, as has been said; the small windows like the windows of the houses at the time had diamond-shaped, leaded glass panes.

In 1653 the meetinghouse in Ipswich had diamond panel windows, with a turret set on a hip roof; an engraving of the meetinghouse of Salem Village (now Danvers) shows a hip roofed square building, with gables on three sides, and a spire in the center. In 1752 a town meeting was called in Topsfield "to see if the town . . . will cut off

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

the lucombs (of the meetinghouse built in 1703) and make the roof four-square." "Lucombs" were dormer windows.

As the strict Puritan traditions relaxed with the coming of prosperity in the eighteenth century, the interior of the meetinghouse was better designed and better finished, with paneling and carved and turned detail in the pulpit and gallery. Gradually a return was made to the English church plan; the use of the hip roof declined and the pitched roof regained favor. The floor plan was altered through additions to the length of the building, and the pulpit was moved in relation to it. The tower and spire were placed at one end by communities rich enough to afford it; otherwise the structure was built without a tower. In general the builder was forced to seek inspiration from the church against which the Puritan had revolted in order that worship might be conducted in surroundings fitting with the new standards of beauty. The influence of Wren began to be felt in the designs of spires and pulpits for which there could be no guide in the new country. This influence was first seen in the Boston churches, particularly the Old South Church, and was adapted to churches in other towns; the spire of the Second Church in Salem, built in 1718, has the same graceful arched openings in the belfry as the spire of the Old South in Boston. In 1711, at Newbury, Queen's Chapel, a wooden structure, was built on the church plan, thirty by forty feet, with a tower belfry and bell.

Still the meetinghouse plan was not abandoned all at once. The Church of St. Michael in Marblehead is an instance. Built in 1714, it was forty-eight feet square, had the hip roof with three gables and dormer windows and a tower on the fourth side of the roof rather than on the ground according to the English plan. However, if the designer refused to follow English traditions, all the materials of the church were imported from England. Changes which were to bring this meetinghouse in line with the church plan already in use when St. Michael's was first built, were not completely carried out until 1823.⁴⁰

By the end of the eighteenth century the New England builders were freed of any Puritan restraint except that of good taste; the influence of Wren grew, partly, through Bulfinch, whose many beautiful churches inspired much architecture at the time; some of Bul-

40. C. A. Place: "From Meeting House to Church."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

finch's designs were reproduced in a book by Asher Benjamin, first published in Greenfield in 1797; this book had a wide circulation, and one church at least in Essex County was built after a design of it—the church at Manchester, built in 1809, by Colonel Jacob Smith. Colonel Smith is also recorded as the designer of the church at Gloucester, built in 1806, which may also have been copied from an architect's manual.

Meanwhile, McIntire, who only built two churches in Salem, designed public buildings, of which Bentley says "the present Court House, the North and South Meeting house and indeed all the improvements of Salem for thirty years past have been under his eye." Few artists have, like McIntire, the beauty of a whole city as a monument of their skill.

The courthouse, torn down in 1839 to make way for the railway, was built in 1785, designed by McIntire and executed by Bancroft, another Salem architect, much esteemed at the time. It was greatly admired, not only for its architecture, but for its spaciousness and convenience and also for the "beautiful prospect of a fine river, extensive, well cultivated fields and groves; in addition to which the passing and repassing of vessels continually, in the river, makes a pleasing variety,"⁴¹ all this seen through a Venetian window "highly finished in the Ionick order" in the second story court hall behind the judge's seat. The building was of brick, with two stories, hip roofed, with a wide porch supported by four columns, over which was a balustraded balcony. Standing on the balcony, in 1789, Washington was presented to the people of Salem; on that occasion McIntire is said to have made a sketch of Washington, which became the basis for his profile bas-relief already mentioned.

Earlier than the courthouse was the assembly house, built in 1782. It was originally the assembly house of the Federal party in Salem, and was one of the foremost social centers of the town. Both Washington and Lafayette were entertained in it. It is a wooden house of two stories, with a flat boarded façade, Ionic pilasters supporting the pediment, and a porch with rather heavy, handsome carved ornament.

Another building for assemblies was Hamilton Hall, built in 1808. This is a brick building; its chief exterior ornaments, now that the

41. Quoted by F. Cousins and P. M. Riley: "The Woodcarver of Salem."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

entrance porch has been remodeled, are the Palladian windows on the side, each surmounted with a rectangular insert displaying characteristic sculptures by McIntire, an eagle in the center one and festooned draperies in the others. The interior has a very beautiful ball room with a vaulted and groined ceiling and a music balcony; pilasters support a heavy cornice and divide the wall into panels. The Palladian windows again and the simple mantelpieces show the graceful and dignified treatment of interiors of McIntire's later manner as compared with the Georgian style of the earlier assembly hall.

McIntire is perhaps best known for his private houses, their porches and interiors especially. The type of house which was being built in Salem and Essex County in McIntire's time had evolved from the pitched roof, gabled house, to the gambrel or mansard roof type, which dropped the overhanging upper story and the lattice like windows. One of the first examples of this to be built in Salem was the house of Benjamin Pickman erected for him under the supervision of an English carpenter, in 1748. Then came the two or three-story square wooden house with a four-sided or flat roof, often with a fenced terrace or "Captain's Walk" on it, especially in the seaside towns, so that a view of the ships in the harbor could be obtained. With the simple and boxlike appearance of the whole house, much more attention had to be paid to the spacing of windows and doors and to their decoration than in the early houses of more picturesque outline. The position of the four chimneys which were now placed usually at the four corners of the house, gave greater space and importance to the hall and entrance, and the stairway had to be designed with relation to the plan of the whole.

The Lee mansion, in Marblehead, was one of the first to be designed on this spacious scale, in 1768. Essex County architects and craftsmen could not claim the credit for its magnificence, for all the materials are said to have been imported from England, and it was probably designed by English architects.

Houses of the same period as the great town houses of Salem and Newburyport, but further inland in Essex County, where wealth did not flow in with shipping and trade to the same extent, are no less well designed and pleasing.

Two examples, good in themselves and attractive because they fit so well with their surroundings, are the Clark house in Amesbury and Phelps house in Andover.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

The Clark house, built in 1803, is an instance of how the local tradition of building lingers on in the smaller townships. It retains the large fireplaces and ovens of the early type, and has the solid shutters that slide out from the wall to keep out the cold night air.

The maple furniture, which has always been in the house, is in keeping with it and has the same rustic sturdy feeling. The front windows look out on a broad bend of the Merrimac River, where ships passed up and down when the house was first built.

The Phelps house, more imposing than the other, once belonged to the theological seminary at Andover, to whom it was given by a local benefactor, with the understanding that the Philadelphia professor who was to occupy it should be allowed to build it to suit himself. Before the house was finished, it was a source of grave scandal to the authorities and the entire little community, for the Philadelphia professor, who was accustomed to do things well, had wood-carvers from Salem to finish his rooms for him, each one with a different moulding. He ordered expensive wallpapers, and altogether the elegance of the interior and exterior was felt to be unsuited to a seminary professor. Actually, the Phelps house, while the extravagant professor saw to it that it was built in the height of good taste and recent fashion, owes its charm to the simple and delicate proportions of the two stories, and its situation, modestly sheltered by the elms of Andover Hill.

The citizens of Salem had no qualms about extravagance or display in their homes. When their trading ventures were successful, they ordered for themselves the best house that money could buy, with the finest carvings and mouldings on the white pine woodwork that set off so well their mahogany furniture and painted wallpapers.

Among the houses by McIntire which are still standing in Salem are the Peabody Silsbee house, built in 1797; the Tucker Rice house, built in 1800, which has a graceful rounded porch; the house which is now owned by the Woman's Friend Society, remarkable for the pair of spiral staircases of bold construction, and which has a beautiful tulip and pineapple motive carved on the mantel in the parlor; the Cook Oliver house, interesting because it accidentally contains some of the best and richest carving done by McIntire, not originally intended for that house, but taken out of the house which he built for Elias Haskett Derby, the richest merchant of Salem and even of the

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

United States. Derby died soon after the completion of the house, and as no purchaser could be found who would keep up such an expensive establishment, it was eventually torn down, in 1815. Meanwhile, much of the wood finish was removed and built into the Cook Oliver house, and the gateposts, very elaborately carved with urns and garlands, were also transferred to the Cook Oliver house. McIntire seems to have found much satisfaction in devising his fence posts as he did in the carving of eagles; or perhaps high demand for fence posts and eagles stimulated his production of them. In 1802 the Salem Common was graded and planted with trees and named Washington Square; and in 1805 Washington Square was embellished with wooden gateways on the east and west sides, designed by McIntire and embellished with his carvings. The portrait bas-relief of Washington already mentioned was carved for the western gateway.

The Pierce-Johonnot Nichols house, now the property of the Essex Institute, was built by McIntire in the years from 1782 to 1800. It has great charm, for its barn and garden have been preserved, with the sloping of the latter towards what was once a river, its diagonally laid steps and wooden arches and the paved courtyard between the house and barn. In front is the usual picket fence with the carved gateposts, and the simple lines of the house itself are relieved by fluted pilasters at the corners, and by the balustrade of the low hip roof.

But it is the interior of the Pierce Nichols house which is of interest in connection with McIntire's development as an artist. The west parlor, square and substantial, was finished in 1782 and is known as the Georgian parlor; it has attractive embrasures, window seats, and a beautiful mantelpiece. The east parlor was done in 1800 when McIntire had adapted for himself the Adam manner, and this room is by some said to be the most beautiful room in New England. It has far more elegance than the Georgian parlor, due partly to the shape, which is oblong with mirrors at each end giving more spaciousness. The embrasured windows without seats have more slenderness, and the little settees were made to measurements that fit the embrasures; the same is true of the beautiful gilt mirrors, which were ordered in France to fit the space made by McIntire between the pilasters of the overmantle. The carving of the mouldings and frieze

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

with rosettes and vertical reeded groups, the mantelpiece with its garlands and little classic figures, restrained as it is, contrasts with the simpler and more sturdy woodwork of the Georgian parlor.

The Pingree White house, 1810, was probably one of the last that McIntire built. It has recently been arranged as a museum, by the Essex Institute, and with its old Salem and Oriental carved furniture, English china and silverware, gives a very vivid idea of the domestic surroundings enjoyed by the families of the successful merchant captains of Salem.

Refinements of household furnishings followed the influence of importations to some extent, but just as the joiner and the cabinet-maker redesigned in their own way, the other craftsmen, pewterer, silversmith, blacksmith, brass worker, gilder and clockmaker did too.

Pewter was commonly used after 1750 until about 1825, then china gradually replaced it. Even so, the five Essex County names that are mentioned above others are Israel Trask, Oliver and George, his brothers, and Eben Smith, at first working for Trask, but with his son, Eben, independent during the 'forties; all worked in Beverly after 1825.⁴² Israel Trask (1786-1867) is said to have been one of the few pewterers in the country who made use of chiseled decoration. Coffee pots and whale oil lamps were his specialty. Eben Smith (1773-1849) made both britannia and pewter ware; teapots, coffee pots, lamps and flagons came from his workshop; he also combined the manufacture of hose nozzles with designing pewter communion sets.

Silver was naturally in keeping with the increased luxury of the houses. Entertaining was a social necessity and tea services and candlesticks were, therefore, in general demand. The style was set by the classicism of the period, but proportion and simplicity were remembered from the seventeenth century. There were a great many silversmiths and jewelers in the county at the end of the eighteenth century, no one of whom seems to have been distinguished above another.

The blacksmith was part sculptor in the making of firebacks, but frequently copied imported designs. Firebacks in the Essex Institute are dated as early as 1660 and 1662, probably imported. Weather-

42. J. B. Kerfoot: "American Pewter."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

vanes were sometimes the product of the smith, sometimes of the woodcarver; the shapes varied with local fancy. Usually they took the form of some domestic animal, occasionally fish or ships. But the smiths have received no recognition for the art which they wrought.

For the most part blacksmiths continued to supply farm and kitchen. New devices were added to the conveniences of cooking; swinging cranes, mechanical spit-turners, the device attached to a kettle which permitted water to be poured from it without its removal from the hook over the flames. In the late eighteenth century iron was scarce; utensils are found which employ economies where possible. Wooden handles replaced those of wrought iron, a wooden body formed the core to which tinned sheet iron was attached to make a candelabrum.⁴³

Cauldrons and copper skillets of various sizes were part of intimate domestic ornament. Brass locks and hinges, door knobs, fire sets, lamps, and lanthorns glittered in the elegant quarters of the house.

Gilders applied their skill to carved mirrors and picture frames and to the cabinets of clocks, the makers of which vied with each other in matters of refinement of design. Newbury and Newburyport were important clock centers. Various members of the Balch and Mulliken families were clockmakers there.

Portraits added a convincing note of substantiality to the family furnishings. With the possible exception of Jeremiah Dummer (several portraits have been attributed to Dummer, those of his wife are signed and dated 1691, but the attribution is disputed) almost nothing is known of the portraiture of the seventeenth century, or for that matter of any painting. The artisan who dealt in and worked with paint obtained his living by any means available to him. The step is gradual from house painter to coach painter, to sign painter, to landscape painter, figure and portrait painter, and no one phase is more worthy than the next. The same man turned his skill and imagination to each. A few of the wealthier colonists brought pictures with them from England; it is possible that successful sign painters tried their skill in imitation of these. The English themselves had no painting tradition in the seventeenth century. Reynolds, Gainsborough, and

⁴³. Seymour Lindsay: "Iron and Brass Implements of the English and American Home."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

their followers did not appear until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century. The pictures which were brought over were copies of the continental painters or they were pictures painted by the same sort of people who were painting in the colonies.

The limners adapted their skill to circumstances. It was the practice to paint a variety of pictures during the long winter months when traveling was difficult. Except for the face and occasionally the hands, which were left blank, the pictures were completely finished. These were carried about the country during the warm months and the prospective sitter would be asked to choose the pose and costume which suited his fancy. It is probable that the sitting itself didn't take very long. The merchant or farmer might be flattered by having his likeness painted, but he was probably unwilling to give much of his time to such a trivial pursuit. The limner was chiefly concerned with painting a picture which would attract a sitter and then with "getting a likeness." The problems of design and art were secondary.

These were the beginnings. The limners passed through Essex County, they may have belonged here; if they did, they have been recorded as house or sign painters. There were four members of the Blythe family who were painters of this kind in Salem shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century. Some of the pastel portraits done by Benjamin Blythe (1746-?) are owned by the Essex Institute. Felt mentions him in connection with the year 1769: "Benj. Blyth draws crayons at his father's house in the 'great street leading to Marblehead.' He painted with great success in coloured crayons. Many of his portraits are still extant in the ancient families of this city."⁴⁴

Moses Dupré Cole came to Newburyport in 1795; his son was known to have painted signs, portraits and made frames, but whether he was also a painter is not certain. Information concerning the nature of the work of Essex County artists and the extent of it, is obtained only by piecing together odd references. In 1809 Bentley writes of trying to get a portrait of an old friend, General Fiske: "A portrait, three-quarter face, was taken while he was in the Naval Service, by Cole and Blythe. They were wretched daubers at best, but they had much

44. J. B. Felt: "Annals of Salem."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

employment from the money of Privateer men. None of the portraits are finished, but they sometimes have taken likenesses. These were the only persons who undertook it at that time."⁴⁵ If the Blythe referred to is Benjamin, this judgment of his work is not so warm as that of Felt; it also means that Benjamin was working later than 1795, when the Coles came to Newburyport (the latest authentic mention of him is 1787). If the Blythe referred to was William (1773-1806), then he seems to have done some sort of painting other than houses, a fact otherwise uncertain. Possibly the Cole referred to is neither Moses Dupré nor his son, but someone earlier. Finally, the passage cited suggests that a partnership existed. Whether these men shared a studio and painted separately, whether they took turns, whether one painted the background and the other drew the likenesses, is not known.

Samuel Bartoll (1765-1835) advertised military standards, signs, fireboards, landscapes, etc., in Salem, and is also said to have been a mural painter.

The important walls of many of the better houses were papered with fashionable French scenic paper, some of which still exists. Occasionally local painters were called upon to duplicate the imported style, which usually continued round the room without repeating and without allowance for doors and windows. Unfortunately, the art was thought little of; when the walls became shabby, these paintings were removed or covered, and only a few examples have survived. Sometimes the walls were painted on directly, either when the plaster surface was fresh (fresco) or with guache (opaque water color) on dry plaster. More often, it seems, the practice was to paste blank white paper to the walls upon which the design was laid. The Cook-Oliver house in Salem; the Lee house in Marblehead; the Lindens in Danvers; the Ham house in Peabody contain samples.

Sign painters followed the English tradition generally; the Mediterranean influence was felt strongly through the work of Michele Corne. In Salem, in 1804, "a collection of Ladies of taste began the decoration of the meeting house." Various engravings, paintings, and busts of famous American citizens were employed for the purpose, among them, "to give a presence to our venerable ancestors on

45. "Diary of William Bentley."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

the interesting occasion, a Painting of the venerable Governor Endicott and another of the worthy Governor Leverett, both done by M. Corne, an Italian."⁴⁶

Corne was probably the author of many of the wall paintings. The walls of the first and second story hallway of the Barnard House on Essex Street, Salem (at present inhabited by four tenant families) are covered with scenes richly colored and well adapted to the spaces they decorate. The pictorial transition follows that of the architecture and varies accordingly. One panel suggests the influence of the Maritime Alps; another, a hunting scene, is more reminiscent of the English or French countryside; a third shows a woman's figure leaning from the window of a house, which is unmistakably of European design. The work is probably that of Corne. The paintings are a fine monument to the early Essex County art and well worth the study of the mural painter. Thick yellow varnish obscures somewhat the original color, but has probably protected the paint from the neglect of local indifference.

Until recently there were two locally painted papers in a "house on High St.," Salem.⁴⁷ One was a rustic scene, the other a picture of an early railroad. The artist is unknown, as is also the present whereabouts of the paintings; the house which they decorated was removed by wreckers in 193(?). (The recent fate of a painted circular stair of a "Norman St. House,"⁴⁸ Salem, is also uncertain.) From their description these paintings must have been painted toward the middle of the nineteenth century. In connection with the year 1842 Felt mentions four decorators working in Salem—David and Joseph Pulsifer, Daniel M. Shepherd, and Thomas Coleman. They were skilled in fresco work as well as in oils, according to Felt, who asserts erroneously that Coleman was the first to practice art, for Corne preceded him.

Corne was a fugitive from Italy during the French attack on Naples; he came to Salem in 1799 aboard the ship "Mt. Vernon," Elias Hasket Derby, owner. Probably as a result he painted the cupola ceiling of the Benjamin Pickman house in which Derby then dwelt. The painting, somewhat obliterated, is now to be seen in the

46. "Diary of William Bentley," July 4, 1804.

47. Illustrated by N. McClelland: "Historic Wallpapers."

48. Described and illustrated by E. B. Allen: "Early American Wall Paintings."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

garden of the Essex Institute; it is done in fresco. The dark hulls of a number of the Derby vessels ride buoyantly over foamy water; light billowy sails are silhouetted stiffly against the land. Corne painted pictures of many ships and numerous battle scenes during the war of 1812; none seem quite so gay as these.

Prosperous shipping stimulated the painter as much as the wood-carver. "Corne continues to enjoy his reputation as a painter of ships. In every house we see the ships of our harbor delineated for those who navigated them. Painting, before unknown, in its first efforts, is now common among our children."⁴⁹ Ship pictures were much in demand at the time. There were expert painters in almost all the Mediterranean and Oriental ports; local artists were undoubtedly influenced by the work brought home from voyages.

Sketches of vessels, sometimes in color, were occasionally made by officers writing their logs.⁵⁰ In the Marine Room of the Peabody Museum in Salem are a few water colors of ships and harbors which were made by Edmund Stone, of Beverly, member of the crew of the ship "George," Salem; but for the most part local ship pictures were painted by carriage or sign painters. George Ropes (1788-1819) was born deaf and dumb in Salem and remained so during life. He is recorded as a successful sign painter. As a pupil of Corne he painted ship pictures after 1802 and was the chief support of his widowed mother and the other children.

Paintings of vessels were made as early as 1765. Three water colors of the schooner "Baltick," by an unknown artist, are in the Peabody Museum. Water color for ship pictures is prevalent in the eighteenth and during the first quarter of the nineteenth century; in 1799 William Ward made an ink drawing of the ship "Friendship," which was touched with color. Benjamin F. West (1818-54), Salem, used both water color and oil; his painting of the ship "Margaret" is painted with *gauche* on cardboard. The design possesses good movement and the paint is fresh and crisp in harmony with it; his painting of the brig "Hamilton" was done in 1851 in oil; it is stiff and sluggish by contrast. William Henry Luscomb, Salem, 1805-1866, also painted the "Hamilton" in oils in 1840. He was known

49. "Diary of William Bentley," January 6, 1804.

50. Robinson and Dow: "Sailing Ships of New England," 1st series.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

as a "sign and fancy painter,"⁵¹ and made numerous oil paintings of Salem vessels. Oil is preferred toward the middle of the nineteenth century.

In other respects oil had been the accepted medium from the beginning, however. Sign painters used it, limners painted their portraits with it, "fancy" painters used it for fireboards (which covered the open grate when it was not in use) and other decorative panels. Fireboards and a panel from the Forrester house in Salem are in the Essex Institute. A panel "having a rude painting of a ship on the stocks, with Indians at work as carpenters,"⁵² was taken in 1855 from the house of Samuel Moggaridge, shipbuilder, and is now in the Newburyport Public Library. Moggaridge died in 1754, but at what period the panel was introduced is not known. Another panel is that mentioned by Chase in his history of Haverhill.⁵³ A view of the second meetinghouse was painted "after a steeple had been added, probably between 1750 and 1766, upon a panel over the mantelpiece in the front room of the 'Harrod House,' a famous tavern in its time, which stood a little north of the present City Hall. The panel was cut out to preserve the painting and is supposed to be still in the possession of a descendant of the family, unfortunately not a resident of Haverhill." Panels of this sort were apparently not uncommon. There is a view of a harbor with shipping now installed in the Whipple house in Ipswich.

Corne is known to have painted the four oil panels which are now in the East India Marine Museum in Salem. Two are fireboards showing views of Capetown and of Canton factories; one is an allegorical panel of Salem harbor designed for the overdoorway of the museum; the fourth is a dramatic canvas which emphasizes the sluggish calm of the driver of a "fish-machine" approaching the beach to meet the boats on a storm tossed sea. Two rural scenes which decorate the mantle panels in "Oak Hill," Peabody, are also attributed to Corne. He must have been a busy worker, for by 1807 he was gone. (He worked in Boston and then Newport, where he died). Bentley notes the absence in speaking of William King, the showman and profile artist: "Mr. King has a panorama still in Salem (sixty

51. Robinson and Dow: "Sailing Ships of New England," 1st series.

52. G. F. Dow: "New England Sailing Ships," 3d series.

53. Quoted by J. B. D. Cogswell: "History of Essex County," 1888.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

feet long by ten feet high). It is the siege of Tripoli. The ships are done by Corne, formerly living in this town and introduced by E. H. Derby from Naples, the ships are good but the whole admits of some improvement."⁵⁴

Improvement and polish seem to have combined the dual goal of the early Republic. The American people were politically independent, but they looked carefully to Europe to learn how to act. With regard to portraiture particularly they were still artistically dependent. Miniature painting requires a meticulous technique which was not foreign to this attitude, and there seems to have been some interest in small portraits painted on ivory or on the slightly larger surfaces of paper or cabinet size wood panels. Although ivory was used as painting surface in England as early as 1761, few miniatures of the middle eighteenth century are known in America. The art started as painting ornamental to bracelets, snuffboxes, and watchlids, and developed until during the last quarter of the eighteenth century it was deemed worthy of a frame.⁵⁵

Nathaniel Hancock painted miniatures and advertised for sitters in Salem in 1805. John Hazlett was in Salem in 1782 and also in 1785. Manasseh Cutler Torrey painted portraits and miniatures. He was a pupil of Henry Inman and of the National Academy of Design in New York. He had a studio in Salem from 1831-37. William Verstile was a Philadelphia miniature painter of some ability, who advertised in Salem in 1802 that he was about to leave town.⁵⁶

It may be gathered from such an advertisement that Mr. Verstile might have remained had there been sufficient encouragement; it was a last call. Apparently the town was not large enough to support a permanent resident. It is significant that of the forty-seven names of prominent American miniature painters listed by Theodore Bolton⁵⁷ not one is an Essex County artist.

Constant coming and going does not imply a lack of success. The vogue of profiles seems to have lasted from 1800 to 1825, after which it dwindled until it slowly succumbed to the daguerreotype following the next decade. The makers of profiles passed frequently through

54. "Diary of William Bentley," February 6, 1807.

55. T. Bolton: "Early American Portrait Painters in Miniature."

56. H. W. Belknap: "Artists and Craftsmen of Essex County."

57. Listed in "American Miniatures, 1730-1850," by H. B. Wehle.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

Essex County, from which it may be assumed that they were well received. William King, self-styled physiognotrace, advertised in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1805, referring to success in Essex County as proof of his skill. He wished to take

PROFILE LIKENESSES with his new invented patent Delineating Pencil, which for accuracy, excels any machine before invented for that purpose.

He reduces to any size from the shadow; therefore the person is not incommoded with anything passing over the face, nor detained over six minutes. The correctness of his PROFILES is well known, he having taken over eight thousand in Salem, Newbury-port, and the adjoining towns.

His price is 25c for two profiles of one person."⁵⁸

This was a form of portraiture which all could afford.

Profiles were commonly painted on glass, ivory, cardboard, or plaster and in oil or India ink. It is said that a mixture of pine soot and beer was used to produce an intense blackness. Sometimes the highlights were touched with gold or white; occasionally a background was drawn. Rarely the profile was painted on a convex glass which cast a shadow on a white card behind, producing a softness not otherwise obtained, or, as rarely, sheets of paper were laid one above another and rounded off to provide a silhouette in relief.⁵⁹

The profile was given the name silhouette by Auguste Eduart, a French artist, who traveled through the country about 1825 and who insisted that the portrait should be, without added touches, all black. The name is said to be derived from Etienne de Silhouette, French finance minister, who practiced the art and who, about 1759, sponsored economic reform for which he received public ridicule and because of which inexpensive things were said to be "a la Silhouette." The art was not limited to those professionally initiated. About 1828, a youngster, Master William Hanks, "delineated every object in nature & art with extraordinary correctness—in this department of art several young women of Salem have greatly excelled."⁶⁰

The profile, or silhouette, was not always drawn. Miss Honeywell did fancy paper cutting, though she was without hands. She made portraits in Salem in 1809. William Henry Brown did a num-

58. New Hampshire "Gazette," February 26, 1805.

59. E. S. Bolton: "Silhouettes."

60. J. B. Felt: "Annals of Salem."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

ber of cutouts toward the middle of the century. He worked rapidly and took likenesses in one to five minutes.

The more prolific profile takers used mechanical devices, as may be inferred from the advertisement above. William Bache was in Salem in 1808 and 1810 and cut by mechanical means. His portraits were stamped "B's patent." Moses Chapman was born in Boxford in 1782. He used an engraved trade card during his journeys which was decorated with an example of his work; blanks were left to be filled as the circumstances of each new town might require: "Correct profile likenesses taken at Mr. ——— from 8 o'clock in the morning until 9 in the evening—neatly cut for 25c—paints and shades if requested for 75c—He makes use of a machine universally allowed by the best judges to be more correct than any ever before invented."⁶¹

Who was the engraver of the card and silhouette is not known.

Engraving was done at an early date in the colonies. The "pine tree" coins already mentioned are an example. Those who were silver-smiths or clockmakers were apt to be engravers as well. Newburyport seems to have been a center for the art. The Perkins family engraved there during the last of the eighteenth century, as did Jonathan Mullikan and H. Gavin; A. M. Peasley and William Hooker were there a few years later. Charles Toppan, engraver, later moved to Philadelphia and became first president of the American Bank Note Co. in 1858. James Akin was born in South Carolina, but came to Newburyport to engrave in 1804; he, too, later moved to Philadelphia and is better known for his work there.

Engraving was occasionally done for its own sake, as in the case of a portrait, or local "prospect," but by and large it was illustrative or decorative of a text. Felt mentions C. C. Torrey in 1820: "He engraved some likenesses, but was employed most of the time by booksellers and authors in ornamental work, scenery, historical pictures, charts, etc."⁶² Earlier, in 1807, a certificate of membership in the Salem Marine Society was ornamented with engravings of Salem Harbor, the scenes of fishing and launching, from drawings of Abijah Northey, Jr., of Salem. Whether or not Northey also made the engravings is uncertain. As he was a silversmith the engravings are probably his.

61. Reproduced by A. Jenny: "Early American Trade Cards."

62. J. B. Felt: "Annals of Salem."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

Still earlier Bentley comments: "Received from Isaiah Thomas his Almanac for the year 1797. He assures me the work is his own from the rag. His apology for the plates in the work to an American is satisfactory, as we were and perhaps now are behind all the world in the art of engraving and perhaps also in taste for good executions."⁶³

The woodcut probably appeared as early as the engraving. The skill required to cut it was native to the local craftsman handy with tools; but the drawing of cuts is commonly crude; not much is known of those who made them. In the Boston "Gazette," February 6, 1758, appeared a rude cut of a man carrying a pack crossing a stone bridge of three arches, to head an advertisement of the Newbury bridge lottery (first part): the Parker river bridge."⁶⁴

William Hunt, of Salem, was master of a "Negro Man named Cato," who ran away. Hunt's advertisement offering \$2 reward and all charges appeared in the Essex "Gazette," May 14, 1771, accompanied by a cut of a running black-faced figure."⁶⁵

Ezekiel Russell is said to be the first publisher in Salem to make use of woodcut illustrations. The work was generally crude and probably was cut in his own office by himself or by one of his workmen. His almanacs, under various titles, were published from 1776 to 1780 in Salem and Danvers. In the former years appeared a two-page woodcut supposed to be General Joseph Warren, in the latter a half page cut of Colonel Ethan Allen, "a grotesque figure in continental uniform flanked on the right by an equally crude figure representing the angel Gabriel and on the left by a female figure holding on a pole a liberty cap."⁶⁶ An illustration was designed to be impressive, striking, at least, if it was designed at all. Russell published the second edition of "Mr. Dodge's Narrative of His Sufferings Among the British at Detroit," which contained a portrait cut of George Washington which had previously done duty as John Dicken-son. Neither design, nor truth, even, interfered here. Art was for practical show, a means toward an end—sophistication; it didn't matter that little thought was given it. It was to be had at all costs, but without the expense of time and imagination. And yet this spon-

63. "Diary of William Bentley," December 22, 1796.

64. Mentioned by G. F. Dow: "Arts and Crafts in New England."

65. Illustrated by H. M. Brooks: "Quaint and Curious Advertisements."

66. H. S. Tapley: "Salem Imprints."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

taneous art of the early republic does not seem oppressed by the conscious labor which bears on the work of a century later; it is comparatively refreshing.

Contemporary with the painter of miniatures was the sculptor who worked with wax. He does not seem to have been as popular as the former.

John Christian Rauschner was a Dane who wandered over the Eastern States and was in Salem in 1809; he is the only maker of miniature wax portraits in Essex County of whom there is any authentic record. Examples of his work at the Essex Institute are all profile reliefs neatly modeled and as delicately designed. It is supposed that they were made of white bee's wax subsequently colored with oil paint. A wax head of Washington in three-quarters relief, to which the color has never been added, is owned by a Topsfield family; the artist is not known.

Another phase of wax work was the traveling exhibition devoted to images of famous and currently notorious personages. The work must have been dramatic and to have been so may have been fairly competent. The following excerpts from a newspaper notice are typical:

To the PATRONS of the ARTS Messrs Stowe & Brady respectively inform the Ladies & Gentlemen of Haverhill and its vicinity that they will open an ELEGANT MUSEUM on Monday next for two days only—2 organs 40 wax figures—Daniel Lambert who died at Stamford England on the 20th of June 1789 aged 39 yrs. at his death weighed 739 lbs. his coffin measured 6 ft. 4 in. long, 4 ft. 4 in. wide and he measured 9 ft. 6 in. round the body. A representation of a *Lady* that was drowned at Albany in Dec. 1812 crossing the Ferry holding her beautiful *Twin Babes* who were saved and are now living in Greenbush. A *Scripture Piece* representing Jael the wife of Heber, the Kinite, in the act of driving a spike into the head of Sisera, the Commander of the army of Canaan; see Judges 24th Chap., 21st verse. An American prisoner in Algiers represented chained and spiked to the floor & starving to death with an Iron on his Head. A Female Figure weeping over *Washington's* tomb."⁶⁷

James Bishop was the author of the figures.⁶⁸

67. "Essex Patriot," Haverhill, May 17, 1817.

68. In speaking of Thomas Bishop, Philadelphia miniature painter, William Dunlap notes that "a lady of this name has exhibited some modelling in wax," and suggests that she may have been the widow of Thomas, perhaps wrongly. See "History of the Arts of Design in the U. S."—Dunlap.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

The foregoing is indicative of the taste of the general populace; such announcements are given frequently. The "patrons of the arts" were flattered, doubtless, as much as patrons of the popular moving picture may be flattered today.

Besides wax portraits and the traveling wax works may be mentioned the small memorial, often made with wax, colored and elaborately fixed within a box-like frame, which was hung upon the wall. In many attics, doubtless, these are still to be found. Typical of them is one with inscribed sentiment, dated 1798, commemorating the loss at sea of a young lady whose spirit, a wax doll, surrounded with imaginative sea life, represents. A wreath of faded artificial flowers, framed with sea shells, and dated 1864, serves a similar purpose. The custom is not limited to a single generation.

There were variations of this sort of work which adorned the houses of the early nineteenth century: quill work designs (made of colored strips of paper rolled round quills), artificial flower compositions, intricate designs composed of human hair, fancy frames made of pebbles and shells or of tiny bits of carved wood pieced together so that the whole has the appearance of a matted but systematic undergrowth. Tools, colors, and a number of examples are in the Essex Institute.

Whether or not such work was done only by women is not known. Young ladies seem to have been encouraged in such modest pursuits besides their samplers and other practical stitching. The latter had always received serious attention though the technique of it changed with fashion. With the vogue for French delicacy, which arose about the middle of the eighteenth century, linen or cotton floss was stitched over cambric or muslin according to a predetermined design, which was often obtained from "boughten work" (from the shops in the towns). From about 1710 until 1840, capes, collars, pelerines, everything from baby caps to wedding dresses passed through the women's fingers. Even the head of the household profited for "finely stitched and ruffled shirts were as necessary to family dignity as embroidered gowns for women."⁶⁹

Times were not easy following the Revolution. Industry bore the seed of approbation as well as its own fruits. The Salem "Mer-

69. C. Wheeler: "Embroidery in America."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

cury" of February 6, 1787, exhibited the spirit of condescension toward luxuries, previously noted, in reporting the commendable action of a "young Miss who was to wear a silk gown of her own making—and may it soon be esteemed disreputable by both Ladies and Gentlemen, to wear any silk but of our own manufacture." On April 28 of the same year, the same paper speaks of community spinning and needlework in Newburyport, where "benevolence was seen smiling in every countenance and the harmony of hearts surpassed even the harmony of wheels."

Spanish lace work from Mexico *via* New Orleans was done on white or black silk net, the weight of it depending on the design and the thread used. (In Ipswich lace was made on a commercial scale in the homes from about 1790 until 1824, and then in factories until about 1833.)

The cross-stitch of the sampler triumphed over embroidery when it became practically applied in the so-called Berlin wool work, which consisted of colored wools or silks cross-stitched on canvas; sometimes broadcloth or velvet were used as a foundation. Pictorial imitations of fruits, flowers, animals, and distorted people then covered sofas, chairs, footstools, and firescreens (used to deflect the fire's glare from the face while the rest of the body might be comfortably warmed).

Hooked rugs date from about 1800. It was a thrifty art which made use of scrap material. A recent revival, begun about 1905 in Ipswich, has continued until the present time, principally in the sea-coast towns, where the majority of summer tourists pass.

In general, industry of the middle nineteenth century absorbed these arts; women left their homes for factories and save for sporadic revivals or exceptions of leisure local variation due to individual design and imagination ceased.

The occupations mentioned were not all; paints were feminine as well. In an announcement of the opening of Bradford Academy, in 1803, a list of the courses of studies was included; boys were offered such subjects as English, mathematics, geography, the classics; in addition to the subjects which girls might study were drawing and painting.⁷⁰ Art was of no importance to an active career, but suitable

70. Haverhill "Observer," May 27, 1803.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

only for protected idleness, suitable, also, only for the moneyed class. In a later notice, 1805, the price of normal tuition is given as \$3 a quarter, "to those who paint and embroider, \$3.50."⁷¹

Painting was frequently done on materials other than canvas—gauze and catgut, silk, velvet; some of the flower pictures on velvet are very beautiful. "Oriental painting" (made by arranging colored tinsel behind framed glass) was a fad which appeared, perhaps, toward the middle of the nineteenth century, as was the painting of local scenes on bricks taken from favorite places of visit.

Women were not content to dabble only. Their names are commended among painters. (Although painting was considered a "feminine" occupation with respect to the active history of the county, the majority of eminent artists have been men.) Hannah Crowninshield was a favorite pupil of William Bentley. In 1807 her third drawing was an allegorical composition with symbolical figures, wherein "a view of the life of Ashly Bowen was compared to the sailing of a ship." Bentley himself added an ancient Sea-God to the work, which was taken from a manual by Wright. Manuals seem to have been freely employed in all the arts. In his diary Bentley mentions a red crayon portrait of Major-General John Stark, done by Hannah Cruikshank, of Salem, in 1810. Sarah Allen did portraits in Salem in 1820. There were others.

The painting of Essex County during the past one hundred years has been competent, although the artists have been better known locally than nationally.

Colonel Henry Sargent (1770-1845), born in Gloucester, student at Governor Dummer Academy in Byfield, was in Salem in 1822. He was prominent in political and military affairs of the State, which occupied time during which he might otherwise have painted. Here was an artist with a very different point of view and background from the sign painter who had turned to portraits. Indeed, Dunlap, writing in 1834, was much impressed with the peculiar character of his training. Fine portraits by Smibert and finer by Copley (he notes), adorned the walls of the Sargent home, but until the age of twenty "he had evinced no partiality for the study of the fine arts. . . . He was first incited to attempt drawing by some rude sketches

71. Salem "Gazette," April 9, 1805.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

in common chalk made by one of his brothers on the walls of their sleeping apartment. Success made him continue the practice. He found he could outdo his brother and the walls were soon covered with their rival productions."⁷² Expression by means of any of the arts of design is natural to many who never make the discovery.

Sargent is worth more than passing attention because his indulgence in painting between other occupations is more characteristic of the general attitude of Essex County people toward art today than of his own time. The arts have been appreciated, perhaps equally, at both ends of the century, by those who have had leisure to do so. At present there is evidence of greater active participation than formerly; art schools, shops that supply materials, galleries and the summer colonies at Marblehead and Cape Ann attest the fact. Rarely is artistic excellence developed from surroundings which are unsympathetic to its interest; there is promise that from a high level of common effort higher peaks may be gained.

James Frothingham (1786-1864) is an example in point. He was a chaise painter by early training, who obtained the help of Gilbert Stuart, but was largely responsible for his own instruction. Felt writes, 1818, that he was in Salem for six or seven years. "He painted numerous portraits. He excelled in natural coloring and exact resemblance."⁷³ But his pictures describe a penetration greater than this, and the speculation arises as to whether his talents might not have lifted him to greater artistic distinction had he been surrounded by the stimulus of an intelligently critical public.

Thomas B. Lawson (1807-88) began painting at Newburyport in 1832. He is known best for a portrait of Daniel Webster, but other portraits are said to be excellent.

Charles Osgood (1809-90) painted many portraits in Salem where, with the exception of a year or so in Boston and another in New York, he lived most of his life. About 1828 he got from \$25 to \$100 for his portraits, according to size and quality.⁷⁴ Compared with other work in the county, his is prominent because of the extent of it, as well as because of its general good quality.

A number of Essex County painters acquired success within their own localities, but were little known beyond them. William Bartoll

72. William Dunlap: "History of the Arts of Design in the United States."

73. J. B. Felt: "Annals of Salem."

74. J. B. Felt: "Annals of Salem."

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

painted portraits in Marblehead about 1840. A number of his paintings, including a damaged self-portrait, are in the Lee house there. He is not recorded elsewhere.

Others went further afield.

J. Appleton Brown (1844-1902) was born in West Newbury, went to Boston in 1865, returned from studies in Paris, 1868, was in Europe, 1874-78, and in England in 1886. He was a member of the National Academy and other societies. When at home he painted landscapes in the Merrimac Valley.

Ross Sterling Turner (1847-1915) was born in New York State, was in Munich in 1876 and later in Italy. He lived in Salem after he was married, in 1885, and painted variously in oil and water color.

Arthur Wesley Dow (1857-1922) studied in Boston and then in Paris and was a teacher in New York from 1895-1904, about which time he promoted an artistic interest in handicrafts, textile, metal, and pottery in Ipswich, his native town, for with the growth of the industrial process the old crafts had ceased.

The carvers had dwindled as well; hand-shaped ornaments and figures had become scarce. "Gingerbread" architectural forms had been machined for a quarter century; ship's ornaments disappeared with the commercial sailing vessel. It was during this social change that sculpture became valued for its own merits aside from its worth as a motif of applied decoration. The eighteenth century carver was not dignified with the name of sculptor, the first in Essex County so-called seems to have been E. Godfrey who, advertising in 1792 that he was able to be in Salem for two months, gives notice that he "executes in the various parts of sculpture," but of what this consisted is not known.

William W. Story (1819-95) was born in Salem, but like some of the Essex County painters, grew restless and spent much time in Italy. Hawthorne met him in Rome in 1851 and again in 1858 and wrote warmly of his "perplexing variety of talents." Judging by examples of his work in the Essex Institute, it seems that such praise was liberal, but ideals have changed during the course of seventy-five years. If his statuary is considered by its own day, nineteenth century emotion was successfully cut from a block of classicism.

John Rogers (1829-1904) was born in Salem, but his family moved away while he was still a schoolboy. He did not live in the

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ESSEX COUNTY

county afterwards. Following a few years of engineering and a few months of study in Paris and Rome he returned to this country to model according to his own ideas and soon settled in New York. His importance is considerable, for, ignoring imitations of the classic ideal, he worked on such subjects as he found in the life around him. It had been forgotten, if ever it was realized, that art arises from individual observation and is given form by individual imagination. He was the first consciously native sculptor, although the carvers, stonecutters, and waxworkers who preceded him were as genuine.

The genuineness of the contemporary artist likewise depends on the degree to which he is, consciously or unconsciously, sensitive to his environment. Whatever art is to be discovered in the future history of Essex County will be found to have its origins in these individual reactions. When collective industry succeeded to the position held by the crafts, the individual was lost, and design was lost in the confusion of standardizing and specializing that took place. Subsequently, design, which is always necessary whether the work is done by machine or by hand, was conceived by a detached few, but the factory employee became a servant who neither thought of his work in terms of a finished product nor gave any personal imagination to it. Art exists with difficulty where the shaping of materials is divorced from the thought which dictates what the shape should be.

It is commercially impractical to combine the two directly in the way that the individual craftsman was able to do, which implies that the entire burden is thrown on the designer. The finish with which the detail is executed, the texture, the color, and the particular refinement of volume and surface are within his province. His understanding of the relationship which his work bears to the whole product and which the whole bears to other contemporary surroundings—clothes, furniture, tableware, domestic decorations of metal and fabric, painting, sculpture, architecture—will determine the extent to which industry can be an art of those who compose it. Industry can encourage art as art can encourage industry to provide a fuller life for their people in common.

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Book Review and Preview

"Richards Cyclopedia," edited by Ernest Hunter Wright and Mary Heritage Wright; James Albert Richards, Managing Editor and Director of Art; with a notable board of editors. Illustrated in black and white and color; 24 volumes bound as 12; 6,539 text pages. Publishers, J. A. Richards, Inc., New York. \$39.50.



It is a new departure for this periodical to note the appearance of a children's encyclopedia, for the nature of its work has placed it out of touch with works in the juvenile field, and the manner in which our interest was attracted is worthy of narration as illustrative of a point that will be made later in this review. A letter from the publisher asked if we would be willing to look over the section of the work dealing with American history for such comment as we felt it merited, and to such a reasonable request we readily agreed. Two volumes arrived. We wrote for the full set, being unwilling to express an opinion of the whole through examination of a part, and then were totally committed to investigation of the whole subject of children's works of reference, particularly in relation to our special field of research and publication, since the serious work in the historical field of tomorrow is the fruitage of the seeds of interest planted today.

So in addition to a close scrutiny of the "Richards Cyclopedia," we went over the other well-known encyclopedias and books of general information, and, still feeling the unfamiliarity of our ground, consulted the printed views of teachers, librarians, and workers in the field of child education generally, including an analytical article on children's encyclopedias as a group in the "Subscription Books Bulletin" of the American Library Association. We absorbed a great deal of theory, compared methods of presentation, considered mechanical items, checked costs, and then, amazed that so much editorial talent could have been brought together under one leadership (that of Dr. Ernest Hunter Wright, editor-in-chief, professor of English in Columbia University) investigated the methods employed in the actual make-up of the volumes, and found that they represent a truly impres-

BOOK REVIEW AND PREVIEW

sive work of scholarly compilation, with the imprint of authority at every vital point and with an ideal of service actuating a tremendous publication and merchandising venture. The index, cutting-edge of any library tool, was our next concern, and we found it the work of two capable indexers, one of whom, Eugenia Wallace, had served us in like capacity; the index is all that could be asked of such a department in any work.

Then we came to what was, to us, the acid test. We took a single volume of the work to a boy in whom we have more than passing interest, a lad who, it is true, enjoys books, but not beyond the average of normal children. He looked it over with us for a few minutes, asked permission to take it for personal inspection, and after a half hour was called to some other part of his daily program. But mark this. Before the day was over he had given evidence, in his conversation and occupation, of three new ideas which could have come to him in no other manner than through the volume. What would the average person responsible for a child's physical welfare and mental and spiritual growth not give to be assured of such daily aid in his development?

This is the background of the opinion which we have formed and which is summarized below:

1. The section devoted to American history, which was that particularly referred to us, is written with emphasis upon human causes and effects, with strict accuracy, in the simple yet dignified narrative style which maintains throughout all the volumes.

2. The great number of illustrations, excellent with a few minor exceptions, are faithful and suited to the text, and sustain interest to a remarkable degree. They capture the child's attention by picturing, whenever it can be done effectively, other children.

3. The division of material into reasonably small units seems most logical for youthful assimilation.

4. For home use a notable feature is the outlining of useful and entertaining activities.

5. Less appealing to the youthful user of the volumes, but of great value to those who guide their use, is a comprehensive bibliography, listing, in graded and full descriptive form, the outstanding works in the field under discussion, so that special interest may be furthered and early intellectual gains consolidated.

6. Physically, the books are of the substantial type that children's use demands. The paper is of a good weight and finish, the printing

BOOK REVIEW AND PREVIEW

impression clear and even throughout, and the binding the most substantial obtainable and of attractive design.

7. In the item of cost these volumes, selling far below the average of similar works, and meeting the exacting standards outlined heretofore, have a definite appeal to those who scrutinize their expenditures closely, a class that has grown to vast proportions in the past six years.

8. While expert opinion may at times be in error, nevertheless "Richards Cyclopedia" has marshalled an imposing array of voluntary endorsements, based upon use, familiarity, and purchase, which must be considered in making a choice of such a set. It is our belief that certain changes in grouping of material could be made advantageously, and this suggestion has been made to the publisher. It gives the impression of having been produced serially, although such seems not to have been the case. We are informed that in the sale of the volumes to institutions and to individuals the books themselves are the most persuasive influence, and this is the manner in which this note was inspired, as indicated to the opening paragraph,—by the favorable reaction to a preliminary examination of the work.

It is our conviction that "Richards Cyclopedia" has a claim upon a leading place in its field, that it is destined to become an educational and cultural force in English-speaking countries, and that those who conceived and executed it are entitled to recognition and reward for their contribution to juvenile reference literature.

W. S. D.

SERIAL FEATURE

The October, 1935, number will contain the first of several installments of "With Axe and Musket at Plymouth," by Gleason L. Archer, LL. D., Dean of the Suffolk Law School and Counsellor General of the Society of Mayflower Descendants. Dr. Archer is the author of "Mayflower Heroes" (Century Company, 1931), and of sixteen books on law subjects, and is one of the foremost authorities on early colonial history, writing with a vividness that few historians have equalled.

At the completion of its serial appearance "With Axe and Musket at Plymouth" will appear in book form, with the The American Historical Society, Inc., as publishers.



MASSASOIT, THE GREAT SACHEM OF THE WAMPANOAGS

Bronze Statue by Cyrus E. Dallin on Coles Hill, Plymouth

(Photograph by courtesy of A. S. Burbank, Plymouth.)

VOL. XXIX

OCTOBER, 1935

NUMBER 4

AMERICANA

ILLUSTRATED



THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.

SOMERVILLE, NEW JERSEY, AND NEW YORK CITY

Entered at the Post Office in Somerville, N. J., as Second Class Matter, under the Act
of Congress of March 3, 1879

Copyright, 1935

The American Historical Society, Inc.

AMERICANA

Published by THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC., formerly published by the National Americana Society. Issued in quarterly numbers at \$4 per annum; single copies \$1. Publication Office, the C. P. Hoagland Company Building, 16 Union Street, Somerville, N. J.

AMERICANA is a Quarterly Magazine of History, Genealogy, Heraldry, and Literature. Manuscripts upon these subjects are invited, and will be given early and careful consideration. It is desirable that contributions should contain not less than two thousand nor more than ten thousand words. Contributors should attach to their manuscript their full names, with academic or other titles, and memorandum of number of words written.

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Somerville, N. J., or 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City

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Contents

	PAGE
With Axe and Musket at Plymouth.	
By Gleason L. Archer, LL. D., Counsellor General of the Society of Mayflower Descendants and Dean of the Suffolk Law School, Boston, Massachusetts - - -	523
Myths and Monuments of Old Mexico.	
By Arthémise Goertz, New Orleans, Louisiana - - - -	588
The Beginning of Printing in Rhode Island.	
By Douglas C. McMurtrie, Chicago, Illinois - - - - -	607
Medicine Ceremonies Performed Over Whistling-Wind.	
By Albert B. Reagan, Ph. D., Department of Anthropology, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah - - - - -	630
Ellen Hardin Walworth, Forerunner of the New Time.	
By Adelaide Johnson, Washington, D. C. - - - - -	651
John Baptist Henry Cooper, California Pioneer.	
By J. R. Shaw, San Francisco, California - - - - -	663
Governor John Webster and His Family.	
By Myrtle M. Lewis, Glen Rock, New Jersey - - - - -	668

AMERICANA

October, 1935


With Axe and Musket at Plymouth*

BY GLEASON L. ARCHER, LL. D.,

COUNSELLOR GENERAL OF THE SOCIETY OF MAYFLOWER DESCENDANTS AND DEAN OF THE SUFFOLK LAW SCHOOL,
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

CHAPTER I

GOVERNOR BRADFORD MAKES A DECISION

HE Governor of Plymouth Colony stole softly forth from his home at the foot of the single street of the tiny settlement. It was too early for other members of his household to be astir. A strange household indeed was his, composed largely of half-grown boys whose parents had perished since coming to America on the "Mayflower" two and one-half years

*No more vivid story of the Pilgrim Fathers has perhaps ever been written than "With Axe and Musket at Plymouth," the first installment of which appears herein. This is history as it should be written—gripping, dramatic, the daily life of Plymouth Colony in its early years! Out of the shadows of the past, under the pen of one who has delved deeply into the facts and who possesses unusual power to reconstruct scenes and events, emerge Governor Bradford, Captain Standish, Elder Brewster and other leaders of the immortal company, to walk the earth as they did in life. No longer mere names in a book of history, they now appear as purposeful, dynamic human beings, in the midst of those appalling difficulties that they so gallantly overcame. Plymouth becomes again the first white settlement on the shores of forest clad New England—a tiny hamlet begirt by palisades and protected by cannons on the hill.

Every incident in "With Axe and Musket" has sound historical foundation. For years prior to undertaking the task Dean Archer literally lived with the known writings and records of the Pilgrim Fathers. With the lawyer's instinct for assembling clues and odd bits of information, and above all from their writings and their conduct on notable reported occasions, he has been able to reconstruct many important events as they must have occurred even though imperfectly reported by the actors themselves. Bradford and his associates were so close to heroic events that they not infrequently disposed of happenings of great significance by a single sentence, hence the need of reconstructing the great epic of Plymouth Colony.

While the author makes no claim that the actual language put into the mouths of the chief actors in arguments and debates has any other basis than probability from the

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

before. These children were "wards of the State," and as such found welcome lodgment in the Governor's house.¹

The stars were still in the sky of this spring morning in 1623, as Governor Bradford climbed the steep hill to the fort on its summit. There was reason enough for his wakefulness. Great responsibility rested upon the soul of the youthful Governor. For two years he had borne that responsibility. Not only was he Governor in the modern sense of chief magistrate, but he was also charged with responsibility for regulating the daily activities of every soul in the Colony.

Greater even than these things was the grim necessity that lay upon him of determining by most careful computation how much food could be allotted to each individual of a community that had been on half-rations for two years. The keys to the storehouse from which this precious hoard of food was daily allotted were in Governor Bradford's keeping night and day, lest, famine crazed, some of the company should yield to a very natural and very powerful temptation to fill their hungry stomachs with food, regardless of future need. The Weymouth colony had recently met with utter disaster from this very cause. They had consumed even their seed corn. Had not their long suffering neighbors in Plymouth fed them and sent them home to England they must certainly have perished of starvation. The burden of these heavy duties might well have induced wakefulness in the wise and farseeing chief magistrate of Plymouth.

known character and habits of speech of the chief actors, yet by utilizing this vehicle Dean Archer has achieved a notable result. For his radio audiences it has powerful appeal, creating the illusion of living drama. For ordinary readers it has the unique advantage of depicting the doubts and fears and the cross currents of life known to have existed in Plymouth that could have been portrayed in no other way.

Dean Gleason L. Archer, of Suffolk Law School, is not only eminent as a writer of law textbooks and as a historian, but he has long ranked as one of the foremost radio lecturers of the Nation. It is, in fact, to the radio that we owe this remarkable story of Pilgrim days, since it is one of the by-products of four years of weekly broadcasts on early colonial history, delivered by Dean Archer over the facilities of the National Broadcasting Company. Four volumes of history have been accumulated in this manner. "Mayflower Heroes" has already appeared in print. It is the purpose of *AMERICANA* to present in serial form the unpublished material, afterward assembling the same as separate volumes under appropriate titles.—THE EDITOR.

1. In 1627, at the time of the division of the cattle, Governor Bradford was still acting as guardian of Joseph Rogers, whose father Thomas had died in the "first sickness"; Thomas Cushman, sixteen-year-old son of his friend, Robert Cushman; William Latham, a lad who had been brought to Plymouth by Governor John Carver; Manasseh Kempton, a youth who had arrived on the "Anne" or the "Little James"; Nathaniel Morton, John Morton, Ephraim Morton and Patience Morton, apparently children of George Morton, who died in 1624. Obviously the Morton children and young Kempton could not have been members of the Bradford household in the spring of 1623, but it is probable that other minor wards of the State, who were considered adults in 1627, were then under Governor Bradford's care.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

The chill breath of early dawn, as William Bradford reached the eminence, caused him to draw his threadbare cloak about him and to shield himself somewhat by standing with his back against the east wall of the little fort as he looked out toward the ocean and the kindling eastern horizon. It was good to be thus alone; to look upon the miracle of the new day, for it somehow imparted a new spirit of courage to one who sorely needed both wisdom and courage in superlative degree.

A momentous meeting was to be held this day in which the ever growing discontent of the colonists must definitely be faced. For two years since Governor Carver's death William Bradford had held this spirit of rebellion in check, not because he failed to sympathize with it but because he was unwilling that the Colony should violate even the harsh terms of the agreement with the Merchant Adventurers, that group of merchants who had financed their original coming to America.

Under the terms of the agreement with the Merchant Adventurers all members of the Colony were obligated to work for the common enterprise for a period of seven years, having right to neither lands nor goods until that period should be fulfilled. Bradford was one of those who had protested bitterly against these terms as "fitter for thieves and bond slaves than honest men."² Yet he with the others had bowed to necessity. For two years he had held the colonists to their plighted word.

But he could no longer ignore the fact that the Merchant Adventurers had failed to fulfill their part of the agreement. They had promised to send supplies and equipment for the Colony. Never during the two and a half years of desperate struggle had supplies or equipment been sent to the little Colony of Plymouth.

It had also been agreed that their beloved pastor, the Rev. John Robinson, and the remainder of the Leyden Colony should be sent to their brethren in the New World. For one excuse or another this promise had been delayed of fulfillment. Yet one of the leaders of the Merchant Adventurers, Thomas Weston, for his own selfish advantage, had sent a band of unworthy colonists to the short-lived settlement at Weymouth. It was to Weston's ill fated and mean-

2. Goodwin: "Pilgrim Republic," p. 45. Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 63, quoting reply of Robert Cushman to Samuel Fuller, William Bradford, Isaac Allerton, and Edward Winslow.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

spirited colony that Plymouth Plantation owed its present desperate plight.

Then, too, the communistic system, which the harsh agreement with the Merchant Adventurers had imposed upon the little settlement on the Plymouth hillside, had been productive of great mischief and discontent. No man could own a foot of land or a measure of corn in his own right. However diligent and energetic a person might be, he fared no better than the slothful and indolent of the Colony.

Governor Bradford, in the quaint simplicity of his "History of Plymouth Plantation," has expressed in unforgettable language the evils of that communistic experiment.

"The experience that was had in this comone course and condition," he writes, "tried sundrie years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanities of that conceite of Platos & other ancients, applauded by some of later times; that ye taking away of propertie and bringing in comunitie in a comone wealth, would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser then God. For this comunitie (so farr as it was) was found to breed much confusion & discontent, and retard much employemet that would have been for their benefite and comforte. For ye yong-men that were most able and fitte for labour & service did repine that they should spend their time & streingth to worke for other mens wives and children, with out any recompence. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in devisision of victails & cloaths, than he that was weake and not able to doe a quarter ye other could; this was thought injuestice. The aged and graver men to be ranked and equalized in labours and victails, cloaths &c., with ye meaner & yonger sorte, thought it some indig-nite & disrespect unto them. And for mens wives to be commanded to doe service for other men, as dressing their meate, washing their cloaths, &c., they deemd it a kind of slaverie, neither could husbands well brooke it."³

Thoughts such as these were surging through the mind of Governor Bradford as the eastern horizon yielded to the full light of the spring morning and the sun rose over the ocean. The colonists were facing another planting season. The precious hoard of Indian corn, preserved with such fortitude and sacrifice through months of famine must soon be committed to the earth. The fate of the Colony was

3. Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," 1898 edition, pp. 163-64.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

trembling in the balance. Another summer of starvation and discontent, with crops ill cared for because of a mutinous colony, might bring absolute ruin upon them.

If they could but undertake this planting season like free men, instead of slaves, there might yet be a hope of a plentiful harvest and of a new spirit of industry in every home. This could not be accomplished unless the Governor were at once to reverse his former policy of strict adherence to the terms of the agreement with the Merchant Adventurers. To violate that agreement was a serious matter.

Yet what value to the "Adventurers" could accrue from a blind adherence to a bad bargain if such adherence meant starvation and ruin? Governor Bradford had for days been struggling with the problem, or wrestling in prayer as the spiritual leader of the Colony, Elder Brewster, would have expressed it.

Long he remained on the hilltop. The houses of the little settlement, one after another, sent up from their chimneys the first signals of the day's activities. Now and then a man or boy with a water bucket in hand came forth from this or that house, pausing to inspect the sky and obviously to rejoice in the full glory of the spring morning before going to the brook for water.

The Governor's own motley household came to life. The youthful magistrate hastened down the hill. But his mind was made up. His great problem was at last solved. His duty now stood forth as clearly as the sun in the eastern sky of this spring morning.⁴

4. "All this while no supply was heard of, neither knew they when they might expecte any. So they begane to thinke how they might raise, as much corne as they could, and obtaine a beter crope then they had done, that they might not still thus languish in miserie. At length, after much debate of things, the Govr (with ye advise of ye cheefest amongst them) gave way that they should set corne every man for his owne per-ticuler, and in that regard trust to them selves; in all other things to goe on in ye generall way as before."—Bradford, "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 162.



CHAPTER II

PLYMOUTH COLONY THROWS OFF THE YOKE OF COMMUNISM

Although the harsh terms imposed upon the little company at Plymouth by the Merchant Adventurers had reduced these colonists to virtual serfdom, it could not curb the inherent democracy of their political organization. The Mayflower Compact had been the first flowering of this democratic urge, but back of it all lay those formative years in Holland. In Leyden, it must be remembered, they had virtually been a self governing community. Every adult male enjoyed the right to vote in civil affairs and the basis of their government had been the tenets of Holy Writ. Pastor Robinson had been both spiritual and political ruler of the Leyden congregation.

In America, however, the spiritual overlordship had been lodged in Elder Brewster, and their political guidance had become vested in their Governor, who nevertheless referred all questions of moment to the people themselves. Strangely enough, the mantle of political leadership now rested upon the shoulders of one of the youngest of those who had come from Leyden. Yet William Bradford fully measured up to the most exacting requirements both as to wisdom and force of character.

As the Plymouth colonists gathered in their hilltop fort on this spring morning in 1623, there was not a man among them who did not realize the momentous character of the meeting. The face of Governor Bradford, as he rose to address them, following the solemn prayer by Elder Brewster, was eloquent of the crisis to which they had now come. In terse and simple language he reviewed the history of their relations with the Merchant Adventurers, of the astounding terms of agreement that had been presented to them at Southampton on the eve of sailing, of their refusal to sign and of the calamities that befell them because of that refusal. The eventual signing in Plymouth in November, 1621, upon assurances from Robertushman, agent of the Adventurers, that their grievous needs would thereupon be supplied was not overlooked.

"From that day to this," he continued, "we have heard nothing from them. We have looked to them in vain for succor. We are

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

now in great extremity and like to perish because of unjust and unwise rules made for us by those who have not kept their own obligations to this colony."

Governor Bradford thereupon outlined a new plan for the preservation of the Colony, or at least for a desperate expedient that seemed to him to give promise of salvation. Long and earnestly the settlers discussed it, not because there was any doubt from the beginning of its eventual adoption, but because they were men of conscience to whom the setting aside of the terms of an agreement, however harsh, was a matter that called for serious deliberation. At length the fateful vote was taken by which Plymouth Colony abrogated, on the grounds of dire necessity, that provision of their patent that forbade individual possession of land.⁵

This action, viewed in the light of history, is a significant forerunner of the Declaration of Independence itself. Inalienable rights to life and liberty, if not to happiness, animated this earlier assertion of political sovereignty of the people. This momentous action did not exceed the bounds of their present needs. Governor Bradford states that they made no division of land with the idea of genuine ownership, but rather a mere temporary assignment of possession. In modern language we would call these custodians of individual tracts of land, tenants by the year, with true ownership remaining in the Merchant Adventurers.

5. "And so assigned to every family a parcell of land, according to the proportion of their number for that end, only for present use (but made no devission for inheritance), and ranged all boys & youth under some families."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 162.

"As the spring of 1623 advanced, it became evident that a worse famine was at hand than that of the previous year. Every possible source of food must be sedulously developed during the summer; but the next corn-crop was the great reliance for the succeeding winter and spring. Hitherto all labor had been in common, and the results had been placed in the public store, for the equal benefit of those who produced much, and those who produced little; otherwise there had been no community of goods. Under this system the less earnest were showing little zeal in the common tasks, general dissatisfaction was felt, and a change became very desirable. Especially was this so in view of the approaching famine; for as the Governor would have no food to serve out to the people, he could not keep them closely at work, but must leave each to seek sustenance in his own way and time, and to labor in much the same manner."

"A new plan was therefore decided upon, and before planting-time, a lot was assigned for one year to each household, at the rate of an acre for every member. The lots were to be cultivated according to the pleasure of the holders, who were to own the crop, after giving a small portion to the public treasury. The effect of this new system was wonderful. Women and children helped plant the family lots, although they would have considered it a great hardship to work in the commonfield. A far greater area was planted, and all were earnest in their cultivation."—Goodwin, "Pilgrim Republic," p. 240.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

The basis of allotment of land was in proportion to the number of persons in the various families into which the Colony had been divided. All orphan boys and youths were assigned to some household. It was impressed upon every soul in the colony that with the abolishing of the communistic system each family would be entitled to everything that it could raise, but to nothing more. Whether they were to enjoy abundance, or to endure starvation, depended upon the united efforts of each household!

Now that planting time had come Governor Bradford divided the precious seed corn remaining in the storehouse, allotting to each family its proper proportion. Can we not imagine the sigh of relief with which the Governor delivered into the custody of the heads of families the scanty hoard over which he had so long stood guard?

But the almost miraculous transformation of the heretofore apathetic settlers must have gladdened the hearts of the chief men in the Colony. Not only did the male members of the settlement fling themselves with tireless zeal into the spading up of the allotted land, the capture of fish for setting under each hill of corn, but women and children joined in these labors.

Bradford, in describing this development thus quaintly writes: "The women now wente willingly into ye feild, and tooke their little-ones with them to set corne, which before would aledg weakness and inabilityie, whom to have compelled would have bene thought great tiranie and oppression."⁶ Quite evidently Governor Bradford, although realizing the necessity of such united labors, was too wise, during his virtual dictatorship, to attempt to compel the women and children of the company to labor in the fields and gardens. But by employing the age-old principle of individual ownership of the fruits of their own toil, labor became not a slavery, but a joyful opportunity to lay up for themselves a store of food of their very own.

From that day forward a new spirit of industry seized upon every man, woman and child in Plymouth Colony. It was no longer necessary for Governor Bradford to assign tasks or to command obedience. Every family, or rather household, toiled early and late in the fields. They continued to live in their little palisaded settlement, but their corn lands spread out for a considerable distance. The original

6. Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 162.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

twenty acres had now greatly increased as the settlers' axes bit deeper into the forest that encircled Plymouth.

The sun now shone upon hills and valleys that bore eloquent evidence of human toil. Land that had lately been covered with forest trees and was still dotted with stumps had already yielded to mattock and spade in preparation for the annual run of alewives with which every foot of this ground must be fertilized. It will be remembered that the Indian method of planting was to bury a fish or two under each hill of corn. By the time the corn had sprouted and had sent forth roots, the decaying fish beneath it was ready to supply both moisture and plant food for its needs.

These eager preparations were sheer joy to William Bradford, now released from the hateful duty of task master. He was the better able to labor upon his own allotment of land. His motley household of half-grown youths had never been so willing or so obedient as now. Thus we may picture the scenes of industry at Plymouth in the early spring of 1623. Little groups of workers were toiling here and there over a checkerboard pattern that stretched away from either bank of Town Brook, over hill and dale, along the shore of the bay and extending many rods back from the water.

When the alewives came—a mighty flood of living silver flashing up Town Brook to the open gates of the great weir—Plymouth became a scene of frenzied activity. Twice every twenty-four hours the tide rose and the weir filled with fish. At flood tide the gates were closed. Then came the ebbing of the tide, the outracing of water from the fish trap and the mighty commotion of myriads of fish, gasping and flopping until they could flop no more.

The receding of the tide was the signal for men and boys to descend into the slippery fish traps with strong baskets, fashioned Indian-wise from the tough fibres of willow shoots, to gather up the shining harvest. To man and boy alike this was a joyful moment. Not so joyful, however, to bear upon the shoulder the dripping burden, for every basket must thus be transported to their respective planting fields.

We may well believe that if envy or jealous passions held sway in the little settlement in the spring of 1623 it was most keenly felt during the alewife run by those who were obliged to transport their fish much farther than their more fortunate neighbors. Neither was

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

there escape from this imperious necessity whether by day or by night. The tide in its rhythmic swell knew neither light nor darkness, and every flood brought its new harvest of fish, to be gathered and carried to the planting fields. Thus the members of each household were bondslaves to the sea until their planting season had been fulfilled.

When the last kernel of corn had been planted then and then only might the gates of the weir cease to function for other than fish needful for the food supply of the settlement. It must be remembered that the run of alewives was of brief duration. Hectic days and nights when men gathered fish, ate fish, planted fish, and were soaked in fish slime twice a day must have made every soul in Plymouth shudder at the very thought of an alewife.

With the end of the planting season there was abundant time and need for the colonists to think of other things. Their food supply was now utterly exhausted. No fish were coming up the brook to spawn. This was not a season for wild fowl. The deer in the forest were gaunt from the lean months of winter. Few of the colonists had the requisite skill to kill them in any event. To the sea and the sea alone they must look for food for four long months until their harvest could be reaped.⁷

7. "But to returne. After this course settled, and by that their corn was planted, all ther victails were spent, and they were only to rest on Gods providence; at night not many times knowing wher to have a bitt of any thing ye next day. And so, as one well observed, had need to pray that God would give them their dayly brade, above all people in ye world."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 164.



CHAPTER III

DROUGHT THREATENS TO RUIN THE CORN CROP

The energetic leadership of Governor Bradford found able support from all the chief men of Plymouth. Elder Brewster, Edward Winslow, Stephen Hopkins, and Myles Standish were ever at his side in council and in the activities of the community. The planting season was no sooner over than Myles Standish and a boat's crew were sent forth in one of the shallops bound for Monhegan Island off the coast of Maine where English fishing trips made their rendezvous each spring.⁸ Although the poverty stricken settlement had no money and very little except furs with which to barter with the fishing crews, yet it was hoped that some food supplies might there be obtained. For so small a boat the trip was one of considerable peril, but Standish and his men went forth with serene confidence in their ability to weather any storm that might befall them.

The Standish expedition might well occupy several weeks. Food must be obtained from the sea and at once. So it was decided that the men of the colony should be divided into companies of six or seven. Each company in turn should put out to sea in the remaining shallop to seek mackerel and other fish that might be captured in the solitary net that the colony had now obtained.⁹ Some few fishhooks also they had purchased. It was now possible to fish for cod and other ground-fish but lacking tackle they were unable to anchor the shallop on the fishing grounds. It was therefore a process of drifting that could be successful only when the ocean was relatively calm.

It was a rule incumbent upon all, that the shallop must not return to Plymouth without a cargo of fish. While each company was on its mettle to make a favorable record, yet weather conditions, or poor success at fishing, sometimes caused an absence of five or six days.¹⁰

8. Prince's "Chronological History of New England" (1736), states that in July, 1623, "Captain Standish, who had been sent by the Governor to buy provisions, returned with some," p. 138.

9. "They haveing but one boat left and she not over well fitted, they were devided into severall companies, 6. or 7. to a gangg or company, and so wente out with a nett they had bought, to take bass & such like fish, by course, every company knowing their turne. No sooner was ye boate discharged of what she brought, but ye next company tooke her and wente out with her."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 165.

10. Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 165.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

It became a fixed habit with those at home to scan the ocean daily for the returning shallop. If it were not in sight grim necessity sent the men scurrying forth to the mud flats at low tide to dig for clams, with which to appease the hunger of the famished inhabitants of the settlement. Now and then it was possible to kill a deer, which was divided among the several families.¹¹

When it is remembered that at this time there were nearly one hundred mouths to feed, the task of securing clams sufficient for their needs assumes its proper proportions. It was a slim diet at best—clams and water and nothing else. For that matter, the return of the shallop with its cargo of fish, accumulated during days of effort—the hot sunshine having its well known effect on the cargo—could not have added very much joy to the famine-oppressed people. Yet the business of life went on, and though men became gaunt and hollow-eyed, there was no repining at their lot.

Three weeks of sunshine beating upon the farm lands of the colonists brought forth the joyful promise of a mighty crop of Indian corn. From every alewife grave the dark green blades of emerging corn plants lifted their spear points higher each day, and, waving in the breeze, called the now experienced settlers to the task of hoeing their fields. Weeds must be kept down and the surface soil stirred to preserve the moisture of the ground beneath.

To the new task all the company save those who were absent with Captain Standish, or temporarily engaged in fishing trips, now addressed themselves. Corn is preëminently a crop that thrives in hot weather, basking in sunlight and reaching deeper and deeper with its tap roots into the earth for needful moisture. The sunshine, day after day, of this unusual spring and early summer supplied the needed incentive for a vigorous growth of the young plants.

Even at hoeing time it was apparent to all that the ground was becoming alarmingly dry and dusty. A good rain storm was all that was needed to ensure the development of perfect fields of Indian corn. No rain had fallen since the middle of May.¹² The need of rain now

11. "Also in ye somer they gott now & then a deer; for one or 2. of ye fittest was apoynted to range ye woods for yt end, & what was gott that way was devided amongst them."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 166.

12. "Alas for human expectations! Early in June there set in a drought which lasted some seven weeks. The moist fish in the hills enabled the maize to sustain itself for a long time; but finally the younger plants became sere and dry, while the older began to mature abortively, and the beans wilted. Existing famine could be endured; but the failure of the corn-crop would involve the destruction of the Colony. The faithful Hobomok already mourned over their ruin, and the most courageous settlers began to despair."—Goodwin: "Pilgrim Republic," p. 241.



LEYDEN STREET, FIRST STREET IN NEW ENGLAND

(Photograph by A. S. Burbank, Plymouth.)



VIEW FROM BURIAL HILL LOOKING TOWARD TOWN SQUARE, PLYMOUTH

Leyden Street is in the distance, showing between the Unitarian Church at the right and Church of the Pilgrimage (Congregational) on the left

(Photograph by Jared Gardner, Plymouth.)

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

became a frequent topic of conversation. It obtruded itself even into the Sabbath-day meditations of the faithful as they wended their way down the hill from their fortress meetinghouse.

"I like not the condition of these fields, Master Bradford," remarked Edward Winslow, as he walked beside the Governor one day. "My own farm land is already very dry. We sorely need a few days of rain."

"But the corn grows well, Master Winslow, and I doubt not we will receive the needful showers before any damage is done to our growing crops. But look you. Here comes our friend Hobomok down yonder hillside."

The two men quickened their pace until they reached the gate in the palisade that fronted Town Brook. The Indian was descending the hill with his usual swinging stride, but his salutation from afar, in response to their shouted greetings, lacked something of its accustomed vigor.

They awaited his approach in speculative silence. Could their friend Massasoit have fallen ill again? Were the Narragansetts on the warpath? What could be the meaning of this solemn and subdued demeanor on the part of one who was usually the personification of self-assurance?

When formal words of greeting had been voiced, and Hobomok had seated himself in their midst, for many of the brethren came forward to greet their visitor, he did not leave them long in doubt. He had not come hither because of illness of his King, nor with news of war, but to tell them what they already knew, that the corn crop was in danger because of the drought.

"Bad, heap bad!" he muttered; "no rain, no corn grow big. How can fill hungry belly? Indian starve. White man starve."

"Does your King, Massasoit, fear long time sunshine, no rain?"

The Indian nodded his head sadly. "Massasoit say hoe corn much, hoe corn every day. Indians everywhere—say bad moon in sky—no rain till bad moon go."

Nothing that could be said had any cheering effect upon their melancholy visitor. This being another of their clam-days there was nothing which they could offer him that might tempt him from his gloomy thoughts. He departed shortly, leaving behind him a deeper gloom than that which had prevailed when he arrived.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

Governor Bradford's own idea of the necessity of persistent stirring of the surface of the ground was thus confirmed by Massasoit's warning. It was the Indian method of preventing evaporation of moisture from the earth, by what we term at the present time a dust mulch.

Captain Standish and his men now returned in the shallop, and with him came, for a visit of courtesy, David Thompson, who had just settled at the mouth of the Piscataqua River in what is now Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Standish came almost empty handed, for the fishermen had been able to spare very little from their own stores of provisions. The fishermen, moreover, were more or less upset and excited over a demand that was being made upon them by the "Council of New England," which had granted the charter to the Merchant Adventurers.

The council had decided that their grant from the crown gave them the exclusive right to fishing privileges in New England. They had accordingly sent out a ship under command of Captain Francis West with instructions to restrain all fishermen from plying their trade in New England waters without a formal license from the "Council of New England."

Captain West was then at the fishing grounds, calling himself the Admiral of New England, and stirring up no end of wrath among the fishing ships that were operating without a license. He was demanding heavy sums of money as the price of a license. But the hardy fishermen who had crossed the Atlantic at great hazard to themselves, refused alike to pay tribute or to quit fishing.

To Myles Standish the belligerent doings at the fishing grounds were as meat and drink. Warmly he had espoused the cause of the fishermen, and now upon his return he loudly denounced Captain West to the colonists at Plymouth. Standish was a grand fighter and equally ardent as a hater of men of whose conduct he did not approve.

With the return of the Standish expedition the Colony settled down to the routine of winning a precarious existence from the sea. The parched farm lands still cried out to heaven for cooling showers, but no showers came. Bradford states that the great hopes that the colonists had entertained when the corn plants first broke ground had now well nigh faded from the hearts of even the most optimistic.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

The pitiable condition in which the colonists found themselves as the drought lengthened from three weeks to four and from four to five can better be imagined than described. Every day hoping and praying for rain, and yet receiving no sign that the drought would end before all their crops were ruined.

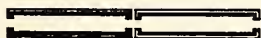
On the higher ground the edges of the corn leaves had already turned yellow, and everywhere corn had stopped growing. The heat in some places had caused a premature putting forth of tassels—dwarf plants that mocked their owners with visible evidence of ruin.

Yet faith and courage still animated the leaders of the colony. There is a pathetic yet inspiring word-picture that has come down to us concerning the noble Elder Brewster. It will be remembered that the wife and two sons of the venerable man had survived "the first sickness." They had endured with him all the hardships of the past two and a half years.

On the day of which we write the venerable man had been out upon the clam flats with his two sons, Love and Wrestling. They had returned laden with shell fish. The good wife had prepared the meal, and the family had assembled for their frugal repast. With a wooden bowl of the steaming clams before him as the sole item of their feast, the brave old man prayed for God's blessing upon the meal, and gave fervent thanks that he and his were permitted to "suck of the abundance of the seas and of the treasures hid in the sand."¹³

Winslow relates that the Colonists had grown so weak from their semi-starvation that it was not uncommon to see men at midday staggering home from their melancholy labors to sit down to a bowl of clams and a pot of water upon which to satisfy their physical needs.

13. "It is related of Elder Brewster, who had once feasted in palaces with ambassadors, that now, with no viands whatever on his table but a meagre wooden platter of boiled clams and a pot of water, he was accustomed to give hearty thanks that he and his were still allowed to 'suck of the abundance of the seas and of the treasures hid in the sand.'"—Goodwin: "Pilgrim Republic," p. 242.



CHAPTER IV

AN AVARICIOUS VISITOR

In the midst of these events, it now being the latter end of June, 1623, a sail was one day seen somewhat to the north of the entrance to Plymouth Harbor. This unusual sight, the first ship they had laid eyes on since the departure of the Weston Colony, sent many of the Pilgrims in haste to the upper platform of their fort. Captain Standish and Governor Bradford, in keeping with their official duties, were of the number. Together they watched, with straining eyes, the slow progress of the ship as she tacked and beat about, uncertain of the channel, but obviously intending to enter the harbor.

It was soon apparent that the craft was not a lowly fishing ship, but one built on more pretentious lines, with graceful sails and an air of importance. The familiar English ensign floated from her mast head. Governor Bradford gazed upon the incoming ship with emotions of joy as did Edward Winslow and Elder Brewster, who had now joined him. But a growl of rage from Captain Standish brought all three to attention.

"I have seen yonder ship at the fishing grounds. 'Tis 'The Plantation,' the vessel of that rascal, Captain West, who calls himself Admiral of these parts. His coming is like to bring us no good."

"What business can he have with us, Captain Standish?"

"Master Bradford, 'tis like that he will demand shillings and pence for every trip that our shallop makes for fish to feed this starving people—or mayhap for the very clams we dig on yonder mud flats."

The sheer absurdity of this fear and the ferocity of the little captain, his beard fairly bristling with rage as he uttered the words, was too much for the sense of humor of his companions. They laughed aloud, which increased the captain's irritation.

"Yes, you may well laugh until you have met this man who calls himself Admiral of New England. As for me I would like right well to train these guns on his proud craft and drive him back to the open sea."

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

"Nay, nay, Captain Standish," cried Governor Bradford seriously. "We must be civil to all ships flying the English flag. This captain may have letters from our friends at home."

"He could have sent them by the shallop."

"Just how friendly were you with this Admiral?" asked Winslow, his eyes a-twinkle as he spoke.

"Friendly? I didn't even speak to the wretch. I didn't go near his ship."

"Therefore the Admiral if he indeed have any letters for us must needs come to Plymouth."

The ship had by this time nosed its way into the harbor. It was obviously looking about for a convenient anchorage. Then the watchers were aware for the first time that their own shallop was also entering the harbor, making the passage of the channel scarce ten minutes behind the visiting ship.

Governor Bradford had already given orders for the manning of the second shallop to put out from the dock to instruct the visitors in this matter. But since the ship was more than a mile from the landing the timely appearance of the fishing boat saved all embarrassment.

The enthusiastic hail and the shouted conversation came faintly to the watchers on the hillside. Governor Bradford and his advisers at once made plans for the reception of the visiting Admiral.

"The Lord is kind to send us food at such a time as this," exclaimed Elder Brewster.

"Even so, Elder," muttered Captain Standish. "But remember what I told you. This rascally Admiral will expect us to pay him for every fish we take."

The shallop with its cargo of fish made haste to reach the landing place. Fires were kindled in all the houses in anticipation of sorely needed food, the inhabitants having subsisted on clams alone for some days.

Foreseeing a visit from Captain West, Governor Bradford invited a half dozen of his chief advisers to meet with him at dinner. He then made a tour of inspection of the village to be sure that all things were in condition to make favorable impression upon their visitors. Well he knew that critical eyes would behold them, and tongues none too charitable would later report the circumstances of the Colony to friends in England.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

Within an hour the expected visitors were seen approaching in the ship's long boat.¹⁴ Governor Bradford, his threadbare clothing in the best array possible, awaited them at the dock. Captain Standish had so far mastered his belligerent feelings as to call out his military forces, and to set them in martial array. In fact the zeal of the commander had quite overshadowed the wrath of the man. This hated Captain West should be shown that Plymouth Plantation had a military organization equal to the best to be seen in England.

Captain West was the first to disembark. His resplendent uniform, his nicely trimmed beard, his tall soldierly bearing, gave him the appearance of a great potentate come to visit his lowly subjects in the wilderness. Captain Standish and his men sprang to attention. They saluted the visitor with a precision and unity of action that obviously astounded the latter.

Governor Bradford advanced down the lane formed by soldiers standing rigidly at attention, and extended formal greetings to the newcomer. Bradford himself was a man of striking personality. Gaudy trappings and smart clothing were not needed to set off his unusual qualities. Suffering had indeed left its marks upon his face. Famine had reduced him to a mere shadow of the robust man that nature had intended, yet the impression that he made upon his visitor was unmistakable.

Even as they clasped hands Captain West's arrogant demeanor changed to one of sincere respect. Governor Bradford escorted

14. "About ye later end of June (early July by modern calendar) came in a ship, with Capitaine Francis West, who had a commission to be admirall of New-England, to restraine interlopers, and shuch fishing ships as came to fish & trade without a license from ye Counsell of New-England, for which they should pay a round sune of money. But he could doe no good of them, for they were to stronge for him, and he found ye fishermen to be stuberne fellows. And their owners, upon complainte made to ye Parleme[n]te, procured an order yt fishing should be free."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," pp. 169-70.

"In July there came to Plymouth the ship "Plantation," bringing Francis West, whom the Council for New England had appointed their admiral for the purpose of driving from the coast all fishermen who had not taken a costly license from the Council. The fishermen, mostly from the West of England, proved too strong and stubborn, and West quickly left them alone. His interference, however, so disturbed matters that the imperilled fishing-fleet shrank from four hundred vessels to a hundred and fifty. The ship-owners appealed to Parliament. There, Sir Ferdinando Gorges defended the monopoly, and was vigorously answered by Sir Edward Coke, who was then nobly atoning for his former services to tyranny. Coke said: 'Shall none visit the seacoast for fishing? This is to make a monopoly upon the seas, which were wont to be free. If you alone are to pack and dry fish, you attempt a monopoly of the wind and sun!' An act was passed making the fisheries free; but King James, with his usual hostility to public privileges, refused his assent."—Goodwin: "Pilgrim Republic," pp. 236-37.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

West to where the chief men of Plymouth were assembled and presented each in turn. The little company then moved on to the Governor's house, which fronted the little square, set off by a garden in which some native shrubs were making a brave show despite the exceeding dryness of the soil.

"It is indeed a humble place in which to entertain you, Captain West, but we be humble people. We are just now somewhat reduced in circumstances, but have hopes of better things."

"For many weeks the Good Lord has withheld his rain from this coast," remarked Elder Brewster, "but we know full well that He will favor us ere long."

"Indeed we may be sure of that," returned the guest politely. "The drought cannot last forever. How long has it been, good sir, since you last had rain in these parts?"

"Six long weeks," sighed Brewster, saddened by the recollection.

At this moment a seaman from the long boat came to the door of the Governor's House with a packet for Captain West. This package the latter placed in the hands of Governor Bradford.

"Letters from your friends in England," he declared with a smile.

Thus an event of major importance had occurred. It must be remembered that these devoted Pilgrims had been cut off from news of their friends across the sea for many months. This slim bundle of letters came to them as a priceless treasure. Not even the rites of hospitality could restrain instant distribution in the dooryard of the Bradford residence.

Governor Bradford and Elder Brewster were soon demonstrated to be the chief recipients of mail, but neither of them could well yield to the almost overmastering impulse to break the seals and read the letters instantly. Not so the more humble members of the Colony—such of them as were favored—for they stole away from the presence of the visitor, their faces alight with expectation.

Perceiving the wistfulness and disappointment of those who had received no mail, Captain West electrified the group by exclaiming: "There is another ship on the way—'The Anne'—headed for this port and no doubt she hath letters for all of you."¹⁵

¹⁵. Goodwin: "Pilgrim Republic," p. 237.

"He tould ye Govr they spooke with a ship at sea, and were aboard her, yt was coming for this plantation, in which were sundrie passengers, and they marvelled she was not arrived, fearing some miscarriage; for they lost her in a storme that fell shortly after they had been aboard. Which relation filled them full of fear, yet mixed with hope."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 170.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

"Another ship, you say? A fishing vessel?" demanded the eager Governor.

"No, not a fishing vessel. It is a passenger ship with a goodly number of your friends coming hither to live in this Colony."

Elder Brewster and Governor Bradford exchanged eloquent glances. What might this mean to famine-stricken Plymouth—provided the ship were bringing food supplies to the distressed Colony! Edward Winslow and Myles Standish were also quite evidently smitten by the same thought.

"Can you tell us, Captain West," broke out the impulsive Standish, "whether this ship is laden with goods as well as passengers?"

"That I cannot say, although I was aboard of the ship and visited with her captain. He merely told me that he was headed for this port with new colonists."

At this point dinner was announced. The Governor and his guest, together with the chief men of the Colony, gathered at the humble board. Elder Brewster invoked Divine blessing upon a meal consisting entirely of boiled fish, cod and haddock fresh from the ocean. Beyond a raising of eyebrows Captain West gave no sign of his surprise and dismay at the absence of all other articles of food.

In fact there was little time for speculation upon so unimportant a matter as food, for Captain Standish now threw the entire company into consternation by suddenly exclaiming: "Captain West, if you visited the ship and then went your way to the fishing fleet where you have been for more than two weeks, why has that ship not yet arrived in this port?"

"Who told you, sir, that I had been with the fishing fleet—not that it matters in the least—but have my men turned gossips?"

"Not with me at any rate," returned Standish, with an angry glint in his eyes. "I needed not to be told because I was visiting that same fishing fleet, seeking in vain to purchase supplies for this Colony."

"Rascally knaves that they are! Yes, I was there on business, but I never laid eyes on you."

"Aye, aye, that you didn't! But you are not answering my question, Captain West, or should I call you Admiral?"

The visitor flushed darkly. Governor Bradford turned reprovings eyes on his belligerent military commander. As for Captain West he resumed his composure and replied evenly. "To tell you

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

the truth, I fully expected to find 'The Anne' already at anchor in this harbor. More than five weeks ago I visited her. She was then in mid-Atlantic. Both our ships were well nigh becalmed at the time. But we had wind enough in all conscience within a day or so thereafter. A heavy storm laid hold upon us and our ships separated."

A fresh cause of alarm to the colonists was contained in this account of the storm. Well they knew the power of the great gales that sweep the ocean, especially in mid-Atlantic.

"Think you, Captain West, that evil hath befallen the ship because of the storm?"

"Of that I cannot say, Master Bradford. She was a stout craft and with proper seamanship should have weathered the gale, just as did my own ship yonder. Perchance she ran before the wind and was driven far off her course."

"Was there a reverend clergyman, our Pastor John Robinson, aboard the craft?" The speaker was Elder Brewster.

"The captain said nothing of a clergyman. I did not visit the passengers' quarters. There were women and girls, that I am sure, as well as men and children among those that I saw at the rail whilst my long boat drew alongside. The captain simply said that relatives and friends of those already here, as well as new colonists, were aboard his ship."

The meal being ended, their visitor expressed his desire to visit their farm lands and behold the strange plant, Indian corn, of which he had heard so much but had never seen. Governor Bradford was therefore under obligation to restrain his curiosity concerning the contents of his personal mail, although he excused Elder Brewster and his other chief men from further attendance upon the visiting captain. They at least might peruse their letters without further delay.

The condition of the farm lands was now truly deplorable. The corn wilted in the hot sunshine of midday. Its growth had been arrested. In the higher and drier land it was sun-scorched and ruined. This condition of blight could not fail to impress even a novice like Captain West. He commented upon it and finally put the question bluntly to his host whether the drought would not utterly ruin their prospects of a harvest.

"It is of course possible, Captain West, that the Lord hath greater burdens for us to bear than have already been ours, but I cannot believe that He will deny us the means of life altogether."

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

The men were standing in the midst of the parched cornfields facing the ocean as they spoke. Captain West could not fail to be impressed by the sincerity in the careworn face of the stout hearted Governor as he extended his hands in a sweeping gesture to indicate the apparently hopeless acres around them.

"I have seen too many deliverances of this people, Captain West, to doubt that we shall yet reap a substantial harvest from these fields now so unpromising."

As they returned to the Governor's House the question arose whether Captain West's ship, "The Plantation," could spare from her stores any manner of food for the colony. Upon assurance that in the hold of the vessel were two hogsheads of peas, brought hither for trading purposes, Governor Bradford's heart lightened. While the quantity would not be of very material assistance in their present dilemma, it would at least serve to renew their hopes and to mitigate the evils of their long continued famine.

Captain West seemed at first reluctant to name a price. But it was all too apparently the reluctance of one who desired to drive a sharp bargain, rather than because of generous impulse to favor them in their necessity. The two men were still debating the matter when they arrived in the square and were joined by their companions of the dinner party.

The faces of all the company lightened with gladness when Governor Bradford told them of the hogsheads of peas. Every countenance went blank, however, when Captain West declared that he could not afford to sell the peas at less than nine pounds sterling per hogshead. The sum named was so grossly in excess of a reasonable value that Governor Bradford could not believe that he had heard aright. As for Myles Standish he could scarce restrain his rage. He in fact burst out with words of indignation, only to be checked instantly by a none too gentle nudge from Edward Winslow.

Winslow was the diplomat of the colony. While his companions were speechless, he entered into a lively conversation with the hard-hearted visitor. Surely Captain West would not persist in exacting so exorbitant a sum for food so greatly needed by a starving people. Winslow pictured in eloquent language the hardships that they had already undergone, the sufferings of women and children of the Colony and the present disastrous drought as reasons why the captain should exercise compassion.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

The net result of Winslow's eloquence, however, was merely to induce the visitor to change the price to eight pounds sterling. Realizing the base spirit of this "Admiral of New England," Governor Bradford, after a conference with his companions, dismissed the matter thus:

"Captain West, we are grieved indeed that an Englishman should thus seek to take advantage of our grave necessity. But know you this: We have lived long without food from England. We have faith that the God of Heaven will not permit us to starve, but we will face starvation rather than submit to injustice such as this."¹⁶

The angry visitor presently departed from Plymouth. The sails of his ship were shortly unfurled and the prow turned toward the open sea. The judgment of Captain Standish concerning the character of the man had thus completely been vindicated.

16. "The master of this ship had some 2. hh of pease to sell, but seeing their wants, held them at £9 sterling a hoggshead, & under £8 he would not take, and yet would have beaver at an under rate. But they told him they had lived so long without, and would do still, rather than give so unreasonably. So they went from hence to Virginia."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 170.

Goodwin: "Pilgrim Republic," p. 237.



CHAPTER V

DISTURBING NEWS FROM ENGLAND

The letters that Governor Bradford had received,¹⁷ now that he had time to give them attention, were of a highly interesting character. They revealed the Merchant Adventurers, or at least some of them, in a far different light than they had appeared from their long silence. Instead of wilfully neglecting the colonists in America they had in reality made efforts to send them supplies and to enable others to join them.

But it appeared that the overweening ambition of one man had done much to frustrate those efforts. We have previously seen how the wily Thomas Weston had deserted their cause in England and had wrought them much mischief in America. It now appeared that another of the associates had endeavored to turn to his own advantage the common efforts of the Pilgrim Colony.

This man was John Peirce. It will be remembered that the Pilgrims had come to America with the expectation of landing in the vicinity of where New York City now stands, but were unexpectedly set ashore on the New England coast. They were at first mere squatters on the grant of the Council of New England. It had become necessary to secure a written permission, or patent, from the council.

Bradford states that because John Peirce had acquaintance, or alliance, with some members of the council, the Merchant Adventurers deemed it expedient to take out this patent in his name. Peirce was to hold the patent as a trustee merely. When assured that the colonizing venture was in a way to succeed Peirce took advantage of the favorable reaction of the Council of New England and secured a new patent in his own name, but pretending to act for the colonists. This new patent was much more extensive in scope than the earlier grant.

That Peirce had secured the new patent with an intent to make himself the overlord not only of the Colony but of the Merchant Adventurers, was soon manifest to those in England. One of the

¹⁷—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," pp. 166, 167-168.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

number, writing to Governor Bradford under date of December 21, 1622, complains of John Peirce's conduct and relates the disastrous result of the first attempt of that ambitious man to take advantage of his new authority.

In the late summer of 1622 he had, at his own expense and at great cost, chartered and equipped a sailing ship called the "Paragon" for a voyage to America. Not only did he take on a cargo of goods, but he also took aboard a ship load of passengers. His design evidently was to secure to himself a strong following of newcomers, lest difficulty develop with the colonists already at Plymouth. There was also an element of business sagacity in the scheme, for passage money of the new colonists was relied upon to defray in large measure the expenses of the voyage.

If during the previous summer, when the vexations of the Weston Colony were greatest and the perils of the Indian conspiracy were thickening around them, the Pilgrims had known of this new menace to their security they might well have despaired ever of untangling the mesh of circumstances that hedged them about. They would have regarded the sailing from England of the "Paragon" with John Peirce aboard as the greatest possible calamity.

Fortunately they were spared this knowledge. Fortunately also the voyage of the "Paragon" soon came to an inglorious end. The ship had not been a week on the high seas before she encountered a terrible storm that so battered and strained the craft that seams were opened. The ship, by dint of much labor of the crew at the pumps, succeeded in returning to England.

Peirce then made it appear that this was a joint attempt of the Merchant Adventurers. They were therefore constrained to spend one hundred pounds upon the ship in general repairs. The passengers also must be cared for. Thus for seven weeks the Merchant Adventurers were obliged to support the passengers. Such was the state of affairs outlined by the letter of December, 1622.

But another letter in the packet delivered by Captain West, under date of April 9, 1623, from the same informant, carried the story of the misadventures of the ambitious Peirce still further. It appeared that when the "Paragon" was again ready to put to sea in December, 1622, despite the lateness of the season, the covetous man secured yet other passengers and set forth a second time for America.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

In this voyage also he was thwarted of his purpose, a fact that Governor Bradford devoutly ascribed to the will of God. When at mid-Atlantic the "Paragon" encountered a terrifying storm. Overcrowded with passengers, with one hundred and nine souls aboard, the ship was for a long time in danger of foundering.

Governor Bradford, in his own picturesque language, has described the storm thus:

"It was aboute ye midle of February. The storme was for ye most part of 14 days but for 2 or 3 days & nights together in most violent extremitie. After they had cut downe their mast, ye storme beat of their round house and all their uper works. 3 men had worke enough at ye helme, and he that cund ye ship before ye sea (*i. e.*, the look-out), was faine to be bound fast for washing away; the seas did so overrake them, as many times those upon ye deck knew not whether they were within bord or withoute; and once she was so foundered in ye sea as they all thought they would never rise againe. But yet ye Lord preserved them and brought them at last safe to Portsmouth, to ye wonder of all men yt saw in what case she was in, and heard what they had endured."¹⁸

The net result of this second disaster was that John Peirce and the Merchant Adventurers suffered ruinous losses. The dreams of empire of the former had now faded away and, after much difficulty he had been persuaded to assign his grand patent to the company.

The Governor's correspondent spoke bitterly of the fact that Peirce required five hundred pounds as the price of this assignment. Quite evidently, however, Peirce received in payment notes or securities of the company itself. As later events were to prove this amount was never collected, although sued upon in the chief courts of England.

There was one clause in this letter that brought confirmation of Captain West's story of having visited a ship bound for America. "We have agreed with two merchants," it read, "for a ship of one hundred and forty tons, called the 'Anne,' which is to be ready the last of this month, to bring sixty passengers and sixty tons of goods."

The "Anne" was, therefore, not a myth, but a reality. What had happened to her? Had she foundered at sea or been driven back to England, as Peirce's two expeditions had been?

18. Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 169.

CHAPTER VI

THE PILGRIMS PRAY FOR RAIN

A few days after the departure of Captain West, Hobomok and Tokamahamon, two of the chief captains of Massasoit, arrived at Plymouth. The sun still glared in a brazen sky and the smell of forest fires was in the air. The Indians brought news of great disaster from fire and drought. Massasoit, they reported, had exhausted every resource of Indian magic to avert the ruin that was upon them.

The magicians and conjurers of the tribes had gathered in solemn convocation. They had labored for days and had now given up in despair. Massasoit had, therefore, sent to his friends in Plymouth to pray to the white man's God for rain, lest white men and Indian alike should perish. To Elder Brewster this appeal was such as to smite his conscience.

"The reproach be upon me, Master Bradford," cried the venerable man. "I should have thought of this long since. Our Indian brothers are wiser than we. Though each of us have prayed without ceasing, yet we have not as a people humbled ourselves before the Lord and searched our hearts lest in them there be aught that hath brought this calamity upon us. Let us therefore appoint a day of humiliation and prayer in which we may attend to this matter."

"Tomorrow, let it be, then," cried Governor Bradford earnestly. All of those present applauded the idea. Proclamation was therefore made and all adult members of the Colony were summoned to attend the great meeting of the following day. So strictly was this call obeyed that even the fishing squad, due to leave in the shallop next morning, was detained in Plymouth.

In the late afternoon of the same day fresh messengers arrived from Massasoit to inform the Governor that the Indian King would shortly arrive in Plymouth to confer with his white brethren. Captain Standish had no sooner assembled his little army to receive the visitor with due ceremony than the vanguard of Massasoit's party was seen descending the path on the opposite hillside.

As on former occasions Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins, who had visited Massasoit at his home on Narragansett Bay, were

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

sent across Town Brook to escort the visiting sagamore to their village. He was obviously happy to meet them, although the circumstances of the present meeting were not conducive to demonstrations of joy. The visitor was astounded at the changes wrought since he last visited Plymouth. The clearing away of forest trees and the tilling of the soil had altered the entire landscape in the vicinity of the hamlet.

The fort on the hill and the long line of palisade that extended from it to the water's edge excited Massasoit's interest. He returned the salute of the Standish troops with more ease than on former occasions. The meeting between the Indian monarch and Governor Bradford was most dramatic. Hobomok was at hand to act as interpreter, since the king as yet understood very little of the English tongue and the Governor himself was not sufficiently versed in the Indian language to justify the attempt.

"My people suffer," Massasoit declared. "They are at their wit's end. I have come to my white brother for counsel, for he is wise. I have come to see with my eyes the white man's magic."

"The white man has no magic to call down rain from the skies," replied Governor Bradford earnestly. "But the white man's God has power in all things. Tomorrow all my people will gather and bow down. We will humble ourselves before the Lord and pray to him for deliverance."

"It is well! My white brother gives me hope. I and mine will abide on yonder hill. We will sit in our wigwams and wait for the white man's God to send us rain."

And so it came to pass that on the following morning the Indians on Watson's Hill sat in silence, keeping a solemn fast and hoping for rain. The Pilgrims themselves were early astir. By mid-forenoon the meetinghouse on the hilltop was filled to overflowing with men, women and children. The great service of prayer had begun. The eloquence of their leaders and the dire circumstances in which they were met served to impress upon every soul the solemnity of the occasion.

It is not our intention to indulge in speculations as to whether the weather was at all influenced by the eight or nine hours of prayer, poured forth with such fervor by this devoted band. But the fact is



SITE OF THE COMMON HOUSE

On this site occurred some of the most desperate of the firefighting described in this installment of "With Axe and Musket at Plymouth"

(Photograph by A. S. Burbank, Plymouth.)



THE OLD PARSONAGE (1734) ON LEYDEN STREET, PLYMOUTH
Built by Rev. Nathaniel Leonard, Pastor of the First Church, 1724-1756

(Photograph by Jared Gardner, Plymouth.)

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

set down in the Pilgrim records for all to read that when they entered their church-fort in the morning the sun was shining in a cloudless sky and so continued until the end of the service—the weather being exceedingly hot. But clouds were seen in the sky as they descended the hill at the close of the service.

Bradford, writing of this day, declares :

"All ye morning and the greater part of the day, it was clear weather & very hotte, and not a cloud or any signe of raine to be seen, yet toward evening it begane to overcast and shortly after to raine, with such sweete and gentle showers, as gave them cause of rejoycing & blessing God. It came, without either wind, or thunder, or any violence, and by degrees in yt abundance that ye earth was thorowly wete and soked therewith. Which did so apparently revive & quicken ye decayed corn & other fruits, as was wonderfull to see, and made ye Indians astonished to behold."¹⁹

Is it any wonder that these devout men and women believed that their prayers had been heard and answered? They lived in an age of faith. Coincidence of prayer and the natural coming of rain was never thought of at Plymouth. The important fact is that this incident strengthened their hearts and hands for the great tasks and perplexities that encompassed them about. Another fact of no less importance is that the Indians saw with their own eyes the apparent power of the white man's magic. To the noble Massasoit this demonstration of the value of the white man in averting ruin from his Indian brothers was of lifelong significance.

Before returning to his own people the noble chieftain paid a ceremonial visit to Governor Bradford. Rain was falling gently at

19. Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," pp. 170, 171n.

"Late in July a day was devoted to fasting and prayer. Week after week, in fearful succession, the sun had daily wheeled his way through an unclouded sky, scorching the very earth with his fierceness. Fast-day opened with extreme brightness and heat. Hour after hour, in their fortified sanctuary on the hill-top, the forlorn Pilgrims rehearsed to each other the sacred promises, sang the penitential psalms, bewailed their supposed shortcomings, and pleaded for divine relief. For some nine hours these services continued; and when the people resumed the arid path to their homes, lo, the clouds were rolling up the sky, and the deep dust no longer reflected the solar fires. The same evening a fine, gentle rain was 'distilled,' as the grateful Winslow expresses it, and continued to be so at intervals for fourteen days; and he adds: 'It was hard to say whether our withered corn or drooping affections were most quickened or revived, such was the bounty and goodness of our God.' Hobomok, much impressed, declared to his Indian brethren the wonderful goodness of the white man's God, who had so gently and steadily overcome their drought and its effects, when in similar crises the Indian conjurations had been followed by storms, which, by uprooting or beating down the feeble crops, had inflicted as much injury as benefit."—Goodwin: "Pilgrim Republic," p. 241.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

the time of his coming, but to those who met him at the brook this rain was a most welcome gift from above. Massasoit surveyed with satisfaction the altered appearance of the gardens of Plymouth village and the joyful demeanor of his hosts. His own face was shining with gladness as he accompanied Governor Bradford to the latter's dwelling, where he was entertained for an hour or more.

The two men exchanged gifts of friendship and, at parting, the Indian king declared with much feeling:

"Now indeed I see that the white man's God is a good God; for he hath heard your prayers and sent you rain, and that without storm, or tempest, or thunder, or hail, which we Indians sometimes have, which breaks down our corn and ruins our chances of harvest. But your corn stands whole and good and grows green and strong in the rain. Surely your God is a good God, and while life lasts Massasoit will love his English friends."

On the second day of the rain, when it was clearly apparent that the corn crop had been saved, Governor Bradford set apart a day for general thanksgiving.²⁰ So it came to pass that at the noon hour of the day appointed all of the inhabitants of Plymouth climbed the hill to their meetinghouse and voiced their gratitude to the Almighty for this new demonstration of his favor.²¹

Seven weeks of sunshine²² had not only caused the parched land to cry out for moisture, but had adversely affected the white settlers to a greater degree than would be the case in our own day. These newcomers to America had been reared in a land where fogs and clouds were frequent. They, like their wilting gardens, welcomed the heavy clouds and the steady downfall of the life-giving rain.

20. Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 171n.

21. "The white people, similarly impressed, once more gathered in their place of worship and held a service of heartfelt thanksgiving for this and other mercies."—Goodwin: "Pilgrim Republic," p. 241.

22. Governor Bradford makes record that the drought lasted from the third week in May until about the middle of July.—"History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 170n.



CHAPTER VII

THE "ANNE" ARRIVES AT PLYMOUTH

The mystery of the non-appearance of the "Anne" was of deep concern to every colonist who had left wife or children or near relatives in England. Their late visitor, Captain West, had declared that relatives of the colonists were aboard. In fancy, therefore, everyone who might reasonably expect that his own loved ones had embarked on the overdue ship was constantly oppressed by anxiety concerning them.

Elder Brewster, that stout-hearted man of faith, had especial reasons for worryment. His grown-up daughters would naturally be among the first seeking to rejoin their parents. Whether they were now on the way back to England on a disabled ship, or enduring the agonies of shipwreck, or at the bottom of the Atlantic, was a constant burden upon his soul. Through it all his serene faith that whatever had happened was the will of Heaven, not to be questioned by him, had the effect of steadying the hearts of his congregation.

The state of the weather was such that there was little that could be done in manufacturing clapboards. But rain or shine the business of fishing must go on. So we find the shallop being refitted for new voyages immediately upon her return from others. It chanced that Captain Standish was in the group assigned to put out from Plymouth one day shortly after the rain began.

He had just superintended the hoisting of sundry boxes and buckets of clams aboard the craft, clams being both food for men and bait for fishes, when a man came running in great excitement to the landing place. The shallop was still at the dock at the mouth of Town Brook.

"Captain Standish," he called, "the Governor bids you tarry at the wharf. Hobomok, at lookout on the hill, hath declared that a sail is in sight, but the weather is so thick that no eyes but his hath yet seen any sign of it. If it be a ship, Master Bradford will go with you to the mouth of the harbor to greet her."

This news had powerful effect upon the shallop's crew. To go a-fishing was now an old story with all the company, but to welcome a

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

ship was quite another. Captain Standish was especially alert. The coming of the "Anne," if indeed the Indian's eyes were not deceived, would mean much to this distressed colony.

Fortunately the period of uncertainty was very brief. The first messenger had scarce departed when one of the Billington boys, screaming the glad tidings as he ran, came flying down the hillside to announce that Governor Bradford had seen the ship, close in toward the harbor mouth, and that he was coming to the shallop to put out to meet her.

Five minutes later the modest craft of the Pilgrims, her wet sail stretched to the slight wind that bore the rain diagonally upon the occupants, put out into the harbor. The ship was dimly visible in the rain and mist of mid-forenoon. It was a goodly sailing ship, but at the distance her condition was impossible to determine.

"If it be the 'Anne,' Captain Standish, we shall have cause to rejoice in this plantation."

"Aye, aye, Master Bradford. But for any ship whatever to call at this port, unless it be Captain West returned, would be a God-send."

Just then a gun boomed from the direction of the harbor mouth and almost instantly there was an answering roar from the hilltop fort. The shallop swung along at a brisk pace, heading for the ship.

"All together, men," cried Captain Standish. A mighty hail went up from the joyous throats of all aboard the shallop. An answering hail came over the water from the vessel, now under shortened sail, and entering the channel between the headlands of the harbor. The distance rapidly lessened. Both Captain Standish and Governor Bradford were eagerly scanning the dark hull of the visitor to ascertain the name. At length a joyful cry went up from each at the same instant. It was indeed the long overdue ship—their own ship, with relatives and friends and supplies for the distressed Colony!

To the disappointment of those aboard the shallop, as they drew alongside, there were few faces among the eager throng of newcomers at the rail of the "Anne" whom they recognized at all. The Reverend John Robinson was certainly not there and few of the Leyden company were to be seen. But for Elder Brewster, who had at the last minute boarded the shallop to greet the newcomers, there

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

was sweet consolation as he ascended the ship's ladder. His two daughters, Fear and Patience, now in the full bloom of womanhood, were the first to greet him, and to rush in turn into his arms. Their tears were not altogether tears of joy. In less than three years their father had become so old and haggard and shabby in appearance that it struck dismay to their hearts.

Then, too, William Bradford, whom they remembered almost as an older brother, so frequently had he played and romped with them when they were children, had altered as much as their father. Knowing that he had in some strange manner become the Governor of this new Colony to which they had come, they had expected to find their father's favorite young man a changed individual, but they were not prepared to find a bearded man, apparently of middle age, in whose countenance the joy of meeting with old friends could not wholly conceal the deep lines that hardship and suffering and responsibility had indelibly imprinted therein.

The boats of the "Anne" were now lowered. They filled at once with the friends of those already in America and with those others who desired to brave the falling rain to visit, without delay, the settlement of which they had heard so much in England. The Bradford party, with the Brewster girls, the wife of Samuel Fuller and her sister—the widow of Edward Southworth who had come hither on the "Anne," descended into the shallop to lead the little procession of boats back to the landing place. Indeed it was somewhat of a race to see whether the sail of the shallop, even in the rain-laden breeze, could prevail over the lustily plied oars of the other boats.

Governor Bradford bore under his cloak a precious packet of letters for the Colony. He bore also within him a miraculously altered spirit. The rain and the mist of the noonday were somehow transfigured by an inner gladness that had flashed into his heart when he had unexpectedly clasped hands and looked into the eyes of a radiant young woman on the deck of the "Anne." She was now beside him in the boat. He had known her in Leyden, Alice Southworth, a close friend of his wife. She and Edward Southworth had married in the very year that had witnessed his own wedding. She had grown more beautiful in her late twenties than he had remembered her as a young bride.

Though the careworn Governor had fancied himself done with romance, believing that personal happiness for him had ended in the

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

tragic death of his wife in Provincetown Harbor, yet this eager young woman beside him was exceedingly disturbing. Her questions concerning this and that friend, concerning the death of his own wife, of the terrible days of pestilence, but above all the wondering compassion in her eyes as she voiced those questions was rapidly unsettling the young Governor's ordinary composure of demeanor.

So the procession of boats moved on to the wharf, which was now crowded with colonists. Governor Bradford had not realized until the moment of arrival at the landing place just how shabby and threadbare his people had become during the long residence in America. Viewing them day by day he had failed to note the change, but now, having seen the fresh and neat appearance of the newcomers, his eyes were opened to the painful truth.

The landing at the wharf, however, banished all thoughts of the sad contrast. Relative greeted relative, rushing into each other's arms in a transport of joy, laughing and weeping at their reunion. But the rain was an effective disperser of the eager multitude. In little groups they hurried to shelter. Plymouth was now a village of modest size, but every house was soon called upon to share in welcoming the newcomers.

It was soon apparent, however, that the stark poverty of the colonists, the bare walls of their houses, the makeshift furniture in many homes, had shocked the passengers of the "Anne." The contrast between homes they had left in England and the unloveliness of these wilderness habitations, struck dismay to their souls. The rosy pictures that they had painted for themselves, of familiar English cottages set in the midst of a glorious new land of clear skies, sunshine and flowers, could not be reconciled with this rain-swept, rough hewn hamlet, surrounded by forests of forbidding terrors to the uninitiated.

Bradford thus describes the reactions of the newcomers to the primitive conditions and the genuine privations of Plymouth:

"These passengers, when they saw their low & poore condition a shore, were much danted and dismayed and according to their diverse humores were diversely affected. Some wished themselves in England againe. Others fell a weeping, fancying their own miserie in what yey saw now in others, other some pitying the distress they saw their friends had been long in and still were under. In a word, all

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

were full of sadness. Only some of their old friends rejoysed to see them, and yt it was no worse for them, for they could not expecte it should be better, and now hoped they should injoye better days togeather. And truly it was no marvell they should be thus affected, for they (*i. e.*, the colonists) were in a very low condition, many were ragged in apparell & some little better than halfe naked. . . . The best dish they could presente their freinds with was a lobster, or a peece of fish, without bread or anything els but a cupp of fair spring water. And ye long continuance of this diate, and their labours abroad, had something abated ye freshness of their former complexion.”²³

The newcomers were not the only ones to suffer disillusionment in this meeting at Plymouth. Governor Bradford’s mail from England contained a letter from Robert Cushman, in which he privately advised the Governor that many of the immigrants were not of the type he could wish to see added to the Colony at Plymouth.

“Because people press so hard upon us to goe,” he writes, “and often shuch as are none of ye fittest, I pray you write earnestly to ye Treasurer and directe what persons should be sente. It greveth me to see so weake a company sent you, and yet had I not been hear they had been weaker. You must still call upon the company hear to see yt honest men be sent you, and threaten to send them back if any other come, &c. We are not any way so much in danger, as by corrupte and noughty persons. Shuch and shuch, came without my consente; but ye importunitie of their freinds got promise of our Treasurer in my absence.”²⁴

Thus Robert Cushman again demonstrated his untiring devotion to the cause of the colonists. Though he had consented to the ill-advised alteration by Thomas Weston of the original terms with the Merchant Adventurers prior to the departure for America, yet on various occasions since that date he had well redeemed his reputation with the Plymouth brethren.

23. Bradford: “History of Plymouth Plantation,” p. 175.

“Rude houses, scantily furnished, they expected; but they had counted on a land of plenty. When they saw that their hospitable hosts could place on the table nothing but a lobster or a piece of fish or a mess of boiled clams, flanked by a pot of spring water; and when they learned that milk and fresh beef or mutton had never been seen in the Colony, and that every form of bread had been unknown for months, while most of the settlers were as poorly off for clothing as for food, and that the only supplies certain and abundant in Plymouth were fine air, pure water, and plenty of hard work, it is not very surprising that some, who at best were indifferent and irresolute, should have tearfully wished themselves in Europe. But soon the influence of the seniors and of the reunited friends, too happy to care just now for these things, produced a hopeful feeling and caused contentment to prevail.”—Goodwin: “Pilgrim Republic,” p. 246.

24. Bradford: “History of Plymouth Plantation,” p. 172.

CHAPTER VIII

CUPID CALLS AT PLYMOUTH

The morning following the arrival of the "Anne" was clear and brilliant with sunshine. The full glory of the New England summer did much to revive the drooping spirits, both of colonists and of the newly arrived immigrants. The drought, with its terrors, was now well nigh forgotten. The ground had drunk deep of the lifegiving rain. A new and deeper tint of green was everywhere manifest in the waving corn fields. Except for the higher and dryer ground, where the sun-scorching had been fatal to the young corn, the entire planting now took on a vigorous growth.

The coming of the "Anne" had brought new and perplexing problems—problems requiring great wisdom and diplomacy in their solution. Governor Bradford called an emergency meeting of the adult males of the Colony to lay before them the exact nature of the dilemma that confronted them.

It will be remembered that the colonists had voted to abolish the communal system and to give to every family a right to the exclusive use of the crops that each might raise. But it was too late for the newcomers to raise crops at all that year. They could not be permitted to share the crops of those already in Plymouth. Fortunately each of the new families had come hither with supplies that might, with careful management, be made to carry them through the winter.²⁵ Though the half famished colonists would have rejoiced again to partake of English food, yet they were too wise and too honest to do other than vote that the newcomers should retain their own food-stuffs as their exclusive property and that the old settlers should go on as before, secure in the hope of a harvest from their months of toil in the fields.²⁶

25. "The new settlers brought a supply of food to last them until they could raise a crop in the next year, and they were afraid this would soon be spent if delivered over for public use; on the other hand, many of the old planters, who with their families had labored early and late to raise a good crop in their little fields, were unwilling to contribute the proceeds for common consumption. It was therefore agreed that the older settlers should take none of the "Anne's" stores, but should have the exclusive benefit of their own harvest."—Goodwin: "Pilgrim Republic," p. 247.

26. "On ye other hand the old planters were affraid that their corne, when it was ripe, should be imparted to ye new-comers, whose provisions wch they brought with them they

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

There was yet another problem to solve. Not all of the newcomers were willing to join the colony under the terms of the agreement with the Merchant Adventurers. They had embarked for America upon an understanding with the Adventurers that they might settle in a community of their own, or at least be free from the bonds by which the Plymouth colonists were virtually enslaved. A letter addressed to the colonists and signed by thirteen of the merchants recited these facts and urged acceptance of the newcomers on the specified terms.

That opposition should be voiced to such a proposal was but natural. However the Plymouth settlers may have agreed on matters of religion, they nevertheless held diverse views on matters of public policy. To permit others to share the hard won security of Plymouth, and not to assume a proper share of its heavy burdens, impressed the more worldly minded and belligerent as a species of injustice not to be tolerated in America.

Resentment against the Merchant Adventurers was heightened by the fact that they had accepted for passage faint-hearted and craven persons who were even then clamoring to be returned to England. They had likewise accepted others who, if judged by Pilgrim standards, were utterly unworthy of sanctuary in America. Roystering and drunken knaves they seemed. These the colonists determined to be rid of upon return of the "Anne" to England.

It seemed to be an evil fate of the Plymouth colonists that one anxiety or difficulty followed hard on the heels of another and that they were rarely free from perplexity of some sort. Now the "Anne" had arrived alone but, until the great storm at sea, she had been accompanied by a forty-four ton pinnace called the "James."

This latter craft was intended to remain in America for the use of the Colony. Aboard it were such passengers as had failed to

feared would fall short before ye year wente aboute (as indeed it did). They came to ye Govr and besought him that as it was before agreed that they should set corne for their perticuler, and accordingly they had taken extraordinary pains ther aboute, that they might freely injoye the same, and they would not have a bitte of ye victails now come, but waite till harvest for their owne, and let ye new-comers injoye what they had brought; they would have none of it, excepte they could purchase any of it of them by bargain or exchange. Their requeste was granted them, for it gave both sides good contente; for ye new-comers were as much afraid that ye hungrie planters would have eat up ye provissions brought, and they should have fallen into ye like condition."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," pp. 176-77.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

secure accommodations on the "Anne." The fate of the smaller ship was now a matter of great concern. That she had foundered in the storm was more than a probability. There was much doleful head-shaking in Plymouth whenever the name of the "James" was mentioned. But the Colony settled down to its accustomed activities. Days of sunshine were succeeded by periods of rain for about two weeks after the breaking of the drought.

The coming of the "Anne" had placed squarely upon the shoulders of the colonists the necessity of speeding up their work at the manufacture of clapboards. The ship must return to England well laden with this commodity, then so welcome in a land where suitable lumber was at premium. Thus, despite the enfeebled condition of his followers from their long continued semi-starvation, and the constant necessity of sending forth the shallop for fish which was their only staple diet, Governor Bradford strove to increase the quantity of clapboards already on hand.²⁷

Ten days after the "Anne" appeared off Plymouth Harbor the "James" in like manner came into view, much to the relief and joy of all concerned. The two ships had together brought nearly one hundred prospective colonists, about sixty of whom came to join the earlier settlers. The remaining forty desired to be on their own responsibility, or their own "particular" instead of becoming members of the general Colony. For this reason they were thereafter designated as "Particulars" and the regular colonists as "Generals."

After much deliberation by the freemen of Plymouth it was decided not to assign the "Particulars" to a separate place of residence but to distribute them about the town, by assigning land to them within the limits of the growing village. Their request for separate status was granted but with the proviso that each man or youth over sixteen years of age should contribute to the public treasury one bushel of corn or its equivalent annually. Thus was instituted the first form of taxation in New England.²⁸

27. "This ship was in a short time laden with clapboard, by the help of many hands. Also they sent in her all the beaver and other furs they had."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 177.

28. "These were ye conditions agreed on betweene ye colony and them. First, that ye Govr, in ye name and with ye consente of ye company, doth in all love and friendship receive and imbrace them; and is to allote them competente places for habitations within

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

The "Particulars" were also obligated to obey the laws of the Colony and to perform all of the military duties expected of the other colonists. They were, moreover forbidden to trade with the Indians, the Colony itself reserving that right as a means of earning money to liquidate its debt to the Merchant Adventurers.

Among the forty independent settlers²⁹ that had thus been added to the population of Plymouth was a man named John Oldham, who later played a dramatic part in the history not only of Plymouth Colony, but also of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In the final tragedy of his life, eleven years later, he precipitated the dreadful Pequot War, in which that proud Indian nation was virtually annihilated.

Although comparatively uneducated, Oldham was a man of great courage and force of character. Bradford and his associates were

ye towne. And promiseth to shew them all such other curtesies as shall be reasonable for them to desire, or us to performe.

"2. That they, on their parts, be subjecte to all such laws & orders as are already made, or hear after shall be for ye publick good.

"3. That they be freed and exempte from ye generall employments of the said company (which their presente condition of comunitie requireth), excepte commune defence, & such other employments as tend to ye perpetuall good of ye collony.

"4ly. Towards ye maintenance of Govrt, & publick officers of ye said collony, every male above ye age of 16. years shall pay a bushell of Indean wheat, or ye worth of it, into ye commone store.

5ly. That (according to ye agreemente ye marchants made with ym before they came) they are to be wholly debared from all trade with the Indeans for all sorts of furr, and such like commodities, till ye time of ye comunalltie be ended."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 177.

29. "Late in July arrived the ship 'Anne,' 140 tons, William Peirce master; and ten days later came in the pinnace 'Little James,' 44 tons, Bridges master. These vessels brought about a hundred new persons, including those who had formerly sailed in John Peirce's 'Paragon.' Many were from the Leyden flock, and several were wives, children, and kindred of the earlier settlers. Besides these, the Adventurers, despite the efforts of Robert Cushman, now the Colony's agent, had sent several people so unfit for pioneer life that Bradford went to the expense of returning them by the next ship. The list of the ninety-seven remaining is shown, by the land division of 1624 and the cattle division of 1627, to have been substantially as follows (those in *italic* died or removed before June, 1627; of the others, the age at landing and the time of death are given when known):

	Year of Death.
Anthony Annable	1673
His wife, Jane and two children.	
Edward Bangs (31)	1678
<i>His wife, Rebecca, and two children.</i>	
Robert Bartlet (20)	1676
Thomas Clark (18)	1697
Cuthbert Cuthbertson	1633
His wife, Sarah (Allerton-Priest)	1633
And four children.	
John Faunce	1654
Edward Holman	
John Jenney	1644
His wife, Sarah, 1656, and three children.	
Manasseh Kempton	1663

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

not then aware of the fact that there was a scheme afoot on the part of certain of the Merchant Adventurers to oust them from control of the Colony. Church of England men looked askance at this Separatist movement in the colonization of America. The very coming of the forty "Particulars" was in itself an ominous development. John Oldham was secretly the leader of the adverse faction thus established in the little settlement on the hills of Plymouth.

Governor Bradford was too busy with his added responsibilities to take note of any unusual or significant activities of the newcomers. That Oldham and his friends should gather in little groups of an evening was but natural, in view of the fact that they had been friends and shipmates. They now in fact had a common interest, because each family was under the necessity of building a house as speedily as possible. Bradford records that "Those that come on their per-

	Year of Death.
Experience Mitchell (24).....	1689
George Morton	1624
His wife, Juliana (38) 1666 and five children.	
Thomas Morton, Jr.....	
Joshua Pratt	1656
Nicholas Snow	
Francis Sprague, his wife, Anna, and child Mercy.....	
Stephen Tracy, his wife, Triphosa, and child Saran.....	
Ralph Wallen	by 1681
His wife, Joyce.	
"Mr. Perce's two servants".....	

OTHER WOMEN AND GIRLS

Fear Brewster	1633
Patience Brewster	1634
Mary Bucket (Becket?).....	1677
Dr. Fuller's wife, Bridget.....	
Robert Hicks' wife, Margaret, and three children.....	
Francis Cook's wife, Hester (d. 166—?), and three children....	
Eleanor Newton (25).....	1681
William Palmer's wife, Frances.....	
Christian Penn	
Mrs. Alice Carpenter-Southworth (33).....	1670
Barbara ——— (became Mrs. Standish).....	166?
Richard Warren's wife, Elizabeth (40).....	1673
And five daughters—Mary, Ann, Sarah, Elizabeth, and Abigail.	

"Edward Burcher (Bourchier?) and wife; Christopher Conant; Anthony Dix; Edmund Flood; William Heard; Robert Long; John Oldham (1636), his wife, and eight associates; James Rand; Robert Ratliffe (Radcliffe?), wife and two children; Thomas Tilden, wife and child; Thomas Flavell's wife; William Hilton's wife, and two children.

"The above list closes the catalogue of those who are known as the Pilgrims, the First Comers, or the Forefathers. These names, therefore, are used synonymously for those who came in the 'Mayflower,' the 'Fortune,' and the 'Anne,' with her consort. The number at landing, it will be remembered, was: 'Mayflower,' 102; 'Fortune,' 35; 'Anne,' about 96; total, 233. At the close of 163— there were probably one hundred and eighty of these immigrants living at Plymouth."—Goodwin: "Pilgrim Republic," pp. 242-44.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

ticuler looked for greater matters than they found or could attain unto, aboute building great houses, and such pleasant situations for them, as themselves had fancied; as if they would be great & rich men all of a sudaine. But they proved castle in ye aire."³⁰

While the "Anne" tarried in the harbor, undergoing the slow process of loading, because shallow water prevented it from approaching the landing place, the little village, its population suddenly doubled in size, settled down to a normal manner of life. For the toil-oppressed leaders of the colony, especially the Governor and the military commander, these summer evenings took on a new and unaccustomed interest.

From the first meeting with the charming young widow, Alice Southworth, Governor Bradford had been sorely smitten. As for Captain Myles Standish there was a young lady named Barbara among the passengers of the "Anne" who took his heart by storm. The poet Longfellow has depicted Captain Standish as wooing the maiden Priscilla Mullens by proxy and losing her to John Alden. This fable, so out of keeping with the ardent nature of the impetuous Standish, has long ago been dismissed by historians as poetic license by one more adept at romantic verse than expert in the interpretation of sober pages of history.

But the facts are uncontroverted that Myles Standish paid court so ardently and so successfully to the charming Barbara that she changed her surname to Standish very shortly after her arrival in Plymouth, so shortly in fact as to baffle all attempts by historians to discover what that surname might have been. A whirlwind courtship is what we might truly expect of Myles Standish—and such it was.

Governor William Bradford was no laggard in love, as events were to prove. The drab picture of hardship and tribulation in the early years of Plymouth is thus enlivened by two of the most beautiful romances in colonial history. That they have to do with two great and romantic figures of Pilgrim annals adds to the human interest that enshrouds them. Each of these matings was for life and each was to bear fruit in sons and daughters whose descendants are now a multitude in America.

30 Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 177.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

May we not, therefore, fancy, at least in the early stages of that wooing, that on more than one moonlight evening of late July, 1623, two couples sat upon the ramparts of the little fort on the hilltop and looked out over the harbor and the moonlit ocean, dreaming those dreams of wedded bliss that lovers have dreamed since the world began. And if one of those couples were Governor Bradford and his Alice and the other Captain Standish and Barbara, surely we are not exceeding the bounds of probability.

Certain it is that both couples were married that summer. Governor Bradford and Alice Southworth were wedded on August 14, 1623, and this is indicated in the record as the fourth marriage in Plymouth.³¹ We know that the first marriage was that of Edward Winslow and Susanna White in May, 1621. We have reason to believe that the second marriage was of John Alden and Priscilla Mullens. The third is said to have been the nuptials of Francis Eaton and a maiden whose name is unknown, the second of his three wives. We may safely conjecture that the fifth was that of Captain Standish and Barbara. But like the ending of fairy stories, we may say of the Standish and Bradford romances "they lived happily ever after"—and, best of all, have sober history to vouch for its truth in the case of each.

31. Prince: "New England Annals," p. 140.

"Before the departure of the 'Anne,' Governor Bradford married Mrs. Alice Southworth—the fourth marriage in the Colony. The first has been noticed—that of Edward Winslow and Mrs. White; it seems probable that the others were between John Alden and Priscilla Mullins, and Francis Eaton and Mrs. Carver's 'maid-servant.' Bradford's marriage was followed soon after by that of Standish with 'Barbara ——,' of John Howland and Elisabeth Tilley, of Peter Brown with Mrs. Ford. These marriages, like the first, were all solemnized by a magistrate, both from necessity and principle."—Goodwin: "Pilgrim Republic," pp. 247-48.



CHAPTER IX

A VISITOR OF CONSEQUENCE

Thus far none of the original colonists had ever returned to England. Sensing perhaps that misunderstandings were likely to arise, or had already arisen, between the colonists and the Merchant Adventurers, or with English people generally, it was decided to send a trusted representative to the mother country when the "Anne" should make her homeward voyage. Edward Winslow, by all odds, was the best educated and best qualified of the Plymouth brethren for the task in hand. He was accordingly chosen and commissioned to represent the colonists in all respects. He was to purchase needed supplies for the long suffering people and to negotiate with the Merchant Adventurers for the proper future support of the Colony.

The necessity for this precautionary measure would have been more fully apparent had the leaders of the Colony realized what was going on in their very midst. John Oldham and his faction, devoid of sympathy for the Bradford administration from the beginning, had already found the rigorous discipline of Plymouth irksome. Not having experienced the democracy of the Leyden congregation, they could not understand the town-meeting system, nor the simplicity of the Plymouth church organization. Quite naturally they sought to render an adverse report to their friends in England.

It chanced, therefore, that the very ship that bore Edward Winslow to England carried also in its mail, letters from John Oldham. In these letters, prepared in secret and despatched in stealth, Oldham lodged complaints against various members of the Plymouth community.

On September 20, 1623 the "Anne" sailed for England, with a cargo of clapboards and all the furs that the colonists had been able to secure in their trading with the Indians. Governor Bradford and his advisers made good their declared intention of deporting, or sending back to England at the expense of the Colony, those who had come on the "Anne," but who were obviously undesirable as members of the wilderness community.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

The "James," in accordance with the purpose for which it was sent, remained with them as a fishing vessel—a valuable possession, although Governor Bradford was by no means convinced that it might with profit be used as a fishing boat. To send it forth as a trading vessel seemed to him the wisest use to which it could be put. The Merchant Adventurers, however, had been convinced that possibilities of greatest gain lay in the fisheries of New England. So the colonists loyally prepared to develop the fishing industry to the best of their ability.

The "Anne" had no sooner sailed for England than disturbing news reached Plymouth. The Wessagusset, or Weymouth settlement, that had proved so sore an affliction during the previous year, but which had been deserted for some months, was now again peopled by English colonists. The empty cabins of the palisaded settlement had new tenants.

It was not Thomas Weston but a much more formidable leader who had sailed into Fore River and unloaded his cargo of families and goods. Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, had come to the New World with high hopes and vast ambitions. He had brought with him, from the Council of New England, a commission as Governor-General of its whole territory.³² Thus Governor Bradford was outranked, and rendered subject to the authority of Gorges. It later appeared, however, that the Council had named the Governor of Plymouth Colony as one of the councillors of the Governor-General.

All of these facts were communicated to Governor Bradford in a letter, brought to Plymouth by an Indian runner.

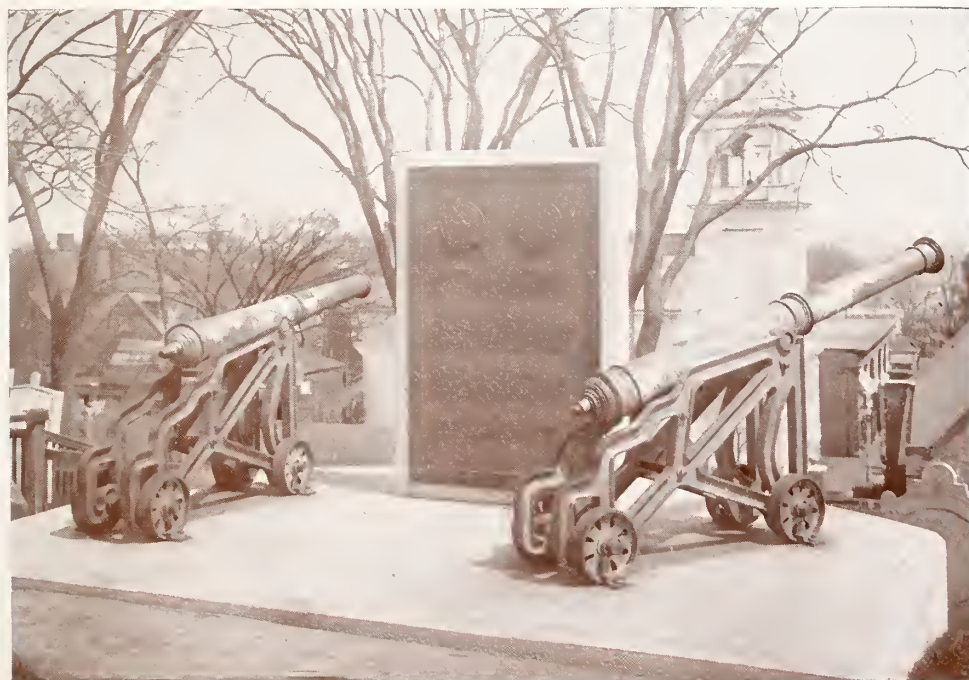
Harvest time was now fully come. Governor Bradford was too busily occupied by a multitude of duties to find time to visit the new Governor-General, although he intended to do so at the earliest possible moment. The joy of the bountiful harvest that had rewarded the long months of toil of the colonists was therefore greatly subdued by this news from Weymouth. Strangely enough it was Captain

32. "About ye midle of September arrived Captaine Robart Gorges in ye Bay of ye Massachusetts, with sundrie passengers and families, intending ther to begine a plantation; and pitched upon ye place Mr. Weston's people had forsaken. He had a comission from ye Counsell of New-England, to be generall Gover of ye cuntrie, and they appoynted for his counsell & assistance, Captaine Francis West, ye aforesaid admirall, Christopher Levite, Esquire, and ye Govr of Plimoth for ye time beeing, &c."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 178.



PLYMOUTH HARBOR AS VIEWED FROM COLES HILL

The headlands of the harbor are still practically unchanged since Pilgrim days. Clarks Island, near which the "Mayflower" anchored, is seen at the left, the third of the three hills beyond the sand-bar.



THE SITE OF THE OLD FORT ON BURIAL HILL

Cannon in this picture were presented to Plymouth by the English Government

(Copyright, A. S. Burbank, Plymouth, Massachusetts.)

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

Standish, Elder Brewster and other leaders of the Colony, rather than Governor Bradford himself, who most deeply regretted the new development.

"It is like to defeat all of our labors in this Colony," declared Standish bitterly to a group of the chief men of Plymouth, as they were gathered around the fireplace in the Bradford home one cool evening in late September.

"Nay, Captain Standish. I would not be fearful of so great a calamity, but I regret that our Governor should not have a free hand to work out the problems of this Colony unhampered by Governor-Generals, however high born they may be." It was Stephen Hopkins who had spoken.

"What I most fear," declared Elder Brewster, deep concern on his patriarchal countenance, "is that this new Governor-General may seek to put a stop or hindrance in the way of our free exercise of religious liberty. He is a Church of England man, if reports from England are to be trusted."

"So far as my authority as Governor be concerned," gravely responded Bradford from his seat by the fire, "it is to be expected that our success in planting a colony should be followed by other colonies and that sooner or later a Governor-General be set over all of us. That he has come so soon is simply a problem to be faced. I doubt not that we shall find him a man of good sense and discretion and that we shall get on well in matters of government. But what Elder Brewster has said arouses my fears. Persecution for our faith is possible here as elsewhere. We must stand firm for our dearly won privileges."

At this point Dr. Fuller came hurrying into the room.

"A stormy day tomorrow," he declared in his brisk, incisive tones. "The sky at sunset as I came over the hill looked very threatening. If our men aboard the shallop are wise they will lose no time in hoisting sail for the harbor."

Conversation was thus turned to the weather and less serious affairs. The newly wedded Mrs. Bradford, her after-supper duties completed, now joined the circle.

"Mistress Bradford, methinks this Colony owes you a debt of gratitude," declared Stephen Hopkins gallantly.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

"For marrying your Governor? Well, it was a real hardship, I assure you," replied the lady, casting a fond glance at her husband.

"No doubt of that madam, but I was thinking of how you have brightened up this house. Master Bradford is a good Governor, but you are a much better housekeeper than he."

The visitors thereupon regaled the smiling mistress of the Governor's mansion with tales of the Bradford housekeeping that caused the bridegroom jestingly to declare that he had been so busy keeping other people's houses in order that he had no time for his own and had left the matter to the boys who made their home with him—the same group that even then outside the cottage were playing some noisy game in the dusk of the evening.

Mrs. Bradford had left two sons in England, Constant and Thomas Southworth. It was the most natural thing in the world for her to become a foster-mother to these orphan lads who formed the Governor's household. They in their turn welcomed her with the joyous exuberance of growing boys suddenly relieved of distasteful tasks of housework. They rejoiced also for the new spirit of family life that had entered the Governor's home when Isaac Allerton, the magistrate next in importance to the Governor, had spoken the words that made Alice Southworth mistress of that home.

To these orphan lads and to the Colony itself the advent of this remarkable woman was an event of great significance. Strong in character as Governor Bradford undoubtedly was, yet there is no man, however heroic his proportions, but finds in a devoted wife, and a cheerful fireside, daily inspiration that adds mightily to his natural endowments.

The storm that Dr. Fuller had predicted came upon them in full fury on the following morning. A mighty wind, that seemed to fling open the very windows of heaven and unloose torrents of rain, halted all activities in the harvest fields. Fortunately there was little cause for anxiety over the absence of the shallop, for in the early hours of the morning, before the storm had reached its height, the missing craft with a strong wind behind her came racing into the harbor.

The "James" was still undergoing repairs in the harbor, so with all its members accounted for the settlement could view with complacency this equinoctial storm that brought the far off boom of the breakers on the sand bar to their ears in the deep cadences that the elements alone can produce.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

That complacency, however, was deeply stirred before mid-afternoon by the sight of a ship in distress, wallowing heavily but obviously struggling to reach the shelter of Plymouth Harbor. Could it be the "Anne" beaten back from her homeward voyage? But no, that vessel must now be far out on the vast ocean. That the ship did not resemble the "Anne" was the consensus of opinion of Bradford and his advisers as they watched the struggling craft. Standish and a volunteer crew, despite the furious storm, set out in the shallop in an endeavor, within the harbor, to indicate to the oncoming ship where the channel might be found. The danger of running aground in the mighty breakers was ominous and threatening.

To the relief of all beholders, as it must have been to the desperate seamen struggling in the storm, the strange ship successfully fought its way into the comparative shelter of the harbor and dropped its anchors where the "Mayflower" had once found sanctuary. Then it was that the identity of the ship was made known. It was the "Paragon." Aboard it was Robert Gorges, the much dreaded Governor-General of New England.³³ The "Paragon," be it remembered, was the very ship in which John Peirce had made two unsuccessful attempts to transport a colony to America during the previous autumn and winter.

Robert Gorges had set out from Fore River on the previous day with the avowed purpose of apprehending Thomas Weston, who was reported to be engaged in a coasting trade with the Indians. The wrath of the Governor-General had long smouldered but, surrounded daily at Weymouth with evidences of Weston's mismanagement of the colonizing attempt of the previous year, the wrath had become fanned into flame. Weston's audacity in continuing to trade in the Gorges dominions after causing so great a loss to Sir Ferdinando had spurred the young man to action.

The storm had thus abruptly terminated the punitive expedition. The mariners had suffered so severe a fright and were so thankful to be alive after the buffetings of the storm that they showed no inclination to depart even after fair weather had returned.

33. "He gave them notice of his arivall by letter, but before they could visite him he went to ye eastward with ye ship he came in; but a storme arising (and they wanting a good pilot to harbor them in those parts), they bore up for this harbor. He and his men were hear kindly entertained; he stayed hear 14. days."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 179.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

In the meantime Robert Gorges had received hearty welcome from Governor Bradford. The Governor's house had in fact become his temporary abode. Harvest had replenished the empty larders of the colony. Governor Bradford and the youthful members of his household had toiled with such good effect that their table no longer lacked the wholesome corn bread so highly esteemed in pioneer days. So congenial was his host that young Gorges had no desire to venture abroad. Strangely enough, as will be seen in the following chapter, this very inactivity brought to pass the complete fulfillment of the very purpose for which he had set forth from Weymouth.



CHAPTER X

THE ARREST OF THOMAS WESTON

The crew of the "Paragon" were regarded by the colonists from Leyden as a most unwelcome and ungodly lot. It is significant of the gulf that separated the earlier settlers from those who had recently arrived, to set up for themselves as "Particulars," that the latter welcomed the roystering sailors. Into the newly completed houses, therefore, the Gorges men came with freedom. They indulged in practices that quite scandalized Elder Brewster. He mentioned this one Sunday, as with Governor Bradford and a small group of trusted friends he was returning down the hill from the morning service in their hilltop meetinghouse.

"I like not the way these strangers conduct themselves, Master Bradford. For five days they have been in our midst and there is nothing but gaming and drinking all the day long. When does Master Gorges expect to sail?"

"That I cannot say, Elder. He has gone out to his ship for the day, being a Church of England man, but he has not set a date for departure. The Governor-General is well enough in himself, but his followers, as you say, are a wicked lot."

"Our new neighbor John Oldham is very friendly with the sailors and they are much at his house," spoke up Stephen Hopkins.

"Well, for that matter there be others who call at the Oldham house," remarked Captain Standish, with a twinkle in his eye. Whereupon the men laughed, including Elder Brewster himself.

"You speak truly, Captain Standish. My son Jonathan is indeed a frequent visitor there, but he goes not to visit John Oldham. Lucretia Oldham is a virtuous and comely maiden. I look with favor on the match."

"Aye, aye, Elder. We married men are right glad to see weddings multiply in new Plymouth."

But Jonathan Brewster's wedding to Lucretia Oldham was destined to be delayed until April of the following year. Engagements were usually of brief duration in this primitive settlement. We may perhaps attribute the delay in this instance to the opposition of her

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

strong minded brother, as much as to the necessity that lay upon the prospective bridegroom of building a home in which to install his bride. There was truly an irony of fate that was to link John Oldham, by his sister's marriage, with the family of the very man whom he was seeking to overthrow as the religious leader of the Colony.

At this time, however, there were no indications of unrest or dissatisfaction of any sort except the natural irritation felt by the leaders themselves at the presence in town of an element that did not see eye to eye with them in matters of religious faith and religious observance. Those who had settled on their "own particular" had already manifested a tendency to absent themselves from religious services. The presence of the ungodly sailors of the "Paragon," and their enthusiastic welcome by the particulars, had led the wise men of the community to repeat the ancient bit of folk lore about birds of feather flocking together.

Plymouth was now a compact village of imposing appearance. In order that the newcomers might build their houses within the walls of the palisade it had been necessary to erect them in close proximity to one another, or to houses of the earlier colonists. The result, as one surveyed the thatched roofs from the vantage point of the upper platform of the hill-top fort, was very pleasing to the eye.

With the latest buildings, some of them scarcely completed, the housetops were massed in close formation on either side of the street that descended from the fort to the square, where another street at right angles to the first carried out the village effect of compactness. The second street, at the Town Brook end, was flanked by store houses and at the other end by residences. Governor Bradford's house was at the square itself and commanded a view of the long street leading to the fort, as well as of both ends of the new street.

Strangely enough it had not occurred to these ordinarily farseeing leaders of the community that there was a frightful danger involved in thus massing thatch-roofed houses. With their background of experience in the farming districts of England thatch had been the usual covering of the roofs of houses and other buildings. Standing by itself the accidental burning of a thatched roof would not have fired other roofs. But to build a village with thatched roofs so closely adjoining that the burning of one might start a general conflagration was an error of first magnitude. This error was shortly to bring

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

upon the settlement a grievous calamity as will be seen in a later chapter.

It is a generally observed truth that the sons of enterprising and successful men rarely inherit the forceful qualities of their fathers. The very success of the father renders unnecessary struggle with hardships on the part of his children. It is human nature to sink into slothful ways under such circumstances. Captain Robert Gorges was no exception to this rule of indolence acquired through a childhood of ease. At twenty-seven he had seen much of the world and had won laurels in the Venetian wars.

Having set forth from England on a hazardous colonizing experiment and having tasted of its hardships at Weymouth, this unexpected vacation at Plymouth was decidedly to his liking. His sailors were even more reluctant to leave the harbor than was he. The "Paragon," therefore, tarried until it had quite exhausted the patience of the leaders of Plymouth Colony. But since young Gorges bore a commission as Governor-General it would never do to suggest that entertainment of commander and crew was becoming burdensome. The Pilgrims therefore bowed to necessity and endured with cheerfulness what could not be avoided.

One day as Governor Bradford and young Gorges were returning from the woods where the manufacturing of clapboards was in progress they were surprised and astonished to observe a small ship sailing into the harbor.

"The master of yonder craft must have knowledge of this harbor," observed Bradford, shading his eyes with his hands as he watched the progress of the vessel. "Note how she keeps to the channel. Our own men could not do it better."

"'Tis a small ship, Master Bradford. Think you it is some trader operating on this coast?"

"That or some fishing vessel, but methinks I have seen this ship before. If I mistake not it is the craft that Thomas Weston brought into this harbor at sundry times last year."

Whereupon Robert Gorges started and muttered something quite fiercely under his breath. Profanity was not tolerated at Plymouth, but the Governor-General was in a decidedly profane mood. In fact he shook his fist in the direction of the harbor mouth.

"That double dyed villain, Weston!" he cried passionately. "Word has indeed come to me that he has recovered his ship and is

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

trading in these parts. I was hunting him when we ran into the storm and now the rascal has delivered himself into my hands. Let us make haste, Master Bradford. I must arrest this man before he discovers his mistake."

"But Master Gorges," expostulated Governor Bradford as the two men hurried down to the wharf, "to arrest Master Weston is a serious matter unless you indeed have serious crimes to lay at his door."³⁴

"That I have, I promise you."

Hastily assembling a boat's crew from his followers who were lounging about the wharf, Robert Gorges set out with more energy and determination than Governor Bradford had ever seen in this easy-going young aristocrat. Perplexed and intrigued by this astonishing development, Governor Bradford stood for a time on the wharf watching the long boat of the "Paragon" as it shot forward through the green waters of the harbor. The sailors had evidently been informed of the purpose of their master, for had they been engaged in a race they could not have put more energy into their labor at the oars. With a troubled sigh Governor Bradford at length bestirred himself. Returning to his own house, he met his wife just as she was coming in with some autumn flowers and yellow spiked golden-rod that she had gleaned from the edges of the garden.

Depositing her fragrant burden upon the table, she turned with all of a bride's enthusiasm to greet her lord and master.

"And now you must tell me what has happened," she declared presently. "Great affairs of state no doubt, but I like not to see my Governor look so troubled as when he first came in sight just now."

"Trouble enough, my dear, but you must not let it concern you. Thomas Weston has just sailed into this harbor, and the young Governor-General has put out in a boat to arrest him." At this moment one of the boys who lived at the Governor's house came bustling in with news of the arrival of the ship.

"You are the very lad I was looking for," cried Governor Bradford. "I know of the ship already, and I would have you call Captain Standish, Elder Brewster, Master Allerton and Master Hopkins to come to me at once on a matter of great importance."

34. "Captain Gorges tooke hold of ye opportunity . . . and call him to accounte."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 179.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

In the meantime the impetuous Governor-General had nearly reached the side of the newly arrived vessel. It had already cast anchor. Thomas Weston was about to descend into the ship's boat. Perceiving this fact Gorges gave orders to cease rowing and to hold his own boat in readiness to act when their quarry should be within easy reach.

This action, however, was quite naturally misinterpreted on ship-board. Believing that he was to receive a visit of ceremony Thomas Weston had abandoned his intention of leaving the ship and instead had assembled the officers of his craft to receive the expected visitors. The halting of the longboat before reaching the ship's side was therefore a matter of such unprecedented rudeness that Weston became at once extremely indignant.

"How now ye beggarly knaves," he called down to them. "Do ye seek to drive me from anchorage in this harbor?"

"You are right welcome to anchorage," replied Gorges. "We are merely a welcoming party to escort Thomas Weston ashore."

"So that is the plan," cried Weston, slapping his thigh and bursting into loud laughter. "Your Governor hath come to his senses at last. He realizes I see that I am a man of consequence. But whose ship is this at anchor?"

"It belongs to the Governor-General."

"And who, pray, is the Governor-General?"

"The name is Gorges."

Weston paused in his descent of the ship's ladder.

"Not Sir Ferdinando?"

"His son, Robert Gorges."

"Is Master Gorges aboard ship? If so I must pay my respects to him before going ashore."

"That will be quite unnecessary, Master Weston, for we bring you his compliments. The Governor-General was visiting with Governor Bradford when your ship hove in sight."

Weston was obviously puzzled and somewhat agitated by the tone of the speaker. He descended into his boat. Before oars could be plied the Gorges boat shot alongside.

"This is a larger boat, Master Weston. Pray do us the honor to step across the gunwale."

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

"What impertinence is this," cried Weston angrily. Then he looked for the first time full into the face of Robert Gorges. His own anger and bluster vanished on the instant. He blanched at the look that met his own.

"You are Robert Gorges," he faltered.

"The very same, Master Weston. Do me the honor to step across the gunwale as I requested a moment ago."

Weston rose up irresolute. His own boat was helpless because the strategy of Robert Gorges had prevented its oars from touching water, the boat being wedged between the hull of the ship and the Gorges' boat.

"What does this mean, Master Gorges," he demanded in an altered tone, a tone in which fear was all too evident.

"It means that you are under arrest, that you shall now answer for some of your misdeeds."

"An Englishman has a right to know for what he is being arrested, Master Gorges."

"Very well, you scheming villain. I arrest you for criminal misconduct in the matter of the Wessagusset settlement of last year, and for stealing sundry cannon intended for the protection of this coast."

Perceiving that Weston still hesitated about giving himself up Gorges nodded to two of his seamen. With great alacrity they rose up, reached across into the other boat and seized either arm of their victim. With a jerk that quite upset his dignity Weston was transferred from one boat to the other. None too gently he was seated in the Gorges boat—a prisoner.



CHAPTER XI

A NOTABLE TRIAL AT PLYMOUTH

Captain Myles Standish had rarely experienced a more enjoyable moment than when, standing on the wharf at the mouth of Town Brook, he witnessed the landing of Thomas Weston and his captors. On various occasions before this date he himself had longed to lay hands upon Weston. To see others performing that very office was almost as satisfactory to him as if he himself were in charge of the prisoner.

Captain Standish had hurried away from the Governor's house at the first word of the returning longboat of the "Paragon." As military commander of Plymouth he considered it wholly appropriate that he should be in a position to prevent recapture of Weston by his own boat's crew, for they were following the other boat to the landing place.

There was no demonstration, however, and Weston was taken at once to Governor Bradford's house. The youthful Governor-General was, in fact, involved in somewhat of a dilemma. Having acted as sheriff in arresting Weston he could not with very good grace act also as judge in his trial. Nor could he as Governor-General give precedence in the trial to Governor Bradford to act as the sole judge.

Having recovered from his consternation and dismay Weston was shrewd enough to realize that his rights as an Englishman were in conflict with the situation that presented itself—no man could act as sheriff and judge at the same time. Earnestly, therefore, he protested to Governor Bradford at this infringement of his legal rights.

"I appeal to you, Master Bradford, not only as the Governor of this Colony, but as a lover of justice, that you see to it that justice be done in this matter."

"You shall have justice, I promise you, Master Weston."

"But you are the proper judge of my case, most worthy Governor."

"Of that we shall see. Master Gorges is Governor-General of New England and as such overtops me in all things. But you are not yet on trial. Fret not therefore but do you go with your guards as the Governor-General has commanded."

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

So the unwilling Weston was led away to a log house that on former occasions had harbored various culprits, including Indians. The impetuous Governor-General was for an immediate trial, to which Governor Bradford agreed, provided a proper court could be convened. To this Gorges made answer that under the terms of his appointment as Governor-General several assistants had been named, the majority of whom were then present with him in Plymouth.

Messengers were sent to them to repair at once to the meeting-house on the hill-top. Together with Governor Bradford and Gorges himself, they promptly convened as a trial court. News of the impending trial had spread throughout the town and even into the woods where men were at work—such was the alacrity with which Governor Bradford's youthful wards dashed to execute his commands. Elder Brewster, Isaac Allerton, Stephen Hopkins, William Bassett, John Alden and others of the leading men of Plymouth were, therefore, present when Captain Standish and the guards arrived with the indignant prisoner.

The trial itself was conducted in most informal manner. Robert Gorges presided and acted also as chief prosecutor of the culprit. The first charge which Thomas Weston was called upon to defend was the evil conduct of his agents and colonists in stealing corn and other things from the Massachusetts tribe of Indians.

"By their villany, unworthy of civilized men," cried Gorges passionately, "they brought upon themselves the grievous hatred of powerful tribes of this coast. They themselves escaped massacre only by the prompt action of Captain Standish and his men. They disturbed the peace of the country. Even now the Indians look upon us newcomers at Wessagussett with great contempt and enmity."

To this Weston made answer that all these things had occurred without his knowledge or consent and while he was absent in Virginia.

"Master Bradford can tell you," declared the prisoner, "that I left my planters well stocked with victuals. I had no reason to suppose that they would waste my substance and then pillage the neighboring Indians. And now as to their government, I left a competent man to govern them, but he fell sick and died. He lies buried in this very hillside whereon we stand. That I have suffered most

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

grievously from the evil that my planters committed is known of all men."³⁵

"Very well, we will pass over that charge for the moment. But I have a more grievous offense to lay at your door—the matter of the cannon in which you did wickedly and corruptly abuse and cheat my honored father and others of the Council of New England. I call you to the bar of justice, Thomas Weston, to explain, if you can, these damning facts: I swear upon my honor that you went to his Majesty's Council of State to secure a license to transport many pieces of great ordnance to New England, falsely pretending great fortifications on this coast and much shipping to be protected thereby. By using the name and fame of my father and of others of the council of New England, you did prevail in your suit. The license was granted you, but how did you use it? Wicked man that you are, for your own private enrichment you went and sold those cannon beyond the sea. Enemies of England may yet turn these guns upon your countrymen. It is for this treasonable conduct that you have fled from justice. The state is very angry. My father has suffered exceedingly because of your use of his name. An order has been issued for your apprehension, and because of it I have arrested you."

Weston was cornered. The facts were undeniable. But he was astute enough to seize upon the latest utterance of the Governor-General and to turn it to his advantage by demanding to be shown the alleged warrant. Not having it in possession, Robert Gorges was somewhat at loss to proceed, growing more angry in consequence.

Whereupon Governor Bradford interposed with counsel of moderation on the part of each. That Weston had been guilty of grave wrong was unquestioned but, even so, it was needful to observe all established customs in such cases.

"Touching this man's conduct in the matter of the cannon," Bradford concluded, "I have nothing but censure for a dishonest and wicked deed. As to the conduct of the colony at Wessagusset, we in this plantation have sad reason to know that Master Weston's planters were wicked and unprofitable men. While visiting at this place,

35. "To this Mr. Weston easily answered, that what was that way done, was in his absence, and might have befallen any man; he left them sufficiently provided, and conceived they would have been well governed; and for any errour committed he had sufficiently smarted. This particuler was passed by."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 180.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

for some weeks before settling at Wessagusset, they stole the young corn from our cornfields and reduced us to the edge of famine. We imprisoned and whipped them, all to no purpose for they continued their evil practices in the dead of night. I am persuaded that neither Master Weston nor any other man, with such naughty varlets, could have made a success of the Wessagusset colony. That Master Weston hath smarted sorely and suffered grievous punishment of late for whatever crimes he may have committed is well known to us in this plantation. May it not be well, Master Gorges, for us to take counsel together before announcing a decision of this case?"

This conciliatory speech had the desired effect of mollifying the angry feelings of Robert Gorges. The earnest spectators sighed with relief because the situation had achieved a degree of passion that was very distressing to men who believed justice could be administered wisely only by temperate and impartial judges. Robert Gorges was wholly unfitted in the present case to assist in a wise decision, much less to dominate the decision of this extraordinary court.

Thomas Weston, however, was a man who trimmed his sails to whatever breeze seemed to him to serve his purpose. He was, moreover, a man of choleric and violent passions. No sooner did he perceive the change of sentiment wrought by Bradford's words than he wrongly interpreted it as an indication that the majority of the judges were safely on his side.³⁶ He thereupon gave vent to his spleen against Robert Gorges by launching into a wholly unnecessary and sarcastic speech, bearing down upon the young man with such cutting phrases that every listener was amazed at his audacity and the intemperance of his remarks.

As for Robert Gorges, when the first shock of amazement had passed, he rose up in towering passion. He cut short Weston's tirade by the very fury of his countenance. In language such as had never

36. "But after many passages, by ye mediation of ye Govr and some other freinds hear, he was inclined to gentlnes (though he apprehended ye abuse of his father deeply); which, when Mr. Weston saw, he grew more presumptuous, and gave such provocking & cutting speeches, as made him rise up in great indignation & distemper, and vowed yt he would either curb him, or send him home for England. At which Mr. Weston was something danted, and came privatly to ye Govr hear, to know whether they would suffer Captaine Gorges to apprehend him. He was tould they could not hinder him, but much blamed him, yt after they had pacified things, he should thus breake out, by his owne folly & rashnes, to bring trouble upon him selfse & them too. He confest it was his passion, and prayed ye Govr to entreat for him, and pacife him if he could."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," pp. 180-81.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

been uttered in this house of religious worship, he lashed Thomas Weston as a knave and scoundrel, ending with a solemn vow that he would either curb his evil career himself or send him home for the courts of England to deal with.

This violent scene put an end to all semblance of a court of justice. With one accord the assembly rose with Governor Bradford and the meeting broke up in confusion. Robert Gorges was by this time in so violent a mood that he might personally have assaulted his adversary, except that his friends gathered around him and persuaded him to leave the meetinghouse.

Aware at length of his own folly and of the danger to which his intemperate words had exposed him, Thomas Weston was now smitten by fear. He made his way to where Governor Bradford and his chief advisers were standing and humbled himself before them. They were too familiar with his real character to be deceived by any pretenses of humility.

"Master Bradford," cried Weston in his most earnest manner. "This turbulent minded young Governor-General means to do me a mischief."

"Shame upon you, Master Weston. I have long known that you were a rascal. Now I know you to be a fool. This evil you have brought upon yourself. When we had pacified Master Gorges in your behalf you must needs break in with your evil tongue and bring confusion upon yourself and upon us also."

"Your words are just, Master Bradford. Humbly and with tears I confess my weakness. It was my passion for which I now earnestly repent. But you are the Governor of this Colony. I am under your protection and all men know that you are wise and just."

"Save your words, Master Weston. Flattery comes not well from lips such as yours. It is true I am Governor of this plantation, but by the will of the proprietors of this coast Robert Gorges has been made Governor-General of all New England."

"Can you not persuade him to give me another chance—just one more, Master Bradford? Now that I have regained my ship let me earn an honest living in coastal trade—let me prove to you and your friends that I am truly an honest man."

"Whining, Master Weston, is not seemly in a grown man. Get you gone with Captain Standish. He will gladly lock you into our

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

strong house until the Governor-General has had time to cool from the just wrath that your insults have kindled in his heart. I will then have speech with him in this matter."

Weston thereupon departed with his grim visaged escort. True to his word, Governor Bradford presently left the building and sought out the still flushed and angry Governor-General.

"Master Gorges, all who witnessed the outrageous conduct of Master Weston sympathize with you in your just resentment. I have sent him hence to be under lock and key until we again need him. But may I venture the suggestion that there might be danger to your reputation in England if this miscreant were sent home?"

"How now, Master Bradford," interrupted Gorges haughtily. "Danger to me in sending home a criminal against whom a warrant is outstanding?"

"Ordinarily, no; but under the circumstances, yes. This man has an evil tongue and many friends in England. Were he to be sent home, think you not that he could so color with slander these happenings as to endanger the success of your mission to this new land?"

"There is meat in what you say, Master Bradford. I will think upon it."

Long they deliberated and, as they talked, the Governor-General grew less and less violent in his attitude toward the culprit. It all ended in a most pacific manner. Weston was presently called before the board of judges. His humility on this occasion was in marked contrast to his former behavior. His apology to Robert Gorges left nothing to be desired.

The latter offered to discharge him from custody provided he would give bond to be ready to make further answer when either Gorges or the lords of the council in England should send for him. To this proposal Weston replied that his misfortunes had so stripped him of worldly goods that he had not the means to furnish a bond, unless he were to surrender his ship and his commodities of trade, which would utterly ruin him.

Young Gorges, like most hot tempered folk, was quick to respond with generosity to such an appeal for sympathy. In this instance, with an impulsive gesture that should have won the gratitude and respect of Thomas Weston, the Governor-General declared that the word of a gentleman was equal to a bond in any event. He would, there-

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

fore, accept Thomas Weston's word of honor in lieu of the bond.³⁷ They shook hands and parted with apparent friendliness.

But such was the nature of this man, Thomas Weston, that among his friends and adherents at Plymouth he was soon secretly ridiculing his judges, especially Bradford and Gorges, and boasting of his own superior mentality.

Bradford makes record that Weston declared behind their backs that "though they were but young justices, yet they were good beggars."³⁸ The enormity of this utterance may not be evident to us at this distance of time, but it was destined to lead to unpleasant consequences, as will be seen hereafter.

37. "The which at last he did, with much adoe; so he was called againe, and ye Govr was contente to take his owne bond to be ready to make further answer, when either he or ye lords should send for him. And at last he tooke only his word, and there was a freidly parting on all hands."—Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 181.

38. Bradford: "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 181.



CHAPTER XII

PLYMOUTH NARROWLY ESCAPES DESTRUCTION

The Weston matter apparently concluded in a satisfactory manner, Robert Gorges decided to return to his plantation at Weymouth, or Wessagusset as it was still called. This palisaded settlement, it will be remembered, was built upon the southerly banks of Fore River, a navigable stream thirty odd miles north of Plymouth Harbor. Instead of returning by sea Gorges decided to go by the overland route, leaving the "Paragon" in Plymouth Harbor until it could be refitted for a voyage to Virginia.

Full of gratitude, and with new found friendliness for Governor Bradford, Robert Gorges took his departure, leaving the troublesome sailors of the "Paragon" to continue their obnoxious conduct in Plymouth. To the distress of those in authority in the Pilgrim settlement, Thomas Weston's ship, the "Swan," remained also in the harbor. Weston himself hob-nobbed much with John Oldham and his friends. Thus the little settlement unwillingly harbored strangers whose presence was a constant vexation.

After a particularly trying day, Governor Bradford returned to his home one nightfall in October, 1623, to partake of the evening meal. Prepared by the skillful fingers of Alice Bradford, no meals were now frugal or uninviting to the man who for nearly three years had kept "bachelor's hall" with a group of orphan boys. Domestic life was now doubly grateful to William Bradford, although his official duties all too often encroached upon the honeymoon hours of evening.

On this particular evening the Bradford wards had no sooner retired and the Governor had closed his book, to sit by the fire with his bride, than there came an impatient tattoo of masculine knuckles on the front door of the house.

"That sounds like Captain Standish," declared Bradford with a sigh, rising to answer the knock. Mrs. Bradford lighted a candle in honor of the visitor, who proved indeed to be Myles Standish. But he was not alone. Isaac Allerton and William Bassett were with him.

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

"Something must be done to curb the mischief of those drunken sailors," declared Standish, when the first greetings were over and they had seated themselves around the welcome glow of the fireplace. The night air was chill outside.

"What, more trouble from them? I had hoped that the warning we gave them last night would have curbed them."

"On the contrary, Master Bradford," declared Allerton indignantly. "They are now carrying on worse than ever before. In my house the noise of their unseemly revelry is most disturbing."

"These 'particulars' were indeed worldly enough before the 'Paragon' and the 'Swan' dropped anchor in this harbor," interposed William Bassett, "but of late they have been quite bewitched by the wickedness of their visitors."

"May we not pass some law to curb and check them, Master Bradford? Could I but have the right to seize some of these scoundrels and clap them up in our strong house, they would come to their senses, I promise you."

But Standish got no farther with his proposal. At that very instant a cry shrilled forth on the evening air that caused every face around the Bradford hearth to blanch with horror. The cry swelled into a wild clamor of shouts. Instantly the men were on their feet in a mad dash for the out-of-doors.

"Fire! fire! fire!" cried all four at once. From all parts of the village came a great and swelling chorus of fear. From the thatched roof of the house of revelry, a mounting geyser of flame was even then shooting skyward, casting a pulsating glare upon the entire settlement. A prodigious cascade of sparks, mounting from the vortex of the flame, was streaming off across the roofs of adjoining houses and seemingly to bombard the hilltop meetinghouse, which by good fortune was topped by the gun platform and the parapet of the fort.

But the thatched roofs of the village were like so many heaps of tinder, inviting destruction from the sky. The prodigious height to which the first thatch-fed flames were mounting, alone prevented the firing of every roof beneath that racing canopy of sparks. The real test would come when the flames should settle down to solid wood. Sparks at short range would then be deadly.

All this, and more, Myles Standish glimpsed as he raced across the square, bellowing orders as he ran. Long he had foreseen this

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

frightful moment, but the reality dwarfed all his imaginings. The stoutest heart in all the company might well have quailed at the roaring inferno of flame. But Standish had trained his men for months, and now the testing time had come.

From every direction frantic men came racing to the square, water buckets in hand or bearing great rolls of coarse cloth. To cover the thatch of endangered houses with wet cloth and continually to drench that cloth with buckets of water from the brook was the theory in which these primitive firefighters had been trained. The difficulty of this maneuver, in the furnace heat of the near vicinity of the burning dwelling, was truly appalling.

In the wild confusion of the moment Standish was about to attempt the impossible feat of saving the dwelling next in range of the conflagration. But Governor Bradford seized his arm and, above the roar and crackle of the flames, shouted the imperative command:

"No, no, no! The storehouses, lest we perish."

On the instant, the scaling party, with their sodden cloths, were turned to the windward side of the flame. The burning house was next adjoining the Pilgrim granary. Here was stored their entire harvest. Although the wind was blowing from the ocean across the roofs of the storehouses, the heat of the fire must certainly ignite the inflammable roof unless the drenched covering could forestall the event.

From the brook, in endless procession, came men with buckets of water to be dashed upon the walls and roof of the granary which, in spite of all, was soon smoking and steaming in the blistering heat from the doomed dwelling house.

The scene was pandemonium itself. Every man, woman and child in the entire settlement was now in the throng of firefighters, or busily engaged in the frantic task of rescuing the household effects of the next house in the path of the flames. Members of the Colony clamored to do the like with the contents of the storehouse, but this Governor Bradford sternly forbade. Without protection the corn would be ruined or stolen—their seed corn for next year and the corn upon which they must subsist during the winter. The storehouse must be saved and no time wasted in other efforts!

Captain Standish and Governor Bradford were everywhere in evidence. No sooner had they formed a squad of defenders for the

WITH AXE AND MUSKET AT PLYMOUTH

granary than they dashed to the lee of the burning building, where men were already casting water upon the thatch of the adjoining house. There men were attacking it from the opposite side of the roof by pouring water at the ridge pole, thus forming a water curtain down the exposed side. But thatch, be it remembered, is so laid as to shed water and not to absorb it. The now sobered revelers worked desperately but in vain. The house was doomed from the first. Even as Standish arrived, the thatch of the adjoining house burst into flame in spite of water and the steam into which the water was instantly transformed as it descended the roof.

Because of the scorching of the past few moments, the effect of the flame was not unlike an explosion, so instantaneously did the entire roof burst into volcanic action—an appalling torch of flame that leaped into the air with a roar that could have been heard a mile distant.

Down the line of houses raced the men, dragging their rolls of cloth to a house indicated by Myles Standish. Here they proposed to make a stand. In vain the owners of the intervening two houses raced at the side of Captain Standish, begging and imploring him to save their homes.

“Fools! fools! fools!” cried Standish savagely. “Can’t you see those houses are doomed? They’d be spouting flame before we could cover the roofs. Up men and spread these cloths. Bring water, water, water.”

Even Elder Brewster, whose house was across the square, was removing his belongings to the cornfield behind his home.

“Bring out your sheets and blankets, Elder. Cover your roof and drench them well, and it may be that the Lord will spare your home.”

“Oh, Master Bradford, is there any hope of saving the village?”

But Bradford had vanished. His own household must take similar precautions. Although the wind was favorable, the explosive nature of thatch and the fiercely burning pine timbers of the doomed houses might yet fire the storehouse. In that event the flames would likely leap the street and might spread to every house in Plymouth.

(To be continued.)

Myths and Monuments of Old Mexico

BY ARTHÉMISÉ GOERTZ, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA



THE great Mexican Plateau, tapering away toward the south and terminating in a broad valley bounded by the snowy Cordillera of Anahuac, is a region rich in prehistoric fact and fable. Here once flourished that singular "stone-age" of pyramid-building and rock-shaping peoples, whose shadowy existence in ages long dead is substantiated for posterity only in myth and tradition, and such of their structures as have remained to pique the curiosity of a wondering world. The topography of the country presents a peculiarly appropriate background for this mystery of lost races and crumbling, grass-grown temples: plutonic ranges encircle and bisect the great tableland, cutting grotesque, jagged purple patterns against the supernatural blue of the sky; the sombre green of their lower slopes and their gray shadows reaching out over the Plains of Apam suggest the weird wildness of a scene from Virgil or Dante. Within this range, those two great, solitary volcanic uplifts, Popocateptl, "The Smoking Mountain," and Ixtaccihuatl (Note), "The Sleeping Woman," the culminating orographical features of the Sierra Madres, rise far above the cañons and forests at their bases, penetrating the clouds which sometimes wreath them, and terminating in porcelain-gleaming summits of perpetual snow. The morning sun streams down upon their crowns, rendering them visible from afar, as in another age it fell upon the burnished golden breastplates of the image set on the sacred pyramid of Teotihuacan, the sun-god Tonatiuh, when in the dim days of Toltec dominion he faced the flashing East.

In order thoroughly to appreciate mythical Mexico, especially in relation to surviving archæological specimens, a brief glance backward at the story of the first Mexican tribes—the narrative is too fraught with ambiguity and tradition to merit the term "history"—is particularly desirable. The question as to who the aboriginal inhabitants of Mexico were, and whence they came, to which Lord Kingsborough, the Count de Gobineau, and other eminent scholars have devoted a



THE PYRAMID OF THE SUN



COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF THE MONUMENT TO THE SUN, MORE POPULARLY KNOWN AS THE "PIEDRA DE SACRIFICIOS," OR "SACRIFICIAL STONE"

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

lifetime of study, has not yet been satisfactorily answered. The theory generally accepted, but not without considerable misgiving and, in some cases, rabid opposition, is that the earliest Mexican tribes were migratory branches of the Mongolian family impelled by reasons of food, shelter, religion, social organization, or stark curiosity, across Behring Straits into what is now Alaska. (A cursory glance at the map, revealing that at these extremities the East and West lie within fifty miles of embracing each other, will show that such a supposition is not beyond the pale of reason.) Down the western seaboard they came, whence they were driven by hostile tribes (probably the North American Indians) still farther southward until they reached the pleasant plains of Anahuac. Endless analogies between Aztec and Asiatic customs, religions, culture, science, myths, and physical traits have been brought to bear by Prescott, one of its earliest champions ("The History of the Conquest of Mexico," Vol. III, Appendix, "The Origin of Mexican Civilization"), in support of this fascinating argument; and it is certainly a fact that modern Mexico in all its phases savors strongly of the Far East. The counter-theory of Count de Gobineau to the effect that America was the prehistoric home of Asiatic man—indeed, that Mexico, and not the Caucasus, was the cradle of the human race, and that the Garden of Eden was situated in what is the modern State of Chiapas—for a time had the scientific world aghast, while seeming facts were abundantly adduced to verify the proposition. It lies without the scope of the present effort to go very far into this alluring topic of Mexico's ethnological relations with the Far East, comprising the already mentioned likelihood of a northern connection, the possibilities offered by the presence of the great ocean-currents which invisibly bind the two hemispheres, and the facility of crossing from one side of the world to the other proffered in the topography of the Pacific, strewn as it is with islands that might well have served as stepping-stones to those early migratory hordes. The subject involves a bewildering maze of conflicting ideas and meretricious proofs. Even other theories—that the earliest Mexicans were the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel, or that they crossed over from the submerged continent beneath the Azores, opposite the mouth of the Mediterranean, which might have been Plato's lost isle of Atlantis—play their obscure parts in the fancies of students who have unsuccessfully tried to unravel the mysterious origin of the Nahuatl tribes of Anahuac.

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

Out of a tangle of hazy legend, historians have established a few lean but fairly definite facts. About the middle of the third century of the Christian era there proceeded out of an unknown country, whose location is described dubiously in their extant documents as somewhere "in the north," the people known as the Mayas, who traversed Mexico and arrived in Yucatan; they are the reputed originators of the singular and beautiful temples encountered there, and the teachers of the stone-shaping art whose results arouse the admiration of every beholder. About the middle of the sixth century A. D., another people came "out of the north"—the Toltecs, or "builders," who in their long southward migration founded successive cities, ultimately building and remaining at Tollan, or Tula, where they arrived, according to Prescott, who follows the Spanish historian Clavigero ("*Storia Antica del Messico*") in the year 648. Tradition has it that here the great hero-god, Quetzalcoatl, developed the civilization that raised the Toltecs above the level of their neighbors; here is pointed out the famous mountain Tzatzitepec, or "The Hill of Shouting," whence the God of the Air sent his summons and commands over the entire vale of Anahuac; and here were those celebrated gardens, in which grew cotton ready dyed in various colors for the loom, and those renowned crystal and feather palaces which lend the glamor of fairyland to Mexican mythology. The new capital was the nucleus of a powerful empire thriving under the benign influence of Toltec culture which had attained a remarkable degree of refinement in agriculture and the mechanic arts, as well as in architecture, astrology, and mathematics. The Toltec dynasty lasted until the year 1051, when, their numbers nearly depleted by pestilence and famine, the survivors moved on to the south, leaving but a weak remnant to carry on the traditions of their race in ancient Tula. Today but a straggling little village (some fifty miles north of the modern City of Mexico) whose only boast is its prehistoric name, and, above the village, on a hill overlooking two valleys, a heap of indiscriminate ruins about a mile in length, are all that remain to suggest the glory of the capital of a once puissant people.

The disruption of the Toltecs as a nation and their final dispersion is attributed to yet another cause, as circumstantially told and about as authentic as any of the mythical chronicles relating to that early period. It was at the beginning of the eleventh century, the

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

story goes, that a Toltec noble named Papantzin observed a field mouse gnawing a hole in the central bulb of a growing "maguey," the "agave Americana," known on this side of the Rio Grande as the "Century Plant" and among the early Mexicans as "metl." Taking the "honey water" which issued from the heart of the plant, Papantzin sent it as a present to his kinsman and sovereign, Tepancaltzin, eighth king of the Toltecs, employing as messenger his lovely daughter Xochitl, "Flower of Tollan." The impressionable king fell in love alike with the drink and the girl, retaining her a willing prisoner, and subsequently marrying her. The downfall of the Toltecs, it is claimed, dated from this epoch; for in their thirst for the juice of the "maguey," they neglected the arts and their virility vanished. The son of this romantic union, Meconetzin (Child of the Maguey), ruled at first with prudence and practical wisdom, but he likewise was soon viciated through his addiction to drink; he became an insupportable tyrant, internal dissensions left the empire too weak to repulse invading nations, and he was finally slain in a sanguinary battle against overpowering enemies. This was the end of Toltec sway in the Valley of Anahuac, and the beginning of "neutli" or "octli," today called "pulque," the national beverage of modern Mexico.

After the Toltecs abandoned Tula, the Chichimecs, yet another tribe "from the north," took possession in 1170. These people, warlike and inferior in culture to the Toltecs, allied themselves with the Toltec remnants, and a new empire came into being, with its capital at Texcoco, on the shores of the great lake of that name. Nezahualcoyotl, poet-king of this empire, who ascended the throne in 1431, and whose genius and fortunes recall the history of Alfred the Great of England, was one of the most remarkable figures of prehistoric Anahuac. He displayed a passionate fondness for art and letters, himself having produced both prose and verse which—such examples as are extant—do not lose their value in the light of modern literary standards. The ruins of his splendid palace at Texcotzinco, its crumbling walls and massive aqueducts, still inspire respect for the initiative and brilliant imagination which gave them form. Baths, hanging-gardens, groves of cedar, harems, villas, and temples distinguished the king's residence, as described by his grandson, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, who occupied the throne at the time of the Conquest and became an ally of the Spaniards against the Aztecs, and upon whose

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

writings much of the material of later chroniclers of Mexico and the Conquest is founded. Ixtlilxochitl ("Historia Chichimeca") also records the story that in the midst of all this luxury, the emperor fell a prey to a passion for the betrothed of one of his subjects. The unhappy individual who had thus become his monarch's rival—he was a veteran in the army—was needlessly sent on a dangerous military expedition, where he fell, and the hand of his promised bride was free for the monarch's taking. So was enacted upon these high regions of Anahuac a tragic episode, as of David and Uriah, to the blemish of an otherwise noble name and of a mind above the superstitions of his time. Today only mounds of débris and sculptured stone are left to confirm the historian's claims and to mourn the vanished splendor of the Chichimec tribes.

The next influx from that ever mysterious "north" was the Aztecs, the first of seven tribes or families, all of which spoke the Nahuatl or Mexican tongue. The Aztecs had come from an unknown country which they called Aztlan ("the place by the sea"), represented in their picture-drawings by "atl," a waved line, their sign for water. Exactly why the Aztecs left their northern home is not indicated even in legend, but they were instigated to their wanderings, tradition says, by their fabled war-god, Huitzilopochtli, or Mexitli, from whom came the name "Mexica," by which these people called themselves. From the beginning of the tenth to the beginning of the thirteenth century A. D., this tribe journeyed and sojourned on its southward way, from valley to valley, from lake to lake, until they reached Tula, the old Toltec capital. Driven thence by the more powerful Chichimecs, they wandered on, encouraged in their weary pilgrimage by the oracle delivered them through their high priest, Tenoch, instructing them to build their city on the spot where they should see "a nopal growing from a rock, upon which should be sitting an eagle with a snake in his beak." When, on the other side of Lake Texcoco, they suddenly came upon this very combination of objects, the priest declared it to be the preordained spot, and the indefatigable race immediately began to construct, on the marshy borders of the lake, the city whose magnificence was to amaze the Spaniards four centuries later. This was in the year 1325, one of the few definite dates bequeathed to history out of these misty and legend-ridden beginnings. The name "Tenochtitlan," by which they designated their capital, was derived either

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

from that of Tenoch, their venerated leader, or from the Aztec words meaning "stone-serpent," in reference to the emblem they had followed.

It is superfluous to recall, by way of proving that the Aztecs created a remarkable center of semi-barbaric civilization, the glowing accounts drawn by Prescott and others from the descriptions given by Spanish historians: the splendid art objects wrought from jewels, gold, and silver; the cloaks and tapestries woven from the feathers of tropical birds; the extravagances of the court of Montezuma II with his thousands of attendants and staggering banquets that read like the most fantastic pages torn from the Arabian Nights. Even allowing that Cortez, who describes all this in his immortal letters to Charles V, may have yielded to exaggeration under pressure of becoming his own publicity agent, and that Bernal Diaz del Castillo, that doughty old soldier who survived the hazards of the Conquest to write his memoirs of those stirring days, was not a man of education or trained knowledge of the great cities of the civilized world, and no doubt somewhat lacked the faculty of unbiased comparison, no one who looks upon the surviving evidences of Aztec culture can fail to be deeply impressed. One may still visit Chapultepec (now the suburban residence of the President of the Mexican Republic, built in 1785 by Vice-roy Galvez), where once the Aztec kings had their summer palace, walk in the pleasant shade of the gigantic "ahuehuetes" (cypresses) under which Montezuma delighted to muse, and rest beside the natural spring bubbling out of a basin carved from solid rock, which was Montezuma's bath on "The Hill of the Grasshopper"—for such is the meaning of "Chapultepec," depicted in Aztec picture-writings as a small hill with a huge grasshopper standing over it. And one may still see, beside the Cathedral in Mexico City, like giant bones bleaching in the white sunlight, crumbling and paltry remnants of the once proudly towering Aztec "teocalli," beaten down to its base in 1530 to make room for a milder monument to Christian faith and Spanish ambition.

Of this great "teocalli" (House of the Gods) Cortez wrote to Charles V in 1519: "The grandeur of its architectural details no human tongue is able to describe." The square in which it stood was surrounded with a great serpent-wall, each of whose four sides was a quarter of a mile long, giving room within the enclosure for a town

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

of five hundred inhabitants. Along this wall were forty high and well built towers, the largest of which, Cortez said, had forty steps leading to its main body, which was higher than the tower of the principal church in Seville. The "teocalli" itself was pyramidal in form, composed of terraces placed one above another, like the temple of Belus, at Babylon, and built of earth and pebbles faced with cut stone. Here in the sanctuary was the colossal image of the Aztec war-god—Mexitli, or Huitzilopochtli—and the stone of sacrifice upon which his wretched victims were laid. In the year 1881 excavations were made in front of the Cathedral, where this building once stood, and a few feet below the surface were found the old capitals of the door-posts of the temple, representing the heads of large stone serpents adorned with feathered ornaments chiseled out of solid rock.

On this same site was uncovered, in the year 1790, a short depth below the surface of the earth, a hideous idol, which was re-interred for fear it might tempt the Indians to their ancient worship. This immense mass, carved from one solid block of basalt, nine feet high and five and a half feet wide, was again exhumed in 1821 and placed in the "Museo Nacional," where it is now an object of curiosity and wonder to all visitors. Fruitless discussions have been waged as to whether it is Huitzilopochtli, the Mexican Mars, or Teoyaomiqui, his wife, Goddess of Death, who conducted the souls of warriors dying in defense of their altars to the Mexican Elysium, the House of the Sun. We are inclined to agree with those who claim the monument to represent the goddess, as the details of the figure do not coincide with the description given the war-god by the Abbé Clavigero, Dr. McCulloh ("Researches on American Aboriginal History"), Acosta ("Natural and Moral History," Book IV), nor Bernal Diaz ("Historia de la Conquista") who has this to say about the Mexican Mars:

Here were two altars highly adorned, with richly-wrought timbers on the roof, and over the altars gigantic figures representing very fat men. The one on the right was Huitzilopochtli, their war-god, with a great face and terrible eyes. This figure was entirely covered with gold and jewels, and his body bound with golden serpents; in his right hand he held a bow, and in his left a bundle of arrows. The great idol had round his neck figures of human heads and hearts made of pure gold and silver, ornamented with precious stones of a blue color. Before the idol was a pan of incense, with three hearts of human victims, which were then burning, mixed with copal. The whole of that apartment, both walls and floor, was stained with human blood.

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

On the other hand, the appearance of the idol tallies nicely with the descriptions variously given the Goddess of Death. At the sides of and beneath the breasts are four hands, displaying the open palms, while above and between the hands are sacks, or purses in the shape of gourds, which represent "the woven purses" that were offered to the idol; these were of a blue color, filled with "copal," the sacred incense used at the election and funeral ceremonies of kings, and burned with the bodies or hearts of captives slain to accompany the deceased sovereign on his journey to the world of spirits. In front of the waist, a death's-head is attached, symbolizing that man reposes in the bosom of the earth when he passes from this life. Knots of serpents, feathers, shells, and nails or claws form the lower part of the figure and are said by Antonio de Gama ("Descripción Histórica y Cronológica") to be the insignia of other gods connected with Teoyaomiqui or her husband, while all those above the waist are symbols of that deity herself.

The great "Piedra de Sacrificios," or "Sacrificial Stone," is inseparably connected with the name of Huitzilopochtli, since it was upon its convex surface that his victims gave up their lives. It is an immense mass of basalt nine feet in diameter and three in height, said to have been hewn out from the quarry at Coyoacan, near Mexico City, during the reign of Tizoc, seventh king of Mexico (1481-86). It was found in 1790 below the great square of Mexico during the course of excavation for a sewer, on the site of the Teocalli already described. When discovered, this stone was overturned, but upon reversing it, carvings in bas-relief were found on the surface, and the sides were beautifully sculptured. On its upper face is carved an image of the sun. On the carved sides are fifteen groups, each of two persons, representing conqueror and captive, the victor's hand raised in the act of tearing the plumes from his prisoner's crest, while the captive bows beneath the indignity, with prostrate arms. The warrior in each group is the same figure repeated, the fifteen prisoners symbolize fifteen vanquished tribes, the conqueror is Tizoc himself. In the center of the upper surface there is a circular cavity, from which a canal, or gutter, leads to the circumference of the cylinder and partly down its side. These details, together with the sculpture, have induced antiquarians to believe this to have been the stone on which the priests performed their sacrifices, the blood of the victims having flowed from it by this

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

evident conduit. Prescott claims that in a single year as many as sixty thousand human victims were bound on this stone, their breasts cut open with obsidian knives, and the still beating hearts, torn forth by the hand of the priest, flung smoking before the awful deity. "The smell of this place," says Bernal Diaz, describing the sanctum where the idol and stone were kept, "was that of a charnel-house."

It is to be deplored that the barbarous practice of human sacrifice should have tainted a mythology otherwise in many respects as beautiful as that of the Greeks. Of the "tepitoton," or little gods, the Mexican penates, there were a vast number in olden times, for each noble was entitled to six in his house at once, and of these Bishop Zumárraga—the first bishop of Mexico after the Conquest—destroyed, it is said, at least twenty thousand. The Supreme God was generally spoken of as Teotl, "he by whom we live"; they also had an Evil Spirit, inimical to mankind, called Tlaleatecolotl, the "Rational Owl." After Teotl, the Supreme Invisible Being, there were thirteen others worshipped as principal gods: Tetzcatlipoca, the "Shining Mirror," the "God of Providence," "Creator of Heaven and Earth," "Master of All Things"; Ometeuctli and Omecihuatl, a god and goddess, who granted mortals their wishes and presided over new-born children; Cihuacohuatl, or "Woman Serpent," "woman of our flesh," held to be the mother of the human race; Tonatiuh and Meztli, the sun and moon deified, of whom we shall have occasion to say something in describing the pyramids of San Juan Teotihuacan; Quetzalcoatl, the "Feathered Serpent," "God of the Air"; Tlaloc, the "God of Water," the "Fertilizer of the Soil," the "Protector of Temporal Goods"; Xiuhteuctli, the "Master of the Year and Grass," the "God of Fire"; Centeotl, the "Goddess of the Earth and Corn," "She who supports us"; Mictlanteuctli, the "God of Hell," and his female companion; Joalteuctli, the "God of Night," the divinity who gave sleep to children; and Joalticatl, the "Goddess of Cradles," who presided over infants in the watches of the night.

By far the most interesting among these gods was Quetzalcoatl, the white stranger "come out of the East," who taught the Toltecs the arts of civilization. They figured him tall, huge, with a fair complexion, broad forehead, large eyes, long black hair and flowing beard. He is said to have possessed the greatest industry, and to have invented the art of melting metals and cutting gems, and was supposed



TEOYACMIQUI (OR COATLICUE), GODDESS OF
CREATION. NAHUA CIVILIZATION



QUETZALCOATL, THE PLUMED SERPENT. AZTEC
PERIOD

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

to have had the most profound wisdom, which he displayed in the laws he left to mankind. His sojourn in their land marked its most prosperous period. In his time the seasons were the fairest, the earth the most productive; flowers blossomed, fruits ripened without the toil of the gardener; the cotton in its pod turned blue, red, or yellow without the trouble of the dyer, so that the fabrics lightly woven and without fatigue took on rich and harmonious tints; the air was continually filled with perfumes and the songs of sweet birds. This was the Golden Age of Anahuac, when the Toltecs knew as much happiness under the priesthood of Quetzalcoatl as did the Greeks under the reign of Saturn, whom the Mexican god also resembled in the exile he later suffered. The Aztecs adopted this deity, among many others, on their advent into Mexico. In the "Museo Nacional" in Mexico City today there is an image in the form of a coiled serpent in pyramidal form, its body covered with feathers, carved of basaltic porphyry. This model, which appears in many of the old monuments raised to his memory, is regarded as the symbol of the mysterious "Feathered Serpent."

The men of the white race to whom this old hero belonged are indebted to him for their successful entry into Mexico during the reign of Montezuma II. At the time the first Spanish expedition under Córdoba (1517) and Grijalva (1518), followed by Cortez in the spring of the following year, made their appearance on the coast, there was a universal expectation that the "Fair God," true to his promise, was about to return, and the white sails of the vessels were mistaken for bright-winged birds that had come to bring their benefactor back from his long exile.

To Quetzalcoatl is also ascribed the invention of picture-writing and of a calendar system which was adopted and preserved by the Aztecs in a great carved monolith, known today as "The Mexican Calendar Stone." It is on record that this stone also was hewn from a block of basalt quarried in Coyoacan, and brought to the Aztec capital with attendant feasts, songs, and dancing, in the year 1479, during the reign of the great and bloody Emperor Axayacatl, grandfather of Montezuma II, where it was set up in the immense "teocalli" erected by Tizoc and Ahuitzotl, eighth king of Mexico. During the period of the Conquest, this temple, like many others, was destroyed, and the huge calendar with other objects of heathen worship were

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

buried in the surrounding marshes by order of the Christian priests. It lay hidden for two centuries, until December 17, 1790, when the grade of the pavement in front of the Cathedral was lowered, and it came to light. The Spanish Vice-roy then controlling Mexican affairs allowed the commissioners of the Cathedral to build it into the exterior walls of the sacred edifice, where it passed by the name of "El Reloj de Montezuma," or "Montezuma's Watch." It is now, however, the property of the "Museo Nacional," where it is conspicuously displayed opposite the entrance to the ground floor.

It is the opinion of most antiquarians that the stone represents the "tonalponalli," or "solar reckoning" of the ancient Mexicans, derived by them from the Toltecs. This vast mass of basalt is eleven feet eight inches in diameter and weighs twenty-six tons. It gives a clear exposition of the division of time among the Aztecs, illustrating in this manner and by the intricate beauty of the stone itself, a branch of the arts and sciences in which they had made a great and civilized progress. Their civil year consisted of eighteen months of twenty days each, by which division they gave the year 360 days; the remaining five days were added to the last month, and bore the name of "nemontemi," or "useless days," considered a particularly unlucky period. The tropical year being six hours longer than 365 days, they lost a day every four years, but this fact appears to have been entirely disregarded by them in their calculations, until the expiration of their cycle of fifty-two years, when, having lost, in all, thirteen days, they added the number to the period before they commenced another cycle. The eighteen months had each a name derived from some festival, bird, plant, or fruit, occurring or appearing at that season, which name was designated by a hieroglyphic. The twenty days of the month also had each a name and mark, that was ever the same in all the eighteen. They subdivided the months into four periods, or weeks of five days, each day of which commenced, as among the Romans and other nations, at sunrise and was separated into eight portions.

The Mexican archæologist, de Gama, who in his "*Descripción Histórica y Cronológica*" has prepared a long and learned account of the various figures and symbols with which this stone is covered, considers it not only a calendar, but a solar clock, which by means of shadows cast in a certain manner gave eight intervals of the day between the rising and setting sun. He adds that the stone clearly



CALENDARIO AZTECA O PIEDRA DEL SOL

EN EL MES DE DICIEMBRE DEL AÑO DE 1790
AL PRACTICARSE LA NIVELACION PARA EL NUEVO
EMPEDRAO DE LA PLAZA MAYOR DE ESTA CAPITAL
FUE DESCUBIERTO ESTE MONOLITO Y COLOCADO
DESPUES AL PIE DE LA TORRE OCCIDENTAL DE LA
CATEDRAL POR EL LADO QUE VE AL PONIENTE
DE CUYO LUGAR SE TRASLADO A ESTE MUSEO
NACIONAL EN AGOSTO DE 1905.

THE FAMOUS AZTEC CALENDAR STONE, WHICH WAS DISCOVERED IN 1790 DURING EXCAVATION WORK IN FRONT OF THE GREAT CATHEDRAL IN MEXICO CITY

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

shows the dates and the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, summer and winter solstices. On the other hand, the antiquarian Chavero ("Calendario Azteco, Ensayo Arqueológico"; A. Chavero, Mexico, 1876) was of the opinion that the stone could not have been used as a calendar on account of lacking certain indispensable elements for the computation of time. He considers it a gigantic votive monument to the sun, above which sacrifices were offered. Whatever was the original intention of the sculptors of this great stone, it has survived them to bear testimony to their attentive notice of the movements of the earth and heavenly bodies, of their interest in astronomy, and their accuracy in mathematical calculation, as well as their skill in carving and design.

It is difficult to leave the subject of the Aztec Calendar without referring briefly to a singular superstition which existed among these people in regard to the termination of their cycle of fifty-two years. They firmly believed in the myth of the Sun, which taught them that some great catastrophe would occur at the end of one of these cycles, depriving the world of light, and they therefore approached the completion of each period with terror and dismay. On the arrival of the five unlucky days at the close of the year, when the end of the cycle recurred, they abandoned themselves to despair, breaking in pieces the little images of their household gods, lighting no fires in their dwellings, and allowing the holy flames in the temples to burn out. On the evening of the fifth day a procession moved from the city to the top of the "teocalli" to the Sun-god Tonatiuh, some half dozen miles south of the city. There, at midnight, just as the constellation of the Pleiades reached the zenith, a "New Fire" was kindled by rubbing sticks over the breast of a human victim, whose body was thrown to the flames springing up from the new-born fire. Shouts of joy burst forth from the surrounding hills, the housetops, and terraces, which were crowded with the populace anxiously awaiting the result. Torches lighted at the blazing pile were carried to every home, and kindled with fresh flame every hearthstone. The sun rose, the new cycle commenced, and the Aztecs felt safe for fifty-two years more. According to that indefatigable traveler and scholar, the Baron von Humboldt ("Essai Politique") the last celebration of this festival was held in the year 1506.

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

The ruins, partly restored, of the great "teocalli" to the Sun, are situated in the northeastern part of the Valley of Anahuac, some miles from the shores of Lake Texcoco and twenty-five miles from the modern City of Mexico, on the outskirts of the village of San Juan Teotihuacan (Teotihuacan meaning "The Abode of the Gods"). It is one of a group of pyramidal structures generally ascribed to the Toltecs, though no authentic record of the builders has survived, and science can make no more definite statement than that they are the work of a civilized nation greatly previous to the Aztecs, for the ruins were abandoned and their origin unknown when these people arrived. The largest of this cluster of pyramidal monuments and tumuli is the Tonatiuh Ytxaqual, "House of the Sun," with a base of some seven hundred feet on each side; rising upwards in the form of a truncated pyramid somewhat less than two hundred feet above the level of the plain. It is claimed to be the most colossal structure of prehistoric man in America. A short distance northwestwardly from the "House of the Sun" is the Meztli Ytxaqual, or "House of the Moon," with a base of about five hundred feet and a height of one hundred and thirty-seven feet. Both elevations are built in terraces, and today have broad level platforms at their summits, with pathways much obstructed by débris winding up their sides; both are composed of rock, stones, cement, and irregular pieces of "tezontle," the porous species of red lava of which the adjoining hills are composed. The summit platform of each pyramid once supported respectively images of the Sun and the Moon, covered with gold or silver, and glowing so brightly as to guide the worshippers on their way to the valley. No vestige of image or statue remains, though both Ixtlilxochitl and the Chevalier Benaduci Boturini, who visited these monuments, one early in the seventeenth, the other in the first part of the eighteenth century, testified to their having seen the remains of the idols, which had entirely disappeared in 1757, when the historian Veytia examined the pyramids.

In the western face of the Pyramid of the Moon there is an opening which is supposed by some to lead to hitherto unexplored treasure-vaults deep down in the body of this vast structure, and as most of the Indians who live about Teotihuacan, in addition to believing that the pyramids were built by giants, have queer ideas concerning the ruins, they are convinced that treasure is buried somewhere among the

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

crumbling walls, and can sometimes be seen prowling around as if in search of the mythical gold. By creeping on hands and knees through this narrow passage down an incline for about twenty-four feet, one has the satisfaction of reaching a "pozo," or well, about fifteen feet deep. Farther than this no one has yet penetrated, yet it is safe to say that this aperture was left by the builders of the pyramids, and not made by treasure-seekers, as is shown by the carefully cut and smoothed walls of the passage and well. According to tradition, both the pyramids are hollow, but hitherto the attempt to discover the cavity in that dedicated to the Sun has been unsuccessful. The two great volcanic peaks, Popocatepetl and Ixtaccihuatl, rise from the distant ridge of enclosing hills, one exactly south and the other north, and a line drawn from one to the other of these pyramids passes precisely over the apices of both; there may be no significance in this, yet it strikes the visitor as a remarkable coincidence, as, standing on the summit of the Pyramid of the Sun, he verifies the casual observation with the compass.

South of the Pyramid of the Moon, and running along the western base of that of the Sun, is the wonderful avenue called "El Camino de los Muertos"—"The Path of the Dead," or "Micoatl"—lined on either side with tumuli. These mounds have been a still greater puzzle to antiquarians than the pyramids, yet it would seem that the ancient appellation applied to the place—"Path of the Dead"—would explain their object plainly enough to defeat the argument that they were erected in relation to human sacrifices, or to represent the stars complementary to the monument to the Moon. Señor García Cubas ("Ensayo de un Estudio Comparativo entre las Pirámides Egipcias y Mejicanas") says that from some of them human bodies have been taken; and it may be that those clay heads that have been found scattered in such numbers over the plain and are still being turned up by the plough in the adjoining fields are the effigies of buried priests and kings. These points taken into consideration, it is extremely probable that at one time the mounds formed the sepulchres of the distinguished men of the Empire, constituting perhaps the Westminster Abbey of the Toltecs and Aztecs.

To explain the origin of the Pyramids of the Sun and of the Moon, the ancients invented a singular myth in regard to the reappearance of the two orbs after the regeneration and multiplication of the human

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

race. Omecihuatl, wife of the god Ometeuctli, after having borne many children in heaven, happened once to bring forth a knife of flint, which her enraged sons flung to earth, the fragments springing up into sixteen hundred heroes. Immediately they petitioned their mother to grant them power to create men for their servants, but, disdaining to aid them directly, she sent them to the God of Hell, who, she declared, would furnish them with a bone of one of the men who had perished in the general destruction of the races. This fragment she ordered them to sprinkle with their blood, when a human pair would issue from it to regenerate the species. Xolotl, one of the heroes, did as she bade, with the result that after four days there appeared a boy, and after a lapse of three days more—during which the bloody sprinklings were continued—a girl was formed; thus commenced the regeneration of the world. There was, however, no Sun nor Moon. The luminaries that existed in former days had been extinguished in the general ruin. The heroic brothers, therefore, assembled on the plain of Teotihuacan, where they built a huge pile, and kindling it, declared that the first who threw himself into the flames should have the glory of being transformed into a Sun. Nanahuatzin, the boldest of the multitude, immediately leaped into the blaze and descended to Hell. After a short period, the Sun rose in the East. But scarcely had he appeared above the horizon when he stopped in his course. They sent him a message desiring him to continue, but this he refused to do until he should see them all put to death! The brothers resolved to yield to his behest and to die by the hands of the daring Xolotl, who, after slaying his relatives, committed suicide. Before the heroes perished, they bequeathed their clothes to their servants, and even at the period of the Conquest, many “ancient garments” were preserved by the Mexicans with singular veneration, in the belief that they were the dying gifts of the valiant heroes, who had restored the lost Sun for the comfort of their race. As to the origin of the Moon, it was claimed that before the final sacrifice of the sixteen hundred, another of the brothers followed the example of Nanahuatzin, and threw himself in the flames, but the strength of the fire had declined, and as the voluntary victim burned with a paler flame, he was glorified only by the humbler dignity of a Moonship. On the plain which had been the scene of this wonderful incantation and miraculous result, the descendants of the race consecrated two

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

temples to the Sun and Moon, and the pyramids above described were the bases of their shrines and altars.

A mystery no less impenetrable obscures the origin of the ages-old Pyramid of Cholula, which is found on the Mexican tableland at a distance of seventy miles south-southeast of Mexico City, in the heart of the plains of Tlascalla, "Land of Bread." At present it is not a true pyramid, the sharp outlines of its four stories, rising above each other and connected by terraces, having yielded to the softening influences of the centuries, so that it now appears scarcely more than a natural elevation, or a hill that has been squared in places and levelled at the top. The evidence of its artificial construction, however, is plain enough to anyone who will thoroughly examine it, for he will find, wherever any portion has been exposed, sunbaked bricks and mortar in sufficient distinctness to strike him with wonder at the enterprise of the prehistoric builders who presumed to erect this mountain in the midst of the plain. The base of the immense mass measures 1,423 feet, twice as long as that of the great pyramid of Cheops; its present perpendicular height is one hundred and seventy-seven feet. The original elevation is unknown, though Humboldt at the time of his visit gave it the same height as that of the Pyramid of the Sun, and says it was "three metres higher than that of Mycerinus, or the third of the great Egyptian pyramids of the group of Djizeh." Today the summit is reached by a well-paved road, cut by the old Spaniards, which ascends from the northwest corner, with steps at regular intervals, obliquing first on the west side to the upper bench of the terrace, and thence returning toward the same side until it is met by a steep stairway rising to the front of a small, dome-crowned chapel dedicated to the "Virgen de los Remedios."

Some years ago, in cutting the new road toward the city of Puebla from Mexico, it became necessary to cross a portion of the base of this pyramid. The excavation laid bare a square chamber, built of stone, the roof of which was sustained by cypress beams; in it were found some idols of basalt, a number of painted vases, and the remains of two bodies. Further excavations are now under way, which it is hoped may throw a more revealing light on the question of the purpose for which the pyramid was originally intended, whether tomb or temple, place of sacrifice or protection; but until the groping efforts of antiquarians and archæologists crystallize into some definite

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

conclusion, we must rely on legend and myth for clues as to the identity of the divinity to whom this pyramid was erected, and to prove, perhaps, that it was intended as the foundation of a temple, and not the covering of a tomb. A tradition which has been recorded by a Dominican monk who visited Cholula in 1566, though heavily tinctured with a resemblance to the Hebrew account of the Tower of Babel, is interesting in this connection:

Before the great inundation (he writes) which took place 4,800 years after the creation of the world, the country of Anahuac was inhabited by giants, all of whom either perished in the inundation, or were transformed into fishes, save seven who fled into caverns. When the waters subsided, one of the giants, called Xelhua, surnamed "the Architect," went to Cholula, where as a memorial of the Tlaloc (the mountain of Tlaloc lies in a westerly direction from the Pyramid of Cholula, about thirty miles) which had served for an asylum to himself and his six brethren, he built an artificial hill in the form of a pyramid. He ordered bricks to be made in the province of Tlalmanalco, at the foot of the Sierra of Cocotl, and in order to convey them to Cholula, he placed a file of men who passed them from hand to hand. The gods beheld, with wrath, an edifice the top of which was to reach the clouds. Irritated at the daring attempt of Xelhua, they hurled fire on the pyramid. Numbers of the workmen perished. The work was discontinued, and the monument was afterwards dedicated to Quetzalcoatl.

The belief among the Cholulan Indians that the pyramid was built in preparation for a second deluge is traced to the Aztec tradition recorded in an ancient hieroglyphical map, first published in Gemelli Carreri's "Giro del Mondo." According to that account, in the age of water a great flood completely covered the face of the earth, and all men were transformed into fishes, with the exception of one Coxcox and his wife, Xochiquetzal, who were permitted to escape the universal fate by means of the hollow trunk of a cypress tree. In the course of time the waters abated, and their canoe grounded on the peak of Colhuacan, where children were born to them, but all were dumb. Then a dove was sent from heaven, which gave them tongues, and many languages were the result. Fifteen of these sons and daughters became the heads of different tribes who combined to build the pyramid as a preparatory measure against a second such catastrophe.

Another mythical account indicates that the pyramid was erected solely in honor of Quetzalcoatl, whose shrine on its truncated apex

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

was among the wonders found by Cortez when he reached the city of Cholula, so glowingly described in his second letter to Charles V as a thriving religious center containing 20,000 houses and four hundred temples, the hub of Mexican art and culture. The popularity of Quetzalcoatl, the story goes, incurred the jealous wrath of Tetzcatlipoca, one of the principal gods, who, wishing to drive him from Tula, where he reigned as high priest, appeared to him in the form of an aged man, and told him it was the will of the gods that he should betake himself to the kingdom of Tlapalla, a place on no map and known only to tradition, which puts it somewhere beyond the Gulf of Mexico. At the same time he offered Quetzalcoatl a beverage, which was readily accepted, in hopes of obtaining that immortality after which he aspired. No sooner had he drunk than he felt himself so strongly tempted to go to Tlapalla that he set out at once accompanied by many faithful subjects. Near the city of Quauhtitlan, he felled a tree with stones, which remained fixed in the trunk, and at Tlalnepautla, he laid his hand upon a rock and left an impression which the Aztecs showed to the Spaniards. Upon his arrival at Cholula the citizens detained him and made him take the government of their city. After residing there for twenty years, he resolved to pursue his journey to the mythical land of Tlapalla, carrying along with him four noble youths, whom he dismissed when he reached Coatzacoalco on the Gulf, desiring them to assure the Cholulans that he would some day return with his descendants, white men like himself, to comfort and direct them. He then disappeared from view in a magic canoe made of serpent skins. On the return of the four youths, the Cholulans consecrated Quetzalcoatl as a god, raising in his honor, in the center of their city, the great temple-crowned eminence which is one of the marvels of the modern world.

The crumbling Pyramid of Cholula, like the kindred monuments of San Juan Teotihuacan, and the relics wrested from the bosom of the Valley of Anahuac, remain to mystify and tantalize twentieth century science, to which it has so far been denied to penetrate very far beyond the cloudy borders of myth and conjecture. There they rise, colossal masses of stone, where sculptured serpents and strange designs run in barbaric riot around their ruined façades, above grim vaults, suspected subterranean passages, and chambers crammed with mystery; there they stand, chapters in stone of the history of a people

MYTHS AND MONUMENTS OF OLD MEXICO

whose destiny it was to have formed no link in the purpose and evolution of man, yet a people who seem to have been upon the threshold of a true civilization. That even these souvenirs of a dead past are left to us can be attributed only to one of those inexplicable coincidences in which Time and Fate seem to have conspired with Nature in averting the destructive tendencies of man and the elements. On the expiration of that pious furor which drove Bishop Zumárraga and the Conquerors to obliterate all the ancient writings and destructible monuments that fell in their way—in the belief that they presented invincible obstacles to the abolishment of idolatry amongst the subjugated Indians—there succeeded a more enlightened epoch, when it was realized with what an irreparable loss the history of the New World had met, and the kings of Spain subsequently undertook to repair, by every means possible, the evil caused by ignorance and misplaced zeal. They ordered to be collected all the relics that would serve to answer the mysteries involved in the history of prehistoric America, and appointed committees of learned chroniclers to collect and interpret extant documents, but the damage done had already passed far beyond hope of recall. However, in the light of active archæological investigations now in progress on Mexican soil, the world may still look forward to the discovery by some contemporary Champollion of the Mexican Rosetta Stone which will furnish the key to the secret as to who built these interesting monuments, when and whence the builders came, and what strange purpose these wonders were intended to serve. Confronted meanwhile with a tangled mass of myth, superstition, and tradition, we can only stand despairing before these provoking riddles, while we shrug our shoulders and give the unfailing Mexican answer to every difficult question: “*Quien sabe?*”—Who knows? Who can tell?

NOTE—(Page 588) : The Indians whose forebears named these grand old peaks say that Popocateptl was once a god, Ixtaccihuatl his beautiful young wife, who proved unfaithful to him. In his wrath he translated her into ice and snow, and laid her to rest on the summit of a mountain close to heaven, so that he could look down upon her from his celestial halls. The natives still point out the human features of the snow-enshrouded corpse; the well-formed head, the rounded breast, the long, tapering legs; and it needs no strain of the imagination to see in the glistening contours of Ixtaccihuatl the recumbent form of a giant woman. Popocateptl repented after a while, and in a siege of remorse, transformed himself into a “Smoking Mountain” at the side of his wife’s bier, towering just a little above it, so that he could forever look upon her. The rumbling, fuming, and fire-flashing were thought to be manifestations of his grief and anguish. Now for these many years Popocateptl has been quiet, an indication, perhaps, that he is resigned to his fate.

The Beginning of Printing in Rhode Island

BY DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



ALTHOUGH printing was not established in Rhode Island until 1727, a printer from London was one of the leading citizens of that Colony in the seventeenth century. This was Gregory Dexter, born in England in 1610, who became a master printer of London in 1639. He had printed Roger Williams' *A Key Into the Language of America* in 1643, and the first *Almanack for Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England* in the same year. Dexter was said to have been obliged to leave London for having printed "a piece that was offensive to the then reigning power."¹ Besides being a printer, Dexter was also a minister of the Particular Baptists, and when he came to Providence in 1643 he took a prominent part in both civil and religious affairs. For most of the time that he lived in Rhode Island, Dexter occupied a public office, serving as president of the Colony in 1653. His only connection with the printing business after coming to America seems to have been in assisting Samuel Green in publishing some of his almanacs at Cambridge.² Dexter died in 1700.

The next Rhode Islander to have an association with the printing art, but who was still not a general printer, was Samuel Vernon, silversmith and engraver. Vernon was born at Narragansett in 1683, and in 1714 established himself at Newport as a silversmith, gaining considerable distinction in that trade. When the Colony of Rhode Island decided in 1715 to issue paper money, the contract for engraving and printing the bills was given to Vernon. He designed notes in denominations from one shilling to five pounds, and printed £40,000 of the colonial currency in 1715, receiving £108 from the Colony for his services. Nothing except the paper money is known to have issued from Vernon's press, but he continued to issue it from time to time, at the request of the Colony, until his death on December 5, 1737. A month before the death of Samuel Vernon, Senior, the General Assembly resolved, in view of the fact that the engraver-printer was "so indisposed as not to be capable of finishing the same, that Samuel Ver-

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

non, Jr., be and he is hereby appointed to complete the impressing said bills."³ The younger Vernon carried on the work of printing the currency for a year, but in 1738 the work passed to an engraver by the name of Claggett. Vernon, Junior, remained a prominent local merchant until his death in 1792.

In 1709 the Rhode Island General Assembly voted to establish a press at Newport for doing the public printing, and Andrew Bradford, then working in his father's office in New York, was discussed as director of the press. He proposed "to find paper and print all things that may relate to the colony and government, for fifty pounds per annum, if it be but for one year or two."⁴ The proposal was accepted for the period of a year, but the plan was never carried through. Perhaps the opportunity of printing in Philadelphia, offered to Bradford about this time, seemed more promising than a venture in a colony which had never before had a printing office.

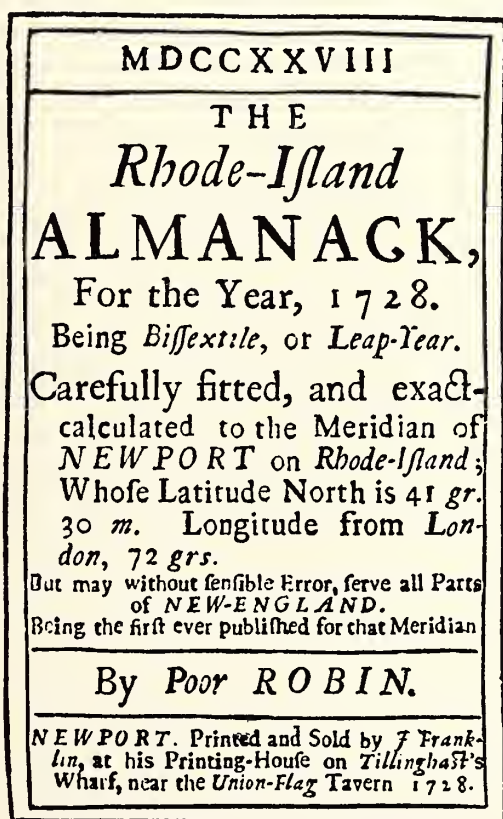
Printing was finally established in Rhode Island in 1727 by James Franklin, elder brother of Benjamin Franklin, and publisher from 1721 to 1726 of the Boston *New-England Courant*. Franklin returned to America from England in 1717, and from 1719 to 1720 he had been printer of the *Boston Gazette* for William Brooker. Most probably it was the unfriendly attitude of the Boston authorities toward his *Courant* which finally persuaded Franklin to move his press from Boston to Newport, for the use of Benjamin Franklin's name as owner of the *Courant*, resulting from the difficulties of 1723, was continued until James Franklin suspended the paper in June, 1726.

By 1727 James Franklin, with his family and his press, had settled in Newport and begun to print. During his first year he produced two pamphlets, which constitute the earliest printing done from types in Rhode Island. *John Hammett's Vindication and Relation*, concerning the author's separation from the Baptists and his union with the Quakers, was published in seventeen pages, with the imprint "Newport, Rhode-Island: Printed and sold by James Franklin, 1727." No printed copy of this is known to exist. A typewritten copy with pen and ink sketches of the type ornaments is in the library of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Printed during the same year as the *Vindication*, and sharing with it the claim to precedence as the earliest Rhode Island imprint is the

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

first almanac to issue from a Rhode Island press: MDCCXXVIII. *The Rhode-Island Almanack For the year, 1728. Being Bissextile, or Leap Year. Carefully fitted, and exact-calculated to the Meridian of Newport on Rhode-Island; Being the first ever published for that Meridian. By Poor Robin.* It was issued in sixteen pages and had the imprint: "Newport. Printed and Sold by J. Franklin, at his Printing-House on Tillinghast's Wharf, near the Union-Flag Tavern 1728."⁵ Fortunately, a copy of this almanac has been preserved to us in the Rare Book Collection of the Library of Congress.



James Franklin continued to print at Newport until his death there in February, 1735. Poor Robin's *Rhode-Island Almanack* was issued every year, and various other works were printed, chiefly religious discussions. In 1730 Franklin did the first public printing for the Colony when he printed two editions of *The Charter Granted by*

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

His Majesty King Charles the Second to the Colony of Rhode-Island, and Providence-Plantations, in America, which had as a second title, *Acts and Laws, of His Majesty's Colony of Rhode-Island, and Providence-Plantations, in America*. Another unusual product of the Franklin press in 1730 was *The Virgin's Advice: Or the Oxfordshire Tragedy*, an eight-page poem, carrying the imprint: "Newport, Rhode Island: Printed and sold by James Franklin at his printing house on Tillinghasts Wharf: Where may be had many other sorts of verses."

In 1731 appeared a rare imprint, a copy of which, in the Public Record Office at London, has only recently come to light. This was *The Arguments of the Honourable William Jenks Esq.; and Mr. John Walton, B. A. & V. D. M. against the rash and irregular Proceedings of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, against the inhabitants of that Land in Controversy between the said Province and the Colony of Rhode-Island*. On this four-page leaflet⁶ we find a colophon stating that it was "Printed by J. Franklin. 1731."

The first newspaper in the Colony was James Franklin's *Rhode-Island Gazette*, established at Newport, September 27, 1732, and published until May 24, 1733. It was not regularly issued during that period and was finally discontinued because of lack of support.

Before James Franklin's death he and his brother Benjamin had put aside the differences which had parted them when Benjamin was apprenticed to James in Boston. James Franklin, Junior, was in his turn apprenticed to Benjamin Franklin, and he was still with him when the elder James Franklin died, February 4, 1735. Ann Franklin, the widow, immediately took over her husband's business and remained actively associated with the printing office until her death in 1763.

Ann Franklin was the daughter of Ann and Samuel Smith, of Boston, where she was born on October 2, 1696. She married James Franklin in 1723 and from time to time thereafter assisted her husband in his work. All the other members of the family did likewise, and two daughters, sisters of James Franklin the younger, were trained as compositors and frequently assisted their father and their mother. From 1735 until 1748, when James Franklin, Junior, came of age and entered the printing business in partnership with his mother, the widow Franklin managed the family printing house.

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

T H E
C H A R T E R

Granted by His M A J E S T Y

King C H A R L E S II.

T O

The Governor and Company

O F

The *English* C O L O N Y

O F

Rhode-Island

A N D

PROVIDENCE-Plantations,

I N N E W - E N G L A N D

I N

A M E R I C A.

N E W P O R T, Rhode-Island:

Printed by the Widow FRANKLIN, and to be Sold at the
Town School-House. M,DCC,XLIV.

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

The only recorded product of the press during Ann Franklin's first year in charge was *A Brief Essay on the Number Seven: Often Occurring in the Holy Scriptures; or of Paradise, Lost and Found. By a Well Wisher to Truth*. Its imprint read: "Newport: Printed for the Author, in 1735." Ann Franklin's name did not appear in the imprints until 1738, when Mordecai Matthews' *The Christians Daily Exercise*, Ebenezer Parkman's *Zebulun Advised*, and Poor Robin's *Rhode-Island Almanack for the year 1739* all had slight variations of the imprint: "Newport: Printed by the Widow Franklin, at her printing-house under the Town-school. 1738." She failed to print an almanac in 1735, but in 1736 she employed Joseph Stafford to prepare an almanac for the next year. He also prepared the almanac for 1738, but a Boston firm employed him to prepare an almanac for 1739. In consequence Ann Franklin was forced to write the almanac for 1739 herself, and with it she returned to the Poor Robin series begun by her husband. She issued at least two more of the Poor Robins, for the year 1740 and for 1741. In 1737 she first became colony printer, issuing in that year a thirty-eight page supplement to the digest of the laws of 1730. In 1744 she printed the acts and laws in a folio of over 300 pages, the largest single volume turned out by her press.

James Franklin, Junior, returned from his apprenticeship in Philadelphia and assumed active management of the Newport press in 1748. The name of the widow Franklin no longer appeared in the imprints, but she remained a partner in the firm for some years, the invoices as late as 1758 being made out in the firm name of Ann & James Franklin.⁷ James Franklin printed the acts of the General Assembly in 1748, but his name did not appear in an imprint until he printed the eighth edition of *Some Fruits of Solitude*, written by William Penn, but in this instance published anonymously at "Newport, Rhode-Island: Printed by James Franklin, at the Town-School-House, 1749." Later in 1749 James Franklin published the first of a series of almanacs under the pseudonym of Job Shepherd, or Poor Job.

Franklin printed the usual run of legal forms as well as broadsides and books generally. In 1756 he printed the paper money for the Colony. Then for the first time this was printed from movable types and not from engraved plates.

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

June 19, 1758, James Franklin established the *Newport Mercury*, a paper that is still being published. He introduced it with a long address, concluding with the statement: "There was Reason to believe, that this Paper would, at this Time, have been introduc'd to

THE DOOR OF

HEAVEN *Opened and Shut.*

OPENED to the Ready and Prepared.

SHUT against the Unready and Unprepared.

OR, A

DISCOURSE

Concerning

The Absolute Necessity of a Timely Pre-
paration for a Happy Eternity.

By JOHN FOX, Minister of the Gospel
and Author of the Discourse concerning

Time and the End of Time.

NEWPORT, Rhode Island
Printed and sold by J. Franklin, at his Printing
House under the Town School House. 1731.

the Public with new Characters, as Part of a new Printing-Office from London, had been contracted for, by the Printer hereof, principally for the Purpose, which may daily be expected; therefor 'tis hop'd these will be dispens'd with till its Arrival."⁸ These types, which

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

arrived shortly, were a gift from Benjamin Franklin to his nephew, whom he assisted throughout his career.⁹

In the last months of his life, James Franklin, Junior, was actively concerned in the sugar scandal which then held the center of the Rhode Island political stage. He had printed several pamphlets in 1762 devoted to this matter, strangely enough on both sides of the question, before his death, April 21, 1762.

Ann Franklin again undertook the active management of the printing office after her son's death, continuing the *Newport Mercury* and the other activities of the press alone from April until August of 1762. At the latter date she admitted to partnership Samuel Hall, twenty-three year old printer, who is said to have married one of Ann Franklin's daughters.¹⁰ The *Mercury* was carried on under the firm name of Franklin & Hall. It was an interesting coincidence that the same firm title was then being used in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin and David Hall.

Widow Franklin died April 19, 1763, at the age of sixty-eight. The *Newport Mercury* said in her obituary: "She was a widow about 29 years And tho' she had little to depend upon for a Living, yet by her economy and Industry in carrying on the Printing Business, supported herself and Family, and brought up her Children in a genteel manner; all of whom she bury'd sometime before her Death. . . . She was a Woman of great Integrity and Uprightness in her Station and Conversation, and was well beloved in the Town. She was a faithful Friend, and a compassionate Benefactor to the Poor, (beyond many of great Estates) and often reliev'd them in the Extremity of Winter. . . . And, she was a constant and seasonable Attendant on public Worship, and would not suffer herself to be detain'd by trivial Family-Concerns; Herein she excell'd most of her Sex."¹¹

Samuel Hall succeeded to full management of the *Mercury* office on Mrs. Franklin's death. He had learned to print under his uncle, Daniel Fowle, of Boston, who became the first printer in New Hampshire. Hall remained at Newport until the spring of 1768, when he resigned the *Mercury* to Solomon Southwick and removed to Salem, Massachusetts, where he did the first printing in Massachusetts outside of Boston and Cambridge, in connection with the establishment of his *Essex Gazette* at Salem. After publishing papers at Salem

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

most of the time until 1785, he moved to Boston, where he had a press for some years.

Solomon Southwick ¹² was a native of Newport and the son of a fisherman, but as a boy he came under the patronage of a wealthy citizen of the town who educated him¹³ and eventually established him as a merchant. After building up a large trade, Southwick became bankrupt, but he soon recouped his fortunes by marrying a daughter of the wealthy Colonel John Gardner, former Governor of the Colony. Southwick was thus able to purchase the *Newport Mercury* from Hall when the latter decided to leave Rhode Island for Massachusetts. He published it as a staunch patriot paper, continuing it until the British occupation of Newport during the Revolution. In November, 1775, Southwick removed part of the printing equipment from Newport in anticipation of a British attack, but he continued the *Mercury* until the issue of December 2, 1776, six days before the British occupied the town. He buried his press and types and fled with his family to Rehoboth, Massachusetts.

As a result of his publications inciting the colonies against England, Southwick was particularly obnoxious to the British forces and was specially sought by them when they approached Newport. He and his wife, with one of their children in her arms, barely had time to get into a boat and put off in a high sea as the English approached. It was only through a delay caused by his wife's brother, who was known to the English as a Tory, that Southwick escaped, and as it was his boat was fired on by the English troops.

Southwick was a member of the General Assembly of Rhode Island and had been doing some of the Colony printing. At Rehoboth, just across the border in Massachusetts from Providence, he managed to obtain the press which John Waterman had been using at Providence.¹⁴ He printed a report of the October, 1776, meeting of the Rhode Island Assembly on his press at Rehoboth and continued to work there until the spring of 1777, when he moved to Attleborough, a short distance to the north. He continued the public printing there, issuing the Rhode Island Assembly Journal for June, 1777, as his earliest public document. In the fall of 1778 Southwick again moved his press, this time to Providence, where he formed a partnership with Bennett Wheeler in November, 1778. Southwick remained at Providence with Wheeler, publishing the *American Jour-*

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

nal there from March, 1779, until the British evacuation of Newport the following October, after which he returned alone to Newport to reestablish the *Mercury*.

The *Newport Mercury* began publication again in January, 1780, after a suspension of about three years. Henry Barber was publisher, and Southwick was probably associated with the paper, though his name did not appear in connection with it for a number of years. In May, 1785, the firm of Southwick & Barber became the publishers, and after the retirement of Barber in January, 1787, Southwick was sole publisher for about a year. At the end of 1787 he seems to have retired, and Barber continued the paper until his death in September, 1800. The *Mercury* remained in the Barber family until 1850.

Although Southwick had once been a wealthy man, he passed into obscurity with the year 1788 and ended his days in poverty as a result of the depreciation of the paper currency in which, as a good patriot, he had invested heavily. He died December 23, 1797, aged sixty-six. Two of his sons, Solomon Southwick, Jr., and Henry C. Southwick, became newspaper publishers at Albany, New York.¹⁵ Henry C. Southwick began his publishing career in 1794 by establishing at Newport the *Rhode-Island Museum*, which lasted for only about six months.

During the time that the elder Southwick was away from Newport because of the British occupation, his hidden press was dug up and put to use in printing the *Newport Gazette*, a Tory newspaper, established by John Howe, of Boston.¹⁶ Howe had been connected at Boston with Mrs. Margaret Draper and the *Massachusetts Gazette* about 1774, publishing it in his own name from the fall of 1775 until its suspension early in 1776. From Boston, Howe and Mrs. Draper went to Halifax, where they were the first of a number of royalist printers to take refuge. On the way to Canada, Howe at least stopped off at Newport during the British occupation, publishing the *Newport Gazette* from January 16, 1777, until October 6, 1779, or just before the British evacuation. In Nova Scotia, John Howe published the *Halifax Journal* and achieved considerable success. From 1801 until his death in 1835 he was king's printer.¹⁷

By far the most interesting of the Revolutionary printing offices in Rhode Island was the Royal Press of the French Squadron, unique as the only one of the four sea-going French presses of the Revolution

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

to have been used on American soil. The first of the French sea presses and, so far as is known, the first press ever carried on ship-board for use at sea, was a part of the equipment of the "Languedoc," fitted out at Toulon in 1778 for service in American waters. Vice-Admiral the Count d'Estaing was in command, and two printers were included in the crew. F. P. Demauge was one of these printers, who, during the time the vessel lay in Boston Harbor in the winter of 1778-1779, printed at least two works with the imprint: "A bord du Languedoc, de l'Imprimerie de F. P. Demauge, Imprimeur du Roi & de l'Escadre."

In view of the success of the first sea press, a second was included in the equipment of the fleet commanded by Admiral de Ternay, who sailed for America in 1780 with French troops to aid in the struggle against England. This press was on board the "Neptune" and was known as L'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre. While it was still aboard ship, the press turned out a pamphlet entitled *Etrennes Americaines ou Articles principaux du Calendrier pour l'année commune*, with the imprint, "Imprimé a bord du vaisseau amiral Le Neptune, Comt. Destouches." When the "Neptune" anchored in Newport harbor, the press was removed from the vessel and established in a building on the point, where several works were printed. Chief among these was the *Gazette Française*, published "A Newport, de l'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre, rue de la Point," from November 17, 1780, until January 2, 1781, and perhaps later. The only file of this fascinating paper, intended for "ceux de MM. les Officiers & autres Particuliers qui ne sont pas familiers avec la langue du pays, & qui s'intéressent aux événemens politiques de cette Nation naissante," was discovered only about five years ago in slight degree through the instrumentality of the present writer.

Another publication of the press of the French fleet at Newport was the *Calendrier Français pour l'Année Commune 1781*, first French almanac in Rhode Island (probably the first in the United States) and possibly also the first Roman Catholic almanac printed on American soil.¹⁸ The largest book from the Royal Press of the Squadron was the first edition of M. de Chastellux' *Voyage de Newport a Philadelphia, Albany, &c.*, a volume of 187 pages. It was printed without a date on its title page, but no imprints are known

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

from l'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre of a later date than the January 2, 1781, issue of the *Gazette Française*.

The third sea press of the French fleet was carried on the "Ville-de-Paris," which sailed from Brest in the spring of 1781. No imprints are known from this press, which it is believed may have been transferred to H. M. S. "Formidable" when Admiral Rodney's English flagship captured the "Ville-de-Paris" in April, 1782. At any rate, there was a press on the "Formidable" in 1782, and a volume of verse in Italian was printed on it to celebrate the victory over the French ship. This was *Odi di Labindo*, printed "A Bordo del Formidable MDCCLXXXII. Con Permesso dell' Ammiraglio Rodney." It is believed to be the earliest product of an English sea press.

The fourth press of the French fleet was carried on board the "Triomphant" in 1782. It was responsible for the production of *Signaux de jour, a la voile, et a l'ancre, a l'usage de l'armee aux ordres de M. de Vaudreuil*, printed "A la mer; a bord du Triomphant, en 1782."¹⁹

Another Revolutionary press active in Newport for a short time, as least, in behalf of the American cause was that used in 1780 by J. Weeden. Weeden was probably the printer of that name who four years later was associated with William Barrett in a Boston printing office.²⁰ Weeden's only known Rhode Island work is a news broadside entitled *Fresh Intelligence*, with the imprint "Newport, Rhode-Island, Printed by J. Weeden." It has no date, but from its context must have been printed in 1780. Nothing further is known of Weeden in Rhode Island.²¹

The next newspaper at Newport was the *Newport Herald*, begun March 1, 1787, by Peter Edes, formerly of Boston and later an important printer in Maine. Edes, a son of Benjamin Edes, publisher of the *Boston Gazette*, chief Revolutionary journal of Boston, was imprisoned by the British during their occupation of Boston. From 1779 to 1784 he published the *Boston Gazette* in partnership with his father and with his brother, Benjamin Edes, Junior. From that time until 1787 he operated an independent press in Boston. He came to Newport, probably at the request of an organization of local tradesmen and merchants, to establish a journal opposed to the circulation of Rhode Island paper money.²²

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

Peter Edes published the *Newport Herald* until the fall of 1791, using as a motto: "It is to contradiction, consequently to the liberty of the press, that physics, morality and politics owe their improvement." With the suspension of the *Herald*, Edes returned to Boston, which he left in 1795 for Maine, where he published various papers until his retirement in 1817. He continued to work as a printer for many years, and died at the ripe age of eighty-three in 1840. Two of his sons became printers: Benjamin Edes in Baltimore, Maryland; and Richard Walker Edes, in St. Augustine, Florida.²³

Only two more papers were published at Newport before 1800.²⁴ The first of these was the *Rhode-Island Museum*, already mentioned as having been published by Henry C. Southwick in 1794. The second and last was the *Companion; and Commercial Centinel*, established in May, 1798, by Havila and Oliver Farnsworth.²⁵ The partnership was dissolved in April, 1799, and Oliver Farnsworth continued the *Companion* alone for about two months. He later published the *Newport Guardian of Liberty*, from 1800 until 1801, when it became the *Rhode-Island Republican*, which he published until 1805.

Printing was introduced in Providence in 1762 by William Goddard, later an outstanding printer in Philadelphia and Baltimore, and originator of the United States postal system. He was born in New London, Connecticut, in 1740, the son of Giles Goddard, doctor and postmaster, and Sarah Updike, member of an old Rhode Island family. About 1755, two years before his father's death, William Goddard became apprenticed to James Parker, who with John Holt had established the *New Haven Connecticut Gazette* a year earlier. Parker and Holt were also postmasters at New Haven. Parker went to New York, and Holt followed him there in 1760, establishing the *New-York Gazette and Weekly Post-Boy* that year. Probably William Goddard also went to New York and continued his apprenticeship, which expired just about the time Parker and Holt ended their partnership on May 2, 1762. By July, 1762, Goddard had established his own press at Providence.

He was aided in this venture by his mother, who advanced three hundred pounds for the purchase of necessary materials. His first publications were a broadside announcing the fall on August 14, 1762, of Morro Castle at Havana, and a theatrical play-bill for the local theatre. Shortly after Goddard had set up his press at Providence he

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

THE
R I G H T S
OF
C O L O N I E S
EXAMINED.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.



PROVIDENCE:
PRINTED BY *WILLIAM GODDARD*.
M.DCC.LXV.

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

printed a broadside dated from the "Printing-Office, Providence, August 21, 1762," and addressed "To the Publick." It read in part: "As the Colony of Rhode-Island from its first Institution to this present Time, has been remarkable for maintaining the Spirit of true British Liberty, by which . . . it has frequently prov'd a Refuge and asylum for Strangers, whom fond of enjoying all the Privileges and Advantages of their Mother Country, prefer'd this Colony before many others for their friendly Indulgence to Strangers of every Denomination of Christians that chose to settle among them; by which judicious Conduct, they are becoming a flourishing People, and in which the Town of Providence (being the first settled Place in the Colony) has no inconsiderable Share; to the Inhabitants of which, I in a more particular Manner address myself, who, at the Request of many Gentlemen, have, at a very considerable Expence, procur'd a complete Assortment of Printing Materials, with which I purpose to carry on the Printing Business in this Town; provided I meet with Encouragement adequate to the Trouble and Expence of the Undertaking: . . . And I take this Method to solicit the Favour of the Inhabitants of this Colony; and from the same generous Disposition they have shown to young Beginners of other Occupations, I flatter myself I shall find Encouragement answerable to my Expectations."

In a concluding paragraph he added: "As soon as possible after my Affairs are in some Measure settled, and I am establish'd in my Business, I purpose to print a Weekly News-paper, under the Title of the *Providence Gazette, or County Journal*, to be publish'd every Wednesday morning, and to contain every Thing remarkable, both Foreign and Domestic. . . . It is intended the Paper shall make its first Appearance on Wednesday the Twentieth of October, in Case a sufficient Number of Subscribers shall offer."

The *Providence Gazette* was begun as announced on October 20, 1762, and Goddard managed to continue it in the face of poor support and general indifference on the part of the people of Providence until May 11, 1763. On August 24, 1765, Goddard attempted to revive the paper by issuing an extra number entitled "Vox Populi, Vox Dei. A Providence Gazette Extraordinary," printed by S. and W. Goddard. This was the first time Goddard's mother's name had appeared in the imprint, but when the paper was finally resumed in August, 1766, her name was the only one to appear. Goddard had gone to

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

New York in 1765 and worked for a time with John Holt and James Parker, his old associates. In September, 1765, within a month after his extra number of the *Providence Gazette*, Goddard is believed to have issued the famous *Constitutional Courant* from Parker's office in New Jersey as a protest against the Stamp Act.

From 1767 until 1774 Goddard published the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* at Philadelphia. In 1773 he opened a printing office at Baltimore, Maryland, establishing the first paper there, the *Maryland Journal*, in that year. His sister, Mary Katherine Goddard, took charge of this paper for him as his mother had of his Providence paper, and from that time forward Goddard devoted most of his attention to the devising of a postal system for the colonies.

Goddard sold his interest in the *Maryland Journal* in 1792 and returned to Rhode Island, where he farmed, and served in the Legislature, until his death at the age of seventy-seven in December, 1817. As a printer he was especially distinguished by the typographic quality of his work, the taste evinced in his printing being markedly superior to the prevailing standard of American printing of the period.

While William Goddard was busy in New York and Philadelphia, his mother continued the printing office at Providence. On August 9, 1766, she revived the *Gazette* under her own name, with the aid of Samuel Inslee, later (1770-73) publisher of the *New York Gazette*. A year later Inslee was replaced by John Carter, who published the *Providence Gazette* in partnership with Sarah Goddard. In the fall of 1768 Mrs. Goddard retired, and Carter continued the paper alone until 1793. In that year William Wilkinson became co-publisher of the paper and so continued until 1799, when Carter again became sole publisher. Carter did not retire until early in 1814, when he was succeeded by Hugh H. Brown and William H. Wilson, who were publishers for two years. Mrs. Goddard left Providence for Philadelphia shortly after her retirement as publisher of the *Providence Gazette* and died in Philadelphia in 1770.²⁶

John Carter, publisher and patriot, was born in Philadelphia, July 21, 1745. He was apprenticed to Benjamin Franklin and came to Providence in August, 1767, to assist in publishing the *Providence Gazette*. He came into control of the paper a year later and in 1769 married Amey, the daughter of Captain John Crawford, of Providence. Carter published the *Gazette*, most of the time alone, from

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

1768 until his retirement early in 1814 as a result of ill health. January 1, 1814, he issued an appeal to his subscribers in which he said: "War prices being attached to every article made use of in the Printing Business, as well as to the common necessities of life, imperiously compels the Editor of the *Providence Gazette* (after 48 years' laborious attention to the duties of his profession) to call upon all persons in arrear to him for News-Papers, Advertisements, and other Printing Work, to make immediate Payment, which will highly oblige him, at this crisis of uncommon difficulty."

Carter published his valedictory in the *Gazette* for February 12, 1814, announcing his resignation in order to obtain for his readers in the persons of the new editors, Brown and Wilson, "the judgment and experience of ripened years, combined with the energy, the activity and the ambition of youth." Carter suffered a paralytic shock shortly afterwards and died August 19, 1814. His obituary in the *Gazette* said:

"During the whole of our revolutionary contest, he was the firm champion of his country, and the columns of his paper teemed with sound patriotism and animating exhortations. After that period he manifested himself the true friend of his country, and was zealous in his endeavors to induce the people of this State to adopt the present Constitution of the United States. Attached to that Constitution, he ever defended it from the violence of its first, and of its more modern enemies, and gloried that he was a disciple of Washington, under whose administration it was preserved spotless. Before the Revolution he was appointed Postmaster in this town under the commission of Dr. Franklin, and continued in that office until the year 1792, when he resigned."²⁷

Olneyville, a mill district now within the limits of Providence, became the site of a press in 1768, when John Waterman purchased the press and types that had been owned and used by Samuel Kneeland, of Boston, and brought them to Rhode Island. Waterman was not primarily a printer, but was a seaman, who later became a textile manufacturer, paper maker, chocolate manufacturer, and eventually a printer. He was born at Smithfield, Rhode Island, about 1727, a great-great-grandson of Roger Williams, founder of Providence. Waterman was an officer in the Providence County Militia from 1747 to 1750, serving under Captain Jonathan Olney, whose daughter

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

Waterman soon married. It was on property owned by Captain Olney that Waterman developed his industrial plans and evolved the settlement of Olneyville, where, after establishing a fulling mill, a paper mill, and a chocolate mill, Waterman opened a printing house.

Waterman enlisted the services of Ezekiel Russell, a practical printer then out of employment, who had worked at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, with Thomas Furber and Daniel Fowle from 1765 to 1767. Waterman and Russell printed in partnership for a time, and one of the first products of their press was a *Catalogue of all the Books Belonging to the Providence Library*, bearing the imprint: "Providence, N. E.: Printed and sold by Waterman and Russell, at the New Printing-Office, at the Paper-Mill, M,DCC,LXVIII." Russell left for Boston before the end of 1768,²⁸ and Waterman continued the press alone, or at least under his name alone, until 1775. The last known issue of Waterman's press was a copy of *The New England Primer* printed in 1775. It has been thought that John Douglass M'Dougall, who became a bookseller at Providence in 1776, might have operated the Waterman press after 1775, but no imprints are known to support this conclusion.²⁹

When Waterman died, February 7, 1777, his press and types were offered for sale, and both John Carter and Bennett Wheeler, recently established at Providence, claimed to have arranged for their purchase. Wheeler obtained possession of the equipment, and a bitter controversy followed between the two printers.

Wheeler's partnership with Solomon Southwick, of Newport, in the Providence *American Journal*, has already been mentioned. After Southwick's return to Newport in the fall of 1779, Wheeler continued the Providence paper alone until 1781, when it was discontinued. In 1784 he began a new paper, at Providence, the *United States Chronicle*, from which he retired in 1804, leaving it to his son, John Wheeler. Bennett Wheeler died in 1806.³⁰

Warren, ten miles south and east of Providence, was the third town in Rhode Island to have a press. Nathaniel Phillips established the *Herald of the United States* on January 14, 1792, and also began pamphlet printing there in the same year. Besides some religious works and *An Act for the Government of Seamen*, Phillips also printed in 1792 two almanacs for 1793: *Phillips's United States Diary* and *The Rhode-Island Almanack*, by Elisha Thornton.³¹

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

Phillips continued to publish the *Herald* until 1808, when he retired in favor of his son, John F. Phillips, whom he had taken into partnership a year earlier. The son published the paper until 1812, when it was discontinued.

A N
A C T
F O R T H E
GOVERNMENT AND REGULATION
O F
S E A M E N
I N T H E
MERCHANTS' SERVICE:

PASSED, AT NEW-YORK, BY THE HONOURABLE
THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE UNITED
STATES, AT THEIR SECOND SESSION.



WARREN (RHODE-ISLAND):
PRINTED AND SOLD BY N. PHILLIPS,
M,DCC,XCII,

The press did not spread beyond the towns of Newport, Providence, and Warren until early in 1807, when Charles W. Duhy³² printed the *Mount Hope Eagle* at Bristol, "for the Proprietors." By March, 1807, Duhy was succeeded by Golden Dearth. Dearth took

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

Erastus Sterry into partnership in 1808, and the paper was discontinued later that year. David A. Leonard is said to have been the editor of the *Mount Hope Eagle*.³³

Golden Dearth, the printer whose name is so strikingly suggestive of the financial lot of printers of all ages, went from Bristol to Warren in 1809 and established the second newspaper there, the *Bristol County Register*, published by Dearth for the Bristol County Association. The *Register* was discontinued in the spring of 1810. Two later Warren papers were the *Columbian Post Boy*, established in 1812 by Joseph Mason, Jr., and James Bird and discontinued early in 1813; and the *Telescope*, established in November, 1813, by Samuel Randall and continued until 1817.

For its pioneer printers, the Colony and early State of Rhode Island drew chiefly on the craftsmen of Massachusetts, though printers with antecedent experience in Connecticut and Pennsylvania are also found in the Rhode Island roster. On the other hand, we find printers identified with the beginnings in Rhode Island appearing later in New York, Vermont, and Maine, in Maryland, Florida, and Louisiana, and even in far-off Ohio.

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THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

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THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

NOTES

1. Chapin: "Gregory Dexter, Master Printer," p. 106, quoting the manuscript of Morgan Edwards' *History of the Baptists of Rhode Island*. See also Thomas, Vol. I, p. 194, who says of Dexter: "He possessed handsome talents, and had been well educated. From him descended the respectable family of the Dexters in Rhode Island."
2. Chapin, p. 107, again quoting from the Edwards manuscript, in which the statement is made that "about the year 1646 [Dexter] was sent for to Boston to set in order the printing press there, for which he desired no other reward than that one of their almanacks should be sent to him every year." Also see Thomas, Vol. I, p. 194, who cites manuscript papers of President Ezra Stiles, of New Haven.
3. Chapin: "An Unlisted Engraver and Printer of 1715," p. 362.
4. Arnold, Vol. II, p. 36.
5. A facsimile of the title page and of the address to the readers is included in Winship, *Rhode Island Imprints*, preceding p. 9. Although the title page gives the date of printing as 1728, the address from Poor Robin "To my Loving Countrymen in the Colony of Rhode-Island, &c.," is dated "Newport, Aug. 30, 1727," and makes it almost certain that the almanac was printed in the fall of 1727.
6. I am reporting on the discovery of this imprint in the Public Record Office, and publishing its text in full in *Rhode Island Historical Collections* for January, 1936.
7. Chapin: "Ann Franklin, Printer," p. 463.
8. The inaugural address from the publisher of the *Newport Mercury* is given complete in Chapin, "James Franklin, Jr., Newport Printer," which is the chief source of material on the younger Franklin.
9. Benjamin Franklin wrote in his autobiography: "After ten years' absence from Boston, and having become easy in my circumstances, I made a journey thither to visit my relations; which I could not sooner afford. In returning I called at Newport to see my brother James, then settled there with his printing house. Our former differences were forgotten, and our meeting was very cordial and affectionate. He was fast declining in health, and requested me, that, in case of his death, which he apprehended not far distant, I would take home his son, then but ten years of age, and bring him up to the printing business. This I accordingly performed, sending him a few years to school before I took him into the office. His mother carried on the business till he was grown up, when I assisted him with an assortment of new types, those of his father being in a manner worn out. Thus it was that I made my brother ample amends for the service I had deprived him of by leaving him so early."
10. Harriet S. Tapley: *Salem Imprints, 1768-1825* (Salem, 1927), p. 6. She gives a full account of Hall's activities at Salem.
11. Quoted from the complete obituary, reprinted in Chapin, "Ann Franklin, Printer," p. 465.
12. Thomas, Vol. I, pp. 196-201, has a detailed account of Southwick, whose patriotic activities during the Revolution endeared him to the patriotic Mr. Thomas.
13. Southwick received a B. A. from the College and Academy of Philadelphia in 1757 for proficiency in Philosophy and Mathematics.
14. See pages 623-24.
15. For Southwick's highly patriotic sacrifices, see Thomas, Vol. I, pp. 196-201. Solomon Southwick, Jr., an editor rather than a practical printer, was connected with the *Albany Register* from 1792 until 1817. He also published the *Plough Boy* at Albany from 1819 until after 1820. Other papers which he issued, presumably at Albany, were the *Christian Visitant*, 1815; the *National Democrat*, 1817; the *National Observer*, 1826; and the *Family Newspaper*, 1838. He also took a large part in public affairs. He died November 18, 1839, at the age of sixty-six. His brother, Henry C. Southwick, a practical printer, was one of the printers of the *Albany Chronicle* for six months or so in 1797-98, served the *Albany Register* as printer from 1812 to 1816, and from 1816 to 1818 printed the *Advocate of the People* at Auburn, New York. (Thomas, Vol. I, p. 201, footnote, and Brigham, Vol. XXVII, pp. 184, 196-97, and 203.)
16. Smith, p. 566.
17. Thomas, Vol. I, pp. 176-77; and Aegidius Fauteux, *The Introduction of Printing Into Canada* (Montreal, 1930), p. 49. Fauteux also mentions a son, "the Honourable Joseph Howe, who, after having been a printer himself, became one of the great parliamentarians and journalists of his native province." On p. 51, Fauteux names among the chief Halifax printers of the early nineteenth century John Howe, Junior.

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

18. A detailed description of this almanac, including an account of some important manuscript notes on the copy now in the Rhode Island Historical Society, is given by Chapin, "Early Sea Presses."

19. The best general account of these French sea presses, with illustrations, is in Chapin, "More About Sea Presses." See also Chapin's "Gazette Française," published by The Grolier Club, New York, 1926, containing facsimiles of the recently discovered *Gazette Française*.

20. Evans lists several imprints by Weeden and Barreth in 1784 at Boston. One of these was Bryan Edwards' *Thoughts on the late proceedings of government, respecting the trade of the West-India Islands with the United States of America*, which first appeared in London and then at "Boston Reprinted and sold by Weeden and Barreth at E. Russell's office, Essex Street, Boston, MDCCCLXXXIV."

21. The article "J. Weeden, Printer," collects all the available material on Weeden in Newport. His name may have been James Weeden, according to this note. A facsimile of Weeden's *Fresh Intelligence* broadside is in the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*, Vol. XII, 1919, facing p. 28.

22. Smith, Vol. II, p. 566.

23. Samuel Lane Boardman, *Peter Edes, Pioneer Printer in Maine*, Bangor, 1901, is the standard authority on Edes.

24. Smith, Vol. II, p. 268, says there were three. According to him, one of these was the *United States Chronicle*, begun at Providence by Bennett Wheeler in 1784, moved to Newport in 1791, and suspended in 1802. Brigham, Vol. XXXIV, p. 119, limits this paper to Providence and says it was continued until 1804.

25. Before coming to Rhode Island, the Farnsworths had established the *Impartial Herald* at Suffield, Connecticut, in June, 1797—the first printing in that place. Later (1809-14) Oliver Farnsworth published the *Vermont Republican* at Windsor, Vermont. The imprint of Oliver Farnsworth as printer or as publisher appeared on a series of almanacks issued at Cincinnati, Ohio, from 1822 to 1830.

26. Thomas, Vol. I, p. 203.

27. Quoted by Woods, p. 105. Woods is also the source of the other quotations concerning John Carter and from his newspaper.

28. After leaving Providence, Russell printed in Massachusetts at Boston, Salem, and Danvers.

29. Winship: *Rhode Island Imprints*, lists M'Dougall as a printer in 1776 and 1777. Evans lists him as a bookseller, with which Chapin, "John Waterman, Printer," p. 404, agrees.

30. Evans 6:18847.

31. Chapin: "Check List of Rhode Island Almanacs," p. 44, lists two editions of *Phillips's United States Diary*. He also surmises that the date of printing for both the Warren almanacs for 1793 was 1793 rather than 1792. There were also two editions of Elisha Thornton's almanac, according to "An Unlisted Thornton Almanac." One edition had the imprint: "Warren—Nathaniel Phillips for Jacob Richardson in Newport," and the other, "Warren, Nathaniel Phillips." Both editions were printed from the same type set-up.

32. A printer by the name of Charles W. Duhy was co-publisher with William Bruner of the New Orleans *Louisiana Gazette* from 1817 to 1820. Duhy published the *Louisiana Gazette* alone after 1820.

33. Brigham, Vol. XXXIV, p. 81.



Medicine Ceremonies Performed Over Whistling-Wind

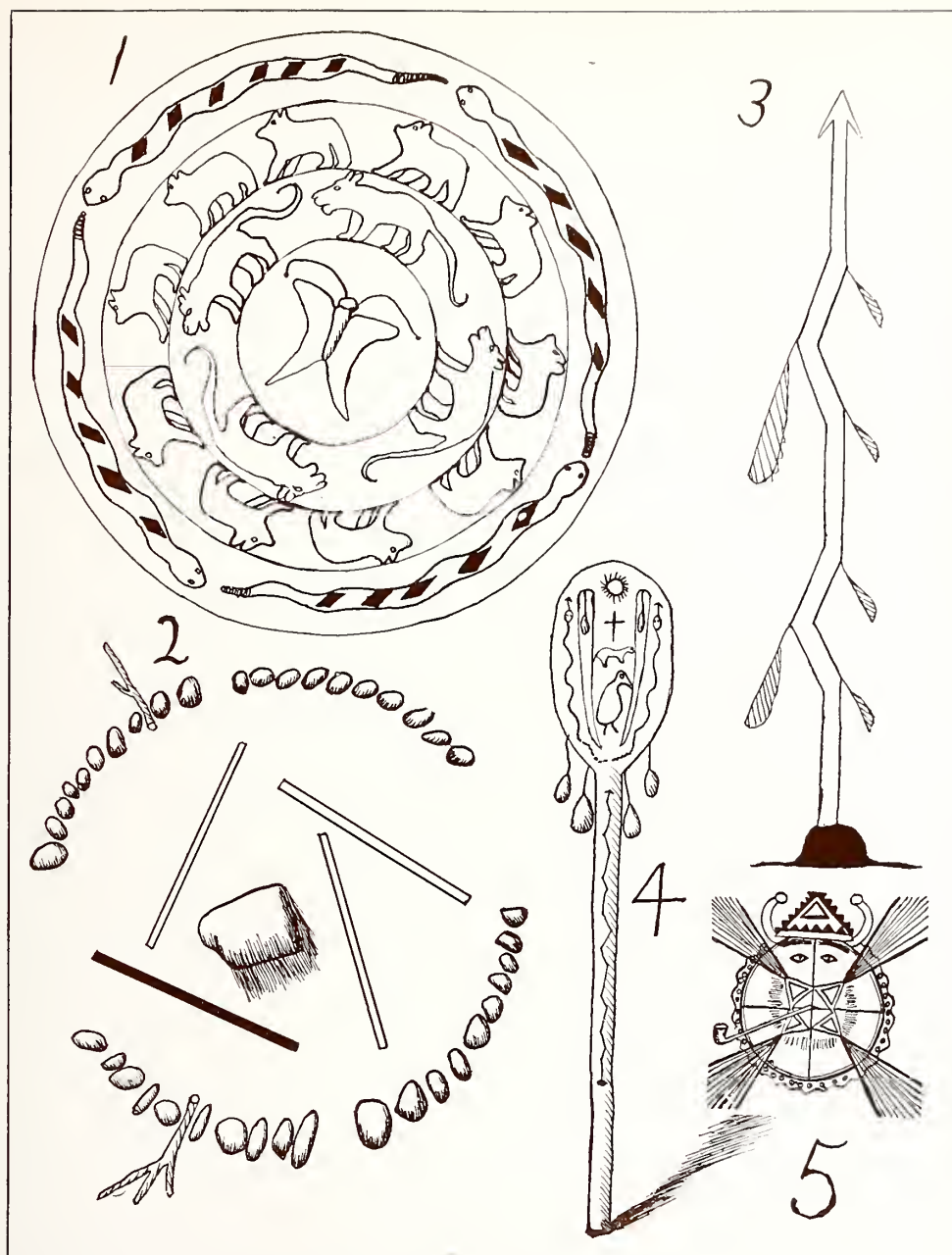
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INTRODUCTION—While stationed at Cibicue in the White Mountain Apache Reservation in Arizona as Government farmer in 1901-02, the writer took part in many of the Apache medicine ceremonies. Most of these consisted of a single night's performance; others covered ceremonies of several nights' duration; while others, especially those used in treating lingering diseases, often were held practically continuously night after night, with occasional day ceremonies, until the patient recovered or finally died. A description of one of the long-drawn-out series of such ceremonies here follows:

The Ceremonies (written in the present tense as seen by the writer)— Whistling-wind, an Indian of about twenty-one years of age, is reclining on a dirty mat on the sunny side of his father's, Rainy-cloud, thatched wikiup. He is coughing and showing every symptom of being in the last stages of consumption. Thayer-chou, his mother, is giving him herb tea to drink and his sister, Bengowah, is brushing flies off of him with a pine twig brush. Chief Medicineman F 4 (Sits-on-the-clouds) comes to the house and Rainy-cloud hires him to hold medicine ceremonies over his son, giving him two blankets, several ponies, ten head of cattle, two saddles, and a quantity of grain. The property being turned over, the medicine ceremonies are at once begun.

The first series of ceremonies consists of a medicine singing with hoops held the following night at Rainy-cloud's house. The medicine fraternity, some twenty-eight individuals, assembles at about eight o'clock in the evening and holds a singing session lasting through the night over Whistling-wind. As they sing, they all squat on the dirt floor around the patient, squint their eyes, distort their faces, and the greater part of them also cover their faces with their clasped



1. A Medicine Disk (sand painting), used at another, but similar medicine performance.

2. Game Field of the Medicine Game, showing the "cobble-stone circle" and counting sticks in place showing the counts received (they are the sticks lying between the cobble-stones). The two wide spaces are designated "water." Should the tallies be such as to place a tally-stick in either of these spaces, the player loses all the points he has made in that game-count and, consequently, must begin the count again. The game sticks, as they have fallen within the circle in the cut, count the thrower two points. One hundred and sixty-four continuous points constitute a game.

3. The Feathered Lightning Effigy.

4. The Medicine Staff, with dangling medicine pouches.

5. The Sun God Medicine Disk, a beautiful dry sand painting of the sun, of about sixteen feet in diameter, that was used in a ceremony over a sick woman at Cibicue, in the White Mountain Apache lands, in the summer of 1902. The writer attended the ceremony in which this painting was used, it being later copied for him by V-20 (James Ames), who was then Indian police of the district. This last disk is copyrighted with the writer's "The Sun God Moccasin Tales," which was brought out this year (1935).

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

hands. A Mexican pot with rawhide stretched over its mouth serves as a drum. Four medicine hoops are the "medicine" used; one is painted white, one yellow, one blue, and one green. At regular intervals as the singing continues, the patient is required to stand and the hoops are passed over his body; when not otherwise being used the hoops are hung up in the house over the patient's head. He is then sprinkled with the sacred cattail-flag pollen. Thus the performance is kept up until midnight.

At midnight, after much sprinkling of pollen and praying to the gods, the hoops are suspended from the house walls, one opposite each of the four corners of the earth as follows: the white one holds the northwest position; the green, the northeast; the yellow, the southwest; the blue, the southeast. As soon as the hoops are placed, the chief medicineman takes a pinch of the sacred pollen between the thumb and finger of his left hand and holding his hand toward the northeast as he faces the east, he sprinkles the drummers, medicinemen, and singers with the powder. He then sprinkles each of the hoops, in succession, beginning with the northeast hoop and passing around the circular wall of the house toward the right. He sprinkles the sacred dust twelve times as he prays to his deities. After the sacred sprinkling ceremony is completed, the singing is resumed until daylight, when all go home.

As the sun begins to rise the chief medicineman takes the hoops to a remote place in the woods and, after sprinkling them with the sacred pollen, hides them in a clump of bushes. He then sprinkles the sacred pollen toward each of the semi-cardinal directions. He then collects the roots of various plants, known to be medicinal to the Apache. On returning to the house, he pounds these upon a flat rock and, boiling them, makes a medicinal tea. The patient sips this tea through a small hollow bone. After he has finished drinking, a feather is tied to the bone and it is suspended over his head. This ceremony is followed by a resumption of the singing the following evening.

The chief woman participant of the evening is the mother of the patient. Her face is painted with round circles on each cheek just beneath each eye. When all are assembled, the sacred dust is sprinkled alternately to the four sacred regions about every half hour by two women, who pray long and earnestly each time. The dust is

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

sprinkled on the west drum that is used first from north to south, then from east to west. It is then sprinkled on the medicineman. Then the east drum. The ceremonies continue till sunrise.

At sundown following, the medicine fraternity appears again. A string is tied across the inside of the house opposite each of the four corners of the earth. On each of these a small medicine hoop, colored to represent the rainbow, is suspended. Immediately in front of the patient and facing the fire is placed a crude wooden god. The singing begins at about nine o'clock. At midnight, the medicineman performs over the patient with the medicine god, as he prays and sprinkles the sacred dust to his deities. He places the medicine god's head on the afflicted parts of the patient four times, turning the image so that it faces a different semi-cardinal direction each time. Then having gathered the "sick" on it, he raises it to slant upward before his face as he points it toward the home of the gods (one of the four corners of the earth). Over it he then blows a strong, hissing breath to expel the "sick" toward that region. Thus does he perform with the medicine god four different times, each time sending the evil spirits to a different quarter of the earth. He then replaces the medicine god in its original position. At daylight he takes the medicine hoops and performs with them as with the medicine god. At sunrise he hides the medicine god and hoops in a niche in the rocks of a distant cliff. He then prays long and earnestly over them as he vigorously gesticulates and sprinkles the dust of the gods to the four winds.

As the patient is gradually growing worse, a dance, lasting all night, is held in an open space in the woods near Rainy-cloud's house for his benefit. Twenty-eight girls dance backward and forward in the form of a revolving five-pointed star, the patient reclining on a mat in a position corresponding to the hub of the star. Seven girls as special dancers carry cross medicine dancing sticks, each eight feet in length and three feet across the arm of the cross. Besides using these as dancing sticks, at regular intervals each performs over the patient with her cross as the medicineman performed with the medicine god. Also, at regular intervals, the dancers and the patient are sprinkled with the sacred pollen and prayed over by the medicineman.

The next performance, held the following night, is a whole night session of the Devil dance. This dance is in circular form, having a burning pile of logs for its center. The patient is placed on a mat

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

just east of the fire and the medicine fraternity, chanters, and musicians seat themselves on the ground in a compact group just west of it. The dancers, all dressed in their every day attire, form a large circle, face inward, and dance in a sidewise movement to the left. There are also five special actors who are nude with the exception of a buckskin dancing skirt and a masked ghost hat. Each ghost dancer also has a ghost dance god painted on his breast. These are devil actors, crude clowns, whose antics are of every sort. They even lie down and tumble over the ground. As the sun rises all are sprinkled with the pollen and the dance closes.

Night ushers in a medicine singing in Rainy-cloud's house accompanied by drinking of much *tulapai* to affect a cure. The medicineman opens the singing with a strongly accented song, gesticulating, and waving his body to bring out the meaning. He then spits in the fire two or more times, after which the singing is again resumed. In this manner the ceremonies are continued till morning. Then the *tulapai* is brought in in five-gallon coal cans, and the white liquid is passed around to all in gourd cups.

At about ten o'clock the next night a medicine singing, accompanied by the burning of "medicated" bushes to effect a cure, is begun in Rainy-cloud's yard. The medicineman, accompanied by about one hundred Indians, sing over the patient, the drummers keeping time on the pottery drums. Also at regular intervals of about every ten minutes five aged women, in succession, sprinkle the musicians with the pollen, after each has prayed to her gods while holding the sacred dust on high in her left hand after she has breathed on it as she points first toward the north, south, east, west, and then toward the zenith. Just before midnight five mescal (agave) bushes are placed nearly in a north and south line. They are sprinkled with the sacred pollen and earnestly prayed over. The torch is then applied to them and they are quickly consumed: the Indians believe that smoke will carry their prayers upward to the deities. The coming of morning closes the ceremonies and the patient is no better.

The next night the Wheel dance is held in a little flat in the vicinity of Rainy-cloud's house. All the Indians in the vicinity assemble in a large circle in the little flat. In the center of the circle they build a huge fire. Then they carry the patient to the east of the fire and place him on a rush mat. The musicians, drummers, and medicine

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

fraternity then assemble and squat in Indian style on the ground to the westward of the fire. The singing is then begun at once. Five small fires are built within the circle, one toward each of the semi-cardinal directions from the central fire and one just south of it: these five small fires are built to the gods of the four winds and the zenith. The oldest woman present rises and as she holds the sacred pollen toward the zenith in her left hand, she prays for a considerable time to her deities. Then she sprinkles the assembled chanters and drummers and the patient with the sacred dust. These are preliminaries.

At about ten P. M. the dance begins. The dancers are arranged in groups like the spokes of a wheel, the patient occupying the hub-position (Fig. 5). The women dancers face inward toward the patient, while the men dance facing and just in front of the women. The dance is a backward and forward movement along the wagon-spoke line. There is, however, a variation in the dancing. The different sections do not take the same number of steps in the backward and forward movements. There is a clown present. He wears a gum coat and dances alone, usually facing some dancing section. In action he is indeed a clown. There is also a master of ceremonies. He is dressed as the other Indians, except that he wears a ghost hat. The chief medicine woman of the occasion is a young woman who dances in the northeast division with a dancing cane. It is four feet long and has three eagle feathers tied to its head.

The women dancers choose partners. Nearly all the men join the chanters and when a woman wishes a partner she chooses him for the next set by going to the chanting group and tapping her choice with her hand. He, however, sometimes refuses to dance with her. If he accepts, he rises from his sitting position among the chanters and follows her to her dancing division, which now makes itself wider so as to give him space to dance beside her, but facing her. Toward morning, however, all face inward while dancing. At daybreak the women dancers all go to the northeast quarter of the dancing wheel and dance three sets without partners. At the beginning of the first of these, the chief of ceremonies, the man wearing the ghost hat, takes the sacred pollen and holds it skyward as he faces the central group and, having said a short prayer, he takes this pollen and gives it to the patient, who eats it. As the second set is closing, he again takes

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

the sacred dust and performs with it as previously described. He then puts it into the mouth of the grandmother of the patient. At the close of the third set, he repeats the performance with the yellow powder. Then he makes a yellow cross on the chest of the patient with the sacred pollen. This completes the dance.

The next night brings the Dance-Ashes ceremony. A huge fire is built in a secluded, level spot in the woods, and at dusk the Indians of the vicinity assemble in a large circle around it. The patient is placed on a mat east of the fire within the circle and the musicians and medicine fraternity squat on the ground to the west of it. Five mescal (agave) bushes are then placed to represent the four winds and the zenith. These are sprinkled with the sacred pollen and then burned. The chanting and beating of the drums then begin, soon followed by the dance, in which five women abreast dance at one time. They merely keep step to the music, five steps forward and five in the reverse direction. Each woman, when entering the dancing set, takes some ashes and sprinkles them to the four winds, then over the patient. A group of old women also sprinkle the singers, dancers, medicinemen, and patient with the same material. Thirty-six times during the night they sprinkle all with the sacred ashes as they pray and point to the five sacred regions.

The following night ushers in the medicine shirt ceremonies. The singing is very similar to that previously described. At the beginning of the ceremonies a buckskin medicine shirt is placed on the patient and he wears it until daylight the next morning. The medicineman then removes it and spreads it full length on the ground in an east and west direction in front of the east doorway of the house so as to face the morning sun. He then addresses the figures on it in turn as he stands at the west end of the shirt facing the east. In this ceremony he takes the figures from the left in a circle around the neck-hole in the shirt, saying as he does so, "*Dontzhoda*," five times as he holds his hand over the figure, medicine button, or feather. Then, taking a pinch of the pollen in his right hand, he first sprinkles the figure on the left shoulder. He then makes a cross with the pollen on all four sides of the god representative on the right shoulder. Completing this, he makes a cross under his own right eye with the pollen, casting the remainder of the sacred dust toward the eastern sun. He then returns his hand to his mouth. He places his tongue between the

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

thumb and fingers of his right hand. Then he blows his breath on his hand as he spreads it out palm downward over the shirt and gives it a sidewise sweep to the right. He then holds the shirt up in his right hand toward the sun with the figures in natural position as he repeats "*Yalon*" five times. He then turns the shirt wrong side out. Cuts it to shreds and burns it.

The next set of ceremonies are the Hadindin medicine performances, held the following evening and night. The singing is the same as before. On this occasion the chief medicineman wears a buckskin medicine shirt which has four feathers on each side, both in front and at the back; the place of attachment of each feather is marked by a suspended clam shell. There are also two feathers on the center line in front and two suspended at the back. Two medicine god designs are also painted on the shirt, one on the front of each side, in line with the heart. Just below these designs are two medicine gods of different pattern. The face-head part of one of them is the sun disk with rays eight inches long projecting from it. The face and head design of the other is a cloth mask with the spread tail of a turkey for a head-piece. Across the lower part of the front of the shirt is a snake design. Back of this about two inches in a line running upward, running up and down each side, are three crescent moons; while at the back and just below and back of the arms is a butterfly design. The central figure in the back is a ghost god design, a human figure dressed in rainbow-colored clothes. Besides the elaborately attired medicineman, one other, a boy, has a green wreath of swamp weed around his head. After five songs have been sung, the old medicineman makes a cross with the sacred pollen on the sick boy's chest, then on his left shoulder, then on his right shoulder, as he prays and gesticulates to his deities. He then puts the pollen down and the patient takes some of it from the containing bag and eats it. This completes the ceremony.

This is followed by the sweathouse ceremonies, a daytime performance. Whistling-wind's grandmother constructs a very small sweathouse in a little cleared spot on the river bank. This she covers with laps of heavy blankets till it is air-tight. To the northeast she heats some rocks over a fire. Then when all is prepared, she sprinkles the sacred pollen to the four corners of the earth and the zenith as she prays to the respective deities of those regions. She then puts the heated rocks in the sweathouse and pours water on them, thus filling

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

it with steam. When all the preparations have been made, the patient, practically nude, is carried into the sweathouse. The entrance is then tightly closed. The medicineman then dances around the sweathouse repeatedly, singing medicine songs and sprinkling sacred dust to the gods. After being in the sweathouse for a considerable time and being thoroughly heated with steam, the patient is removed and doused with cold water. Being thoroughly cooled, he is again placed in the steaming sweathouse and the same ceremonies repeated. This is continued until the patient has been in the sweathouse five times. The sweathouse ceremony ends after the fifth cooling, except for the praying and sprinkling of the sacred pollen by the grandmother just before she commences to remove the blankets from the sweathouse.

Night ushers in the Butterfly ceremonies, which are similar to those previously described. At the climax, the medicineman produces a large, live mountain butterfly. He holds it up before everyone and, after he has prayed over it and sprinkled it with the sacred dust, he pulls out its antennæ and places them under the hatband of the medicine hat. He then places the hat on the patient as he prays over him and sprinkles him with the sacred pollen. He next mixes the "paint" of the butterfly's wings with mineral paint and then daubs the patient's face with the combination.

The night following a Medicine Snake ceremony is held. The singing is much like the others we have described. As the actors finish a song, they all spit in the fire, then sing again. At about 10 P. M. the medicineman produces a spotted wooden snake and places it between the fire and the sick man with the snake head pointed toward the afflicted parts. This snake's body has thirty-five roundish black spots on it, extending over the back from side to side. The head, also, is spotted and has two large eyes. Towards morning the medicineman takes up the snake and places it on top of the patient's left shoulder with head toward his feet. He then slowly slides it down his arm and then on down the extended left leg, as he sings to his deities. When he reaches the patient's foot, he spits in the fire; all others present also spit in the fire. Then three different times he places the head of the snake in the hot ashes a moment as he again prays. Then he places the lower surface of the snake head on the "sick" parts in five different positions as he says "*Zis-zis, zis-zis,*" in imitation of the rattling of a snake. Then he begins on the right

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

side of the patient at the shoulder and repeats the maneuvers as above described. He then places the snake head on the afflicted parts in five different directions as before mentioned. He holds the snake on top of the patient's head in five different positions as he repeats the words "*Zis-zis*." This being completed, he repeats the entire performance again, beginning with the left shoulder, as before. This completes the snake ceremony. He tosses the snake over the sick man's body to the other side of the dwelling, where Whistling-wind's father places it in the wall of the house. The chief medicineman now washes his hands, after which all present smoke and go home.

The next night the same performers assemble at the patient's house and have a medicine-bearclaw singing ceremony over him. A bearclaw is placed between the patient and the fire at the beginning of the ceremony. After an hour's singing, it is manipulated in the same manner as the wooden snake, after which a little boy takes it and dips it in an herb solution, following which he scrapes it with a dull knife in a downward motion. The medicineman then takes it again and performs over the patient with it as before. A second time he repeats the ceremony. Then all take a smoke, sprinkle the sacred pollen, and depart to their respective homes.

On the night following, the masked dance is instituted. All the Indians in the vicinity gather at a level spot in the woods and seat themselves in a large circle around a huge central fire. The musicians and medicine fraternity squat on the ground within the circle to the west of the fire and the patient is carried and placed on a bed of pine twigs to the eastward of this same fire. All are sprinkled with the sacred dust by the chief medicineman. The singing begins and the dancers form in a large circle and stamp and pat their feet in a side-wise movement to the left. The five special actors of the night then enter the circle and begin to dance in a clumsy backward and forward movement around the patient between him and the outer circle of dancers. These special actors are nude with the exception of dancing skirt and peculiar headgear. The latter is made in ghost hat style, except that a crescent of feathers falls over the face. Each of these actors carries a short cane-like stick in each hand. At sunrise the five special actors sprinkle the patient with the sacred pollen. Then all depart.

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

Evening brings a medicine singing conducted by a woman medicine actor. The medicine actors assemble at Rainy-cloud's house. The chief medicineman sings only with the other chanters and an elderly woman assumes the rôle as chief of ceremonies. She sings to the gods that the young man may recover. At the close of each song, she makes a hissing sound like a snake, as she blows her breath over the patient. At daybreak she sprinkles all with the sacred pollen.

The ceremony of the next night is a medicine singing with rattle-snake cap. The medicine people and populace assemble and conduct a medicine singing over the patient as on previous occasions. After the singing has progressed for some hours, all present hold their hands up slantingly before their respective faces as they face the northeast. With their hands in this position each one blows his breath hissing over them, making a sound something like a bull-snake's hiss. Then the hands palms downward are dropped to their bodies. This performance is repeated several times. A rattlesnake medicine hat is then produced and placed on the patient's head. All are then sprinkled with pollen and ashes.

The next night ushers in a series of medicine-cross singings. This performance is the same as the preceding, except that a medicine cross is used as the special "medicine." The patient is required to stand and hold it while the medicineman prays over him and sprinkles him with pollen. He then reclines on his mat and the cross is placed across his chest so that the cross part is just over his heart.

A medicine hoop medicine singing takes place the next night. The singing is similar to that of the previous nights. At the climax of the ceremony, five hoops are produced by the medicineman. These are painted as follows: one is painted black; two yellow; one green; and one blue. Also, each hoop is divided by suspended feathers into four sections. The patient is to have his body passed through the hoops. They are then placed on his mat and he is required to recline on them for a few minutes, when they are removed. After he has reclined again, they are placed over his body. The pollen-sprinkling performance closes the ceremony.

Night brings the deerskin medicine singing ceremonies which are similar to those previously described. The participants are the same as on the preceding night. After the singing has progressed for some time, the sacred pollen is sprinkled over all and doubly over the

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

patient. A deerskin is then brought into the house and, being folded in the form of a square, the patient is placed on it in a sitting position facing the chief medicineman. An old woman and an aged man again sprinkle the sacred pollen in prayer. They sprinkle it first so that it falls on the medicineman's hat and in front of his face. Then it is sprinkled over the circle of chanters and, lastly, on the patient, the dust being placed first upon his right shoulder, then on the left, then on his head, closing by making a cross on his chest with the pollen. This sprinkling occurs thirteen times during the night.

On the night following is held the medicine-hoop, medicine-cross, medicine-shirt ceremonies around a fire outside of Rainy-cloud's house. To the east of the fire some posts are set in the ground as the supports for a brush roof. The patient is carried to this shelter and placed on a mat. The medicineman and the musicians squat in a circle around him and sing over him. Five medicine-hoops are suspended from the roof just to the left of the patient, a medicine-cross being at his right; and at the head of the mat is suspended a medicine-shirt.

On the shirt a row of fossil shells in bunches of five, tied together with five eagle tail feathers, extend from the shoulder down the front of the left side, each group of shells being about four inches apart. The point of suspension for each is a god design. The upper design represents some terrible monster, with claws like a crayfish. The next lower figure is the representation of a human being with sun for a head. The others are drawings of medicine gods. Between the row of feathers and the center line in front is another row of emblems. The upper one just below the shoulder line is a huge spider. The next lower is the crescent "dark" moon, the next the crescent "light" moon. The lower figure is the sacred butterfly. On the center line in front are suspended five feathers tied with as many fossil ocean shells, a feather, and a sea shell being suspended from the same place. The right side of the shirt is decorated in the same manner as the left. The places from which the shells are suspended are likewise god designs; the figures are those of human beings with moon drawings for heads. Around the margin of the shirt is a great rainbow just inside of which is the great snake. A large sun drawing covers the back of the shirt.

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

After the singing has progressed for some hours, the patient puts on the medicine-shirt, places the medicine-hoops over his head and takes the medicine-cross in his hand. When preparing to present the shirt to the patient, the medicineman shrieks five times, then cries (or pretends to). He then makes a hissing noise through his teeth and waves his hands as if asking the heavens to depart. He then pats his own left shoulder and his right with open palm. He places his left and then his right hand over his heart. He then causes a forcible hissing breath to escape from his lips, as he brings his hands together in front and separates them with a quick, sweeping motion to the side. He then pats his chest and shoulders, as before. He then raises his hands on high to the gods, first the right and then the left, as he blows a hissing breath through them. Then he pretends to cry as he takes the shirt and holds it first toward the northern heavens, then toward the southeast, then the southwest, then the northeast, blowing a hissing breath in each direction at the same time. Then he holds it a moment toward the zenith. He puts it on the patient, who is then much sprinkled with the sacred pollen, after which the performance closes for the night.

The next night brings the *Tudeththepeco* medicine dance, which is held in a level open spot in the woods. The populace assemble in a large circle and squat on the ground around a huge central fire. The patient is placed on a pine twig bed within the circle to the east of the fire and the medicine fraternity and musicians assemble in a compact group to the west of it, seating themselves on the ground. Conspicuous among them is the medicineman. He wears a peculiarly shaped hat as does also the chief of ceremonies. The two leading women in the dance also carry feathered canes. After all have assembled, the chief medicineman and his aids sprinkle everyone with the sacred pollen as they pray earnestly to their gods. The dance which is of the circular type is then begun.

Every one joins in the great circle and stamps or pats to the left. The circle is divided into two equal sections, each headed by one of the women with the feathered canes. The dance movement is to the left, until the performers with the feathered canes face each other across the circle in a north and south direction. Then these leading dancers, together with the respective north and south sections of the circle, as then constituted, advance toward each other till they meet. As

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

they meet, the two women leaders place their canes across the patient's body as all present give a hideous whoop. Then all the dancers retrograde back to the starting point. This is repeated five times. Then the circular dance is resumed till the women with the canes again face each other in a north and south direction. Then the forward and retrograde dance is resumed. Thus the dance continues until morning. Then after all are sprinkled with the sacred pollen, they depart for their homes. But the patient is worse.

A new series of ceremonies is ushered in the next evening. They are the Yasayouou medicine dance and accompanying ceremonies. The Indians assemble in a large circle around a central fire in a level open space in the hills. The patient is placed to the east of the fire within the circle and the medicine people and musicians and chanters seat themselves on the ground to the west of it, as is the custom in medicine dances. Conspicuous is the leading woman performer of the ceremony. She carries a medicine-stick two and one-half feet long and four inches wide, made of a thin board painted in medicine designs.

The dance is by sets. In the first set when all have been sprinkled with the sacred pollen and the chanting has begun, all the women form in a line abreast, facing the patient; the woman at each end of the line carries a medicine-stick in each hand. The dance is a forward and backward prancing movement from the feet of the patient back to the line of the encircling darkness. Ten times the forward and backward movement is completed. Then the set breaks up and the cane carriers sprinkle the patient with the sacred dust. In the second set four women dance abreast in a circle around the great fire and the patient in a rhythmic step to the drum beat. In the third set the women form in a semicircle east of the fire and the patient and give a springing body-movement in time to the beats of the drum, but do not dance. The men take a part in this set. They form in a group around the drummers west of the fire and dance a vigorous up and down movement, waving their hands in all directions to the time of the drum beats. In the fourth set the women dance in a crow-hop movement in a circle around the patient. In the fifth set the performance is a choosing-partner dance. The women form in groups of sevens along the center-line of the dancing area. All face inward and dance rhythmically forward and backward from the circle-line to the presence of the patient. At intervals they choose partners from the chanting

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

group who face them in the dance; the men dance backward when their partners dance forward and *vice versa*. In the sixth set thirteen women stand apart from the others. The latter dance the choosing-partner dance. The thirteen special women are sprinkled with the sacred dust. They then dance in crow-hop style between the patient and the fire in a backward and forward movement for about fifteen minutes; then in a circle around the patient to the left, all facing away from instead of toward the patient. They dance until each has danced six times around the circle. Then they form in a column abreast and dance up and back in front of the patient. As they dance thus, the dancer farthest to the left sallies forth in crow-hop-step movement and sprinkles the sacred dust on the patient. She then disappears from the scene to be followed by the next woman in the dancing line, who performs over the sick one as has her companion preceding. In this manner this performance is continued until the last woman in the column has sprinkled the sacred pollen and passed out beyond the circle of light. The seventh, like the fifth set, is a choosing dance. In the eighth set, a column of old women, headed by the chief medicine-man, enters the dancing plot and dance a crow-hop circular dance step. Then they sprinkle the sacred dust in succession over the patient. As they depart from the scene many other performers come and sprinkle the patient with the sacred dust. The dance then breaks up.

The patient grows gradually worse and two nights later the owl-image medicine singing is instituted in a circular canvas inclosure at the edge of the woods. The patient is placed on a new pallet and a string of bear-claws is suspended around his neck. Between him and the fire is placed a clay image of the death owl. (The owl is the symbol of death among these Indians. They believe when an owl hoots it is calling someone to die.) When all is ready and every one has spit in the fire three times, the medicine singing is commenced, as all cover their distorted faces in their clasped hands. The song is a guttural chant, produced with great effort, with great earnestness, and apparently with great faith. Toward morning the chanting ceases. The chief medicine-man takes up the owl image and with much ceremony crushes it to powder and sprinkles the dust to the four winds. In this destruction of the owl image and its scattering to the four winds the medicine-man believes he is sending the death spirit away from the patient. When the medicine-man takes up the owl image,

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

the patient becomes limp and he is stretched out on a bed near the fire and his head laid on a medicine pillow. Thus he lies for a few minutes. Then his body becomes rigid and his jaws become so set that a stick is placed between his teeth. As soon as the owl image is destroyed the medicineman turns his attention to the patient. He sprinkles him with ashes and then rubs his feet and chest with them, besides giving the whole body a vigorous shaking occasionally. The patient recovers consciousness and soon appears to be better. All are then sprinkled with the pollen and the ceremony is over.

The next night brings the feast-dance medicine ceremonies. The populace assemble in a great circle around a central fire in a level open space in the woods. The patient and participants take their accustomed places. Two drums and a medicine hat, each decorated to suit the medicineman's taste, are placed on a canvass west of the fire to be used in the ceremonies. When all is ready the chief medicineman sprinkles the sacred dust in the ordinary way on the drums and medicine hat and lastly on the patient. He then makes a crescent moon under his left eye, then across his left cheek and one on his left shoulder. He then opens his own shirt and makes a moon design on his chest, making the vertical bar first, and retraces it in reverse order. He then makes the cross first on his left shoulder, then on his right; a sun design on his forehead, a cross on his left cheek; and a crescent moon design on his back between his shoulders. The medicineman then seats himself and the chief of ceremonies and four other men in succession pray and sprinkle the sacred pollen upon the drums, the patient and the chief medicineman. At this juncture two cows are led into the circle of light and after being prayed over and sprinkled with the pollen, they are butchered and the meat distributed for cooking. The leader of the ceremony then goes around and harangues the people about the dance and the gift of beef. Five women then sprinkle all present with the sacred pollen. Then Whistling-wind's grandmother orders the people to dance. She tells them that they must not sleep but must dance till the sun comes up. Then they will feast, indicating each part by signs and gestures.

The dance begins. Two old women dance a crow-hop step in a forward and backward movement. Two old women choose partners and dance and gesticulate to the four winds and to the gods that hold up the four corners of the earth. They pose and dance a few minutes

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

facing each of the semi-cardinal directions as they dance a circular movement to the left. Then everyone joins in a circular dance around the patient, facing inward and stamping or patting in a sidewise movement to the left, as five old women sprinkle everyone present with the sacred pollen and pray to their gods. Then twenty men form a column abreast in a north and south line between the patient and the central fire and dance a forward and retrograde dance, while the five aged women mentioned above continue their sprinkling of the sacred pollen. In the next set these twenty actors change to a position southwest of the patient. In the third set they face the patient from the northeast, and in the fourth set they face him from the northwest. The four sets are then repeated. As soon as these sets are completed, forty women form in a line abreast and dance before the sick one in the same manner as the twenty men, the five old women sprinkling all with the pollen again. The medicineman then harangues his hearers. He then sprinkles the patient with ashes and pollen. A feast of beef is then set out to all. This closes the ceremonies. But the patient has become decidedly worse, necessitating other medicinal remedies.

The following day the medicinal game is played for the benefit of the patient. In a level spot of ground near Rainy-cloud's house a circle of forty cobblestones is arranged in groups of five with rather wide north and south inter-spaces designated as "water." The other requisites of the game are four yucca laths each some four feet in length, a counting stick for each player, and a central bouncing rock. The game is played by the medicineman and a chosen partner. The way the laths fall after being bounced on the center rock determines the points gained. The medicineman plays to win if he thinks the patient will recover. In the case described he purposely loses the game, as he believes the patient will die.

As the patient grows gradually worse the medicine disk (sand painting) ceremonies are instituted the next day to try to arrest the disease. The Indians of the vicinity assemble and make paints. Some crush red sandstone, others limestone. Some pulverize charcoal; others mash up green leaves; while still others produce yellow paint by mixing pulverized limestone and red sandstone. When a sufficient quantity of the pulverized product is ready, they proceed to make a medicine disk (sand or dry painting) some sixteen feet in diameter on the ground. This disk is composed of concentric bands and an inner

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

circle. The central circle has two major drawings in it. The north, dark-colored one is a drawing of the sun; the other is a drawing of the moon. The first concentric band from the inside is peopled with many ghost gods, grouped in four sections within the circular band. Those of the northeast section are clothed in green; those of the west, yellow; those on the south, red; and those on the east, black. The next outer concentric band is peopled with double the number of ghost gods and similarly colored. The concentric bands are enclosed in rainbow drawings. When completed, the disk is enclosed in a wickiup enclosure and is ready for its special use. It must be used and destroyed the same day it is made. It is a representation of the Father of Day. The patient is presented to it and the Great Father can either make him well or take him to his abode in the land of bliss.

The disk is ready. Whistling-wind's grandmother enters the wickiup enclosure and walks to the center of the medicine circle with a medicine bag of sacred pollen. Then, as she prays, she sprinkles the sun drawing; then she sprinkles the moon and appendages; then each circle of objects from the inside circle to the outer rainbow, walking around each band and rainbow circle. She then takes a cup, partly filled with water, and beginning with the outer rainbow circle, she retraces her steps from the outside rainbow to the inner circle, stopping now and then to gather dust from the figures of the sacred objects; she places the collected dust in the cup she carries and takes a pinch of dirt from each rainbow, from over the heart of each ghost god, and from each of the central figures. Then, as she prays, she sets the cup of wet dirt down in the center of the sun disk and departs. The patient is then carried into the wickiup enclosure and around each concentric band and circular rainbow from the outer ring to the inner circle and placed on the rainbow that connects the sun and moon drawings. At this juncture, a ghost dancer, dressed in dancing skirt and devil hat, approaches the medicine disk enclosure. He carries a tomahawk in one hand and a lightning painted wand in the other. He dances around the enclosure for a considerable time, then enters it and walks around the circle from the east around by the north until he reaches the circle of the sun and moon. Then he approaches the patient at his rear from the west. Then, laying down the tomahawk and wand, he dips his hands in the muddied water of the cup and rubs the patient's back with it. Then lifting his hands skyward, he sends

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

the "sick" away by blowing a hissing breath over his hands. In like manner he places his hands on the sick one's chest, and on his arms. Then, after waving his hands heavenward, and sending the "sick" away with a hissing breath, he gallops off into the nearby woods. Whistling-wind's mother then enters the medicine ring and sprinkles her son with the sacred pollen. As soon as she has finished the chief medicineman takes the muddy cup and rubs Whistling-wind practically all over with the mud, as he earnestly prays. The patient is then carried from the medicine enclosure in reverse order to that in which he was carried into it. As soon as he is carried from it, each one who cares takes some of the dust of the medicine drawings of the disk and puts it in his medicine pouch for medicine. The disk is then obliterated and the wickiup burned.

Notwithstanding all the medicine ceremonies, the patient grows worse continually and it is evident that his end is near. The last medicinal resort known to the Apache, the ghost (*gunelpieya* or *yavachai*) dance, is used. It is held the night following the disk ceremonies. All the Indians of the neighborhood gather around a great fire. Thither, also, the patient is carried and placed on a blanket to the east of the fire; here everyone waits and chants and beats the drums. At midnight four ghost dancers and a clown enter the circle of light from the southeast. These ghost (*yavachai*) dancers are dressed in moccasins, dancing skirt, and ghost hat. Each has a thunderbolt dart painted on each arm from wrist to shoulder and a crescent moon design painted on his chest and a wreath of pine twigs girded around his waist. He also holds a medicine stick in each hand. These are thin, lath-like, about two inches wide and two and one-half feet in length. Each one, also, has four feathers suspended at its top. The clown is nude with the exception of moccasins, dancing skirt, and clown cap. The latter is crested with two bunches of feathers, one on each side of the head and placed forward so that the two look like great ears or horns. A bull-roarer is suspended on a buckskin cord from his waist. In his right hand he holds a short medicine wand; in his left he carries a three-pronged stick.

In a column these performers encircle the congregated people in a very large circle three times, each time coming closer. As they thus dance in this circling ceremony, they put their heads near the ground as if smelling something; they sputter, cluck, gobble, and strut like

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

turkeys and wave their arms as if imitating a flying bird; at the same time the musicians play and sing as if trying to coax them to approach nearer. They approach the patient and, acting as though surprised, they dance backward for several yards to the time of the music. They approach him again and return as before. This they do seven times. Then they approach and strut around the little spot that the patient occupies, the clown cutting capers and grimacing. For a few minutes they cease their performance and the oldest woman present sprinkles the sacred meal on them as she blows a hissing breath over each. They then gallop off into the darkness. This completes the first one of their performing. In the second they return and form in a column facing the northeast, the patient being turned so as to face them. They prance up to him repeatedly, cackling, sputtering, clucking, strutting, and waving their arms in imitation of a flying turkey. Then each time they prance backward to the place where the column was formed. After they have done this several times the leading performer rushes toward the patient in clown-style, though solemnly and earnestly acted. He reaches his presence, struts around him, lays the crossed wands on his feet, blows his breath on them, dances backward for five or more yards with medicine wands still crossed, parts them with a sweeping, vigorous stroke of each hand in opposite directions, thus sending the "sick" to the four winds of heaven. Returning, he places the wands on his chest, then prances backward, and scatters the evil ones as in the previous case. Then he places the crossed wands on his head and lastly upon his back, each time going through practically the same performance as described above. He then capers off into the darkness. The other ghost-hatted performers follow in succession and go through practically the same performance as the first ghost dancer. These are followed by the clown. Besides rolling and tumbling around in the dirt and whirling his bull-roarer now and then, his performance is practically the same as that of the ghost dancers. His performance completes the set and he canters off beyond the circle of light.

The third and fourth sets are similar to the last described, except in the third the patient faces the northeast and the medicine dancers approach him from that direction and in the fourth the medicine performers enter the circle of light from the northwest and the patient

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

is turned on his pallet so that he faces them as they approach. Thus the performance continues until dawn.

Just as the sun begins to rise the ghost dancers and clown are sprinkled with sacred pollen. The clown then goes about and prods all the sleepy ones with his trident, shakes them, jerks them around and makes them join the performers, meanwhile whirling his bull-roarer strenuously. A circular dance is then instituted. Every one joins in it and the sound of the peculiar drum beat, the loud chanting, and the deafening shouts of the dancers reverberate from the surrounding hills. The patient makes one heroic effort to rise and join in the dance, but collapses and the dance breaks up in turmoil.

The next day the patient dies in his father's house. As soon as all are sure that he is dead, they wrap his face in a handkerchief, fold his arms on his breast, without straightening his legs, closing his mouth, or shutting his eyes. Then follows the wake at which the medicineman comforts the inmates of the house. Then he leaves the house for a little while. Returning, he sprinkles ashes to the four winds and prays some minutes to his gods. He then seats himself at the head of the pallet on which the dead one lies. Also around the head of the bed the women relatives seat themselves and sob for the loved one. All else is quiet for some hours, except that the medicineman imparts words of condolence now and then. Towards morning a five-gallon can of Indian whiskey is brought into the house and all freely indulge, as they respectively hold the gourd mug repeatedly in prayer toward the gods who hold up the four corners of the earth, according to their belief.

At daybreak an Indian stands in the entrance to the house and fires a gun toward the rising sun. The chief medicineman again prays to his gods and comforts the mourners. The women then jerk and tear the canvas from the house and remove every valuable which did not belong to the deceased. They pull down the grass matting covering the house and enter it from the north side to view the deceased and prepare him for burial. They strip him and wash him and then dress him in a new buckskin suit and new moccasins. His hair is parted in the middle and allowed to lie over his shoulders. His wrists are encircled in wristlets and bracelets; strings of beads are placed about his neck, also strings of his "medicine," stone beads, feathers, and turquoises. When dressed, all his belongings are wrapped up with him

MEDICINE CEREMONIES PERFORMED

in his blanket shroud. Then follows the burial. The body is carried to a remote place in the mountains and deposited in a niche in the rocks. Over it sticks, poles and rocks are piled. The medicineman sprinkles the mound with dirt and ashes. They all then return to the house of the deceased and destroy everything both animate and inanimate that he had used, together with his stock and his (father's) house. Then the whole clan is moved to another location. (They destroy all the property of the deceased so that it will accompany him in spirit to the happy hunting ground.) Then the women crop their hair, put on the mourning dress, and at morning, noon, and night wail for the departed for thirty days.





ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

One of the Three Founders of the Daughters of the American Revolution

(Portrait bust by Adelaide Johnson)

Ellen Hardin Walworth, Forerunner of the New Time

BY ADELAIDE JOHNSON,* WASHINGTON, D. C.



IN Ellen Hardin Walworth there culminated her own patriotic ancestry and in her life there came to completion that of the line of the distinguished last Chancellor of the State of New York. With her, through the tragedies in her family, the Walworth name in that line was cut off forever, and the light of the Hardin family of patriots for generations past went out, as in that branch there is no young generation of the name. Not in a startling nor conspicuous, but in a most graphic, tragic, and truly heroic way, Mrs. Walworth is one of the most extraordinary and astounding characters of her time. In her personal and family married life she experienced every known tragedy. One blow of the many that fell upon her would have completely crushed almost any other woman.

There was deep sorrow and poignant pathos in a long series of unusual experiences, not to be recounted here, in Mrs. Walworth's everyday life, but she proved herself a masterful conqueror of human sorrow and unswerving exemplar of life's dignity on the great highway.

Since it is the triumphant, though placid, that we find consummated in the face as it surely was in the life of this great woman, we pass over the tragic and turn to her accomplishments and achievements.

In her personal life Mrs. Walworth reached out in every direction, grasping at any and everything that might sustain her through sorrow and stimulate growth or make for development. She moved out upon all avenues, making incursions in some for culture and in others an outlet for her amazing energies and rare abilities. Her talents and efforts were in organizations rather than in movements.

In her public pursuits Mrs. Walworth revived, sustained, and illumined all those organizations already existent to which she gave her attention, while she imparted to those which she had organized or

* Mrs. Johnson is the sculptor of the bust of Mrs. Walworth which faces this page, as the text indicates.—Ed.

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

directed her own recognition of fundamentals and bestowed the values acquired by her long experience in dealing with and managing complexities. For several generations her ancestors had been foremost in some national service until the very capacity for directorship seemed to be concentrated in her.

Though Mrs. Walworth was an innovator upon the old, she was never a radical for the new. Thus, while ever reforming by virtue of her immense vitality, clear mind, and energetic spirit all in continuous and synchronous action, she was yet never a "reformer"—this she well expressed in a private letter as late as March 8, 1913, two years before her transition. After reference to her Spanish War work she said: "But some day it may be discovered that I have lived mainly—first for my eight children till I was *thirty-eight*, and for these remaining years, since eighteen sixty-eight, for my country and for the advancement of women; always a Suffragist, though not in their societies."

Mrs. Walworth's actual invasions of "Man's Sphere" and entrance into men's organizations began in the late 'sixties. She was thus a real pioneer.

As early as 1876 she was a member—when active participation of women in such pursuits was almost unknown—of "The Association for the Advancement of Science." She was a life member of "The American Historical Society," into which she at once began to infuse life, and of many other local and national, art, literary, historical, genealogical, patriotic, and educational organizations, too many for enumeration here. This, in the days when it was so unusual that she was the only woman member, meant real vigor and aggression of character, though in her case never aggression in the manner of its pursuits. Any membership of Mrs. Walworth meant a live interest and activity.

As soon as the law made women eligible (1880) she was "the first woman elected on a Board of Education in New York," at Saratoga, whereupon she at once moved for changes along the line of an advance, where her inborn patriotism took form. It was under her urgency, "after a long contest," that attention was directed and suitable recognition accorded to the *teaching of American History in the Schools*.

Very important as one of Mrs. Walworth's achievements was the infusion of her vitalizing activity into "The Saratoga Monument

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

Association," founded in 1856, but with practically all procedures suspended until 1872. After these many years of ineffectual existence, partly because of the chill of the Civil War, this association, with Mrs. Walworth's entrance into it, began to function and moved forward to the accomplishment of its object. It gave splendid scope for her rare research capacity to unite with her imaginative quality in conceiving and executing plans for the accomplishment of its object.

These included the enormously extensive search for data, then with this data the locating on the battlefield of each incident of the conflict. In this work her genius took the form of securing the services of others by enlisting their interest and engaging the enthusiasm of the young through organizing, searching and exploring parties in the realm of home history. Then, with the authority and guidance of previous research, she took these classes for "*picnics*" over the battlefields of Saratoga for the purpose of connecting or relating definitely the data of the records with the exact location of events on the field. Thus the groups of young and oftentimes others secured information and received development while aiding in her undertaking along with (and one might say, under the guise of) pleasure, while Mrs. Walworth in her quiet motherly comradeship yet unbounded enthusiasm born of love of country, was their guide and inspirer.

After that was done her next move as "Chairman of Committee on Tablets" was devising the means of arousing interest to secure the funds for memorializing and marking in detail all points on the field of this—until very recent times—"one of the ten greatest battles of the world."

Mrs. Walworth's distinguished lineage and high position gave her plans and appeals entrée to circles where those of another might have been unheeded or not heard at all. So with her unique capacity and enormous energy she made a systematic move to look up the descendants of the heroes of that memorable struggle. This done, she made appeals to their dignity and pride for the means necessary for various memorials on the battlefield, which appeals met with satisfactory response.

These and many other effective works executed by this amazing woman, while she was at the same time battling with the baffling tragedies of her domestic life and carrying forward the education of her large family, are nowhere recorded.

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

Mrs. Walworth was also historian of the association and has officially recorded its acts in a large volume (1891) dedicated to Mrs. Benjamin Harrison, wife of the President of the United States and first President General of the Daughters of the American Revolution; but her graphic, picturesque accounts during the sittings, as the silence of the studio gently lifted the flood gates of memory and invited reminiscence, are quite another story.

With all else Mrs. Walworth had a rare sense of humor, which is a saving grace when there is too much sorrow, and which can be indulged when talking but must in the main be subdued when writing. Non-transcribable were her spirit and manner when describing her own calm and "lady-like" invasion of this hitherto exclusively masculine domain. The association, an organization wherein the stodgy but perfectly good gentlemen fossilized as the "Saratoga Monument Association" (whose chief activity had been ossification) was beginning, however, resistently to be galvanized into life. This was true, at least, to the extent of admitting Mrs. Walworth to its membership and trusteeship after being "so pleased" with her "requested" opinions, and of allowing a woman to initiate the plans for carrying forward its chief work. These, as illumined by her vivid charm, were more fascinating than a novel in comparison with which the record as formally printed, though interesting enough, is as "dry as dust."

She, as the historian and only woman trustee, had to restrain herself and keep within the limits of literary decorum and modesty as to her own part therein, which amounts to an injustice to herself. The Saratoga monument was turned over to the State of New York October 8, 1912, fifty-six years after the association was formed. At this time the speaker of the occasion, after sketching the struggle of the trustees, said: "Ellen Hardin Walworth, the only woman trustee, has, during all these years, given splendid service by her indefatigable zeal, her great knowledge of American history, and her fine judgment. She has been to her colleagues a tower of strength." He also said: "At the time of greatest depression, Judge Ballard, on the 4th of July, 1876, delivered in Schuylerville an historic address which had the happy effect in arousing renewed interest in the necessity of building a monument on the ground made sacred by the memory of 1776."

It is observable, however, that this "time of greatest depression" and "renewed interest" coincides with the entrance of Ellen Hardin

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

Walworth upon the work of the Saratoga Monument Association with her alert energy and patriotic zeal.

Even a genealogical society of those early times was made fascinatingly amusing when its doings were recounted by this versatile character. I recall an almost uncontrollable laughter evoked by her one picture. After a description of the room in which their meetings were held as dull and gloomy, she said:

"The men present were all over eighty and after they had slept through the reading of a paper and were awakened by the silence that followed its completion in the cessation of the voice, they all descended for refreshments to a room where there were mummies." Add to this the picture of this woman associate who was brilliant in appearance as well as in mind with her sense of humor, and remember this was in the time long ago when but few had such interests, with probably not another woman present, and you will see the amusing picture.

Long a life member of the American Historical Association, Mrs. Walworth prepared and read a treatise upon "The Value of the National Archives" before the Congress of Historical Associations at the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893, which "led to a Committee appointed on the spot after discussion which ensued in the tremendous enthusiasm aroused because of the condition of valuable original records and documents at the Nation's Capital as known and explained by Mrs. Walworth."

For the sole purpose of reading this paper Mrs. Walworth had journeyed to Chicago from Washington, returning immediately. "They at once—instigated by her paper—formed a 'distinguished committee' to make appeal to Congress and have since had hundreds of clerks and spent thousands of dollars" for the collection, securing, and protection of the national archives.

It seemed never to have occurred to those chivalric gentlemen, ready to take her ideas and the results of her labors and sup from her enthusiasm, to invite her or even suggest that she be a member of that "distinguished committee (of men)". Yet it was to her thought, urgency, and initiative that the Nation is in the enjoyment now of its historic records, safer and richer. It is the same old story, woman may inspire, enthuse, and actually do the work while men take the honorary positions, emoluments and credit. Mrs. Walworth's work

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

of a long life was like this, never spectacular but part and parcel of the web of no end of our national and patriotic texture.

However, her activities other than domestic and local were not confined to organizations already started by others. She had initiative in quite an original way, that of doing the unconventional in so conventional a form that the conservatives did not recognize the unusual, nor that their bonds were being loosened by this artist in human relationships making for progress.

In 1876 she was not only among the first to call for funds to renovate Mount Vernon for a national shrine, but it was Ellen Hardin Walworth who "organized the women of the county in committees and through them collected the display for the 'Woman's Pavilion' at the Centennial Exposition of 1876" at Philadelphia, thus taking the foremost part in the first thing of its kind in our country in the upward movement of women. That very live infant procedure grew and blossomed into the wonderful "Women's Building," with its international collection and congresses at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.

Again Mrs. Walworth moved out on individual organizing lines as presaged by the centennial example of her activities. The year 1898, the Spanish War year, called her to organize and then to serve as Director of the Woman's National War Relief Association, of which the officers were: Mrs. General U. S. Grant, President; Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth, Director General; Miss Helen Miller Gould, Assistant Director General; with the wives of Governors of twenty-three states and noted women of the whole country as *active* Vice-Presidents. As to this undertaking, in a private letter, March 8, 1913, Mrs. Walworth says: "I spent the months of the war in the Field Hospitals, introduced women nurses into both Army and Navy, and expended many thousands of dollars committed to my care by New Yorkers to aid the Government to care for sick and wounded. I was able to do all this by silence, keeping out of the newspapers."

The enormous aid and work of this association is set forth in a very large volume prepared after the war by Mrs. Walworth, "acting for The Woman's National War Relief Association." As in all things undertaken by Mrs. Walworth, she was not only the Director General, guide, or inspirer as the case might be, with the full responsibility the office implied, but it often devolved upon her to keep the

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

historical minutes and later make the record in permanent form. This means that her own unique capacities and immense service have been too modestly put adequately to convey their importance, or to render, even in half measure, justice to her unique personality and extraordinary genius for achievement. Let us remember that these activities were *con amore*, without material return, though during the same period she was compelled also to work for ordinary sustenance of life.

In historic literature, aside from the many other works of her pen, Mrs. Walworth is not without distinction. As early as 1877 her published "Monograph of Burgoyne's Campaign" was received with applauding interest "by the public and some eminent historians," while in that same year, October 17, a copy of her "Saratoga, the Battles and Battle Ground," was with other honored things deposited in the corner stone of the Saratoga Monument.

Patriotic and historic literature were her special, though not only, interest. To my knowledge she left many packages of manuscript ready for publication, including some of Chancellor Walworth's, which she had revised and prepared for publication. These were upon the Chancellors of New York, beginning with "The Life of Robert Livingston, the First Chancellor of New York," while Chancellor Walworth was the fifth and last when the Chancellorate was abolished in 1847.

As she read to me from these unpublished works I was entranced with the rugged picturesqueness of the times and its personalities as presented and interpreted by one of such keen perception and illumined vision. They are in every sense historic as well as biographic, and are priceless as the times and very trace of the types therein portrayed have forever disappeared. Surely some one will summon these from the silence and oblivion of unpublished manuscript.

With all these and innumerable lesser public activities in Mrs. Walworth's life, the incidental duties incumbent upon her as the mother of *eight children* (for the education and bringing up of whom she had for the most part actually to earn the wherewithal) were not more, it proved, than she could successfully bear. Family and domestic duties and obligations devotedly and conscientiously fulfilled to the minutest detail rather heightened her incentive, because always she thought of and was leading her children for those other obligations to

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

the individual and the race which gave to her spirit broader expanse and found expression in her various and many public activities. She was a widow at the age of thirty-eight (1873).

Mrs. Walworth will doubtless be best known to future delvers into the history of representative women of this extraordinary time as one of the founders of the Daughters of the American Revolution. (1890). Though it is nowhere officially recorded, it is a fact that the first thought of the movement to organize the Daughters of the American Revolution, before the first letters were written, was discussed with me by Mary Desha, the actual initiator and one other active founder, Mrs. Walworth. The first letters written and answers received were shown to and discussed with me even before Mrs. Walworth and others were told of the plan or interviewed at all. Mrs. Walworth was aware of this fact. This happened to be so because I was Vice-President and acting President (as the President did not live in Washington) of an organization, *Wimodaughsis*, just then being launched, of which Miss Desha was the Corresponding Secretary. So it was that nearly every waking hour outside of her office occupation was spent with me in that mutual interest at my home, 1603 S Street N. W., Washington, District of Columbia, Miss Desha's residence at that time being but a short distance away on the same street.

It was during that intimacy that Miss Desha conceived the thought and set the plan in motion for organization of the Daughters of the American Revolution. She among the very first solicited and secured Mrs. Walworth's coöperation, Mrs. Walworth and I at that time being in the employ of the National Government in the same department.

By that patriotic achievement alone Miss Desha must be rated an outstanding character. She would find her place in the great gallery of Time if there were no other credential. Her name is on the immortal tablet inscribed and her fame secure as a founder and promoter to its completion and useful mission of the Daughters of the American Revolution, now hundreds of thousand strong. Miss Desha and Mrs. Walworth at once became as one in initiating and promoting the movement and organization that has not only done so much to kindle and keep aglow the fires of legitimate patriotism that were already out, or burning low, with danger of extinction in the aggression of our



WALWORTH MANSION, SARATOGA, NEW YORK

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

Nation's youth and the egotism of the achievement of this youth, but has also served in the preservation and protection of many of the historical places and things that were fast disintegrating and disappearing, through either the neglect of indifference or the reckless disregard of greed. The "Daughters of the American Revolution" demonstrates anew that woman is not only the conserver but ever the restorer and preserver. Of this magnificent organization, with its beautiful white marble classic home—Continental Hall and Constitutional Hall—at the Capital of the Nation, Mrs. Walworth was not only one of the three founders, and Vice-President General, but "The American Monthly," its official organ, "was originated and carried on for three years by Ellen Hardin Walworth as editor and business manager without compensation. When she resigned it continued with large salary to another officer."

Mrs. Walworth's preparation for these far-reaching undertakings began in childhood, where among her father's political and personal friends and those whose bearing and conversation were familiar to her as frequent visitors at her home were Lincoln, Logan, Stewart, Baker, Douglas, Shields, Judge Pope, Judge Davis, Governor Duncan and many others, some of whose names have become historic in the world, others in the State, if not all familiar to the Nation. Even in locality her life seemed to run current with those of a big destiny. Indeed, her father emigrated from Hardin County, Kentucky, where Abraham Lincoln was born, to Illinois, the State of Lincoln's advent to the world, so that her life was from its beginning under the influence of this mighty spirit. Mrs. Walworth was truly representative of the pioneer and heroic period of this country's establishment as an important Nation and has well sustained the part taken by her ancestors, whose patriotic and otherwise distinguished service seems to have reached a culmination in her.

Her great-grandfather, Colonel John Hardin, was one of the officers of the Morgan Rifle Corps in the Revolutionary War and was at the battle of Saratoga. He was afterwards (1790) sent by order of Washington on a peaceful mission to the Indians of the Northwest (now western Ohio) and *massacred en route*; her grandfather, General M. D. Hardin, lawyer (Attorney-General of the State of Kentucky), statesman (United States Senator), was in the War of 1812 at the battle of New Orleans, in General Harrison's army. Her father,

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

John J. Hardin, lawyer (member of Illinois Legislature with Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln) colonel of an Illinois regiment in the Mexican War, was killed while leading the charge that saved the battle of Buena Vista. Her brother, Martin D. Hardin (West Point), in the Civil War three times desperately wounded, lost his arm, and was retired as brigadier-general at the close of the war; while her adored daughter, Rubena Hyde Walworth, gave up her life nursing soldiers at Fortress Monroe and Montauk Point.

While yet in early girlhood, Mrs. Walworth's mother, Mrs. Hardin, married Chancellor Walworth, of New York, and the life of Nellie Hardin was thus transplanted from the region of one imposing group of national eminence to that of another. In that time there was a vast difference between the life in Kentucky and Illinois (as for the season they journeyed from one State to the other) and that of the famous and to her entirely new style of place and character of people at Saratoga Springs, New York, then a world famous resort.

In her girlhood she had experienced life only on a large and hospitable scale, and as an intellectually brilliant and physically beautiful belle of the far famed South was thoroughly accustomed to the old-time chivalry. The transference of this brilliant butterfly, who also had a mind and soul, to the altogether different atmosphere of the rigid North in the matter of early culture, was test enough for any character. It was a test that meant either vigorous growth or withering, and Nellie Hardin did not wither.

In 1852, at the age of seventeen, she married Tracy Mansfield Walworth, son of the Chancellor. From that moment she had full need of all her heroism in a succession of tragedies, touching in some form, mostly deep and heartbreaking, every member of her family, and in sorrows unequalled in the life of any one person in all history so far as known to me, including as a comparatively minor one that of her two beloved brothers, one fighting on the side of the North and one on that of the South.

Equally did she triumph over them, almost beyond belief in human power to rise from the ashes of a great promise to its actual fulfillment. A complete record would render great service to others whose destiny leads them through the Shadow of the Valley.

In appearance Mrs. Walworth was queenly and considered one of the most beautiful women of her time. Naturally brilliant of mind,

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

the very food of her spirit was that of a quiet, dignified, and non-assertive heroism in bearing the superhuman tests to which destiny subjected her. Hers was a life that only an extraordinary character with vast interior resources could have stood and withstood, and withal achieved so much. In her own words in a letter as late as March 8, 1913, she says: "I have helped to initiate the founding of many important associations that have developed the progressive movement in my adored country to which I was dedicated in my childhood by the blood of my father—the leading friend and helper of Lincoln in Illinois *when* they were the *two* leading Whigs of that State—who was killed while leading a charge that saved the battle of Buena Vista—and again consecrated to my country in the supreme sacrifice of my gifted daughter, who gave her life in saving the lives of the wounded and sick in 1898."

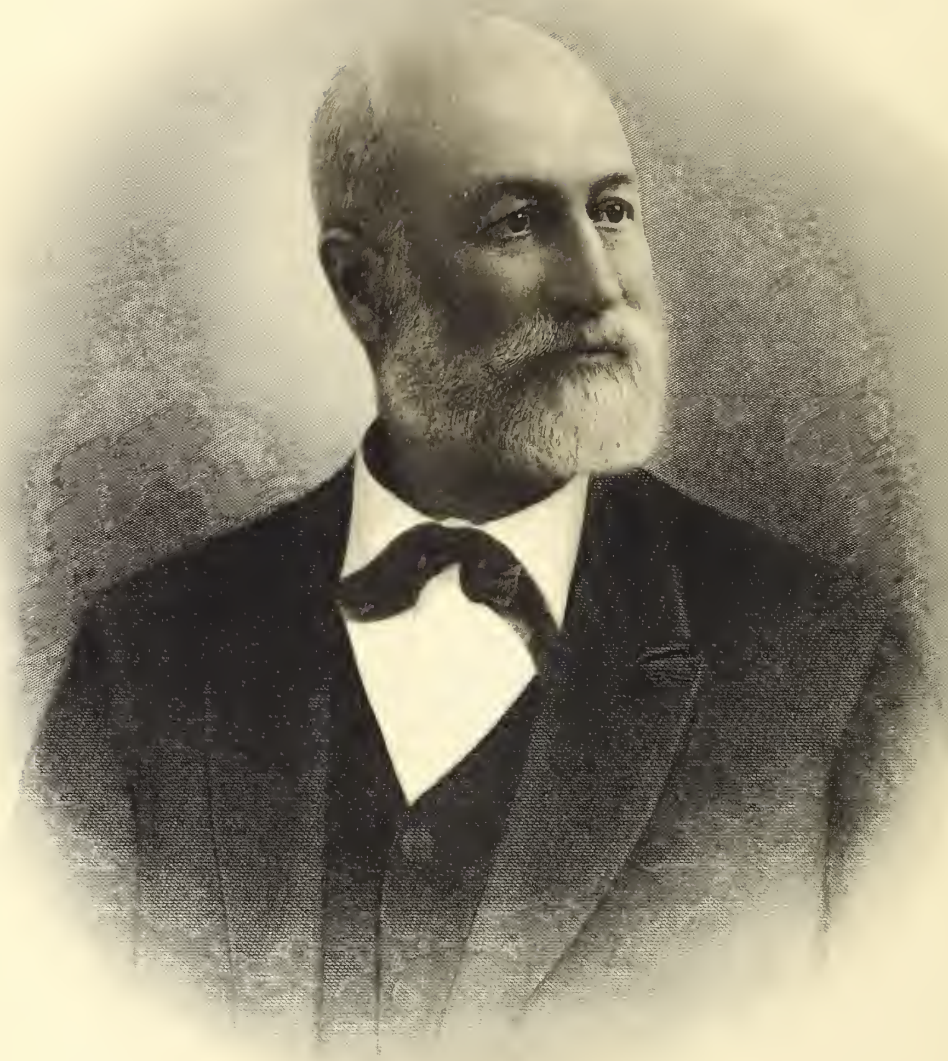
Chancellor Walworth, who "may justly be regarded as the great artisan of our equity laws," was at once her stepfather and her father-in-law. He was the last of the five picturesque Chancellors of the State of New York when the Chancellorate served the State before the Supreme Court came into existence to meet the overgrown demand upon one person. His court was held in the Walworth mansion at Saratoga, which "has but three conveyances from the ownership of the Indians down to Mrs. Walworth's children." In this same historic mansion that had sheltered so much that was tremendous in individual, State and national life at famous Saratoga Springs, to which people journeyed from far and near, under the spell of the vivid brilliant spirit of her solemn tragic life, with its sweet charm presided over by the calm that had sustained her through more than seventy years, more than fifteen of which we had been friends, I made the model (in 1906) for the portrait bust of Ellen Hardin Walworth. There I was her appreciated guest as her ardent admirer and friend always. My journal says: "Every day when the day is done I feel like exclaiming anew, 'What a wonderful woman, what a wonderful life.'" Not the least of the achievements of this remarkable personality was the face there seen, presenting after years (more than threescore and ten) of agitation, endurance and effort, such rare poise and placidity of mien. My thought has been to show consummated in her the Colonial and post-Revolutionary type, that of patriot, heroine and lady, carrying out the suggestion of the Colonial and post-Revolution-

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

ary period in the costume. By such an one it is indeed an honor to have been called, as she in writing to Mrs. Harper, Susan B. Anthony's biographer, called me, "the most earnest 'apostle of women' I ever met" and directly addressed me as "dear friend of my soul."

So much of our Nation's formative history had she lived through, lived herself and knew, that she seemed the very personification of the patriotic life of, as she terms it, "my adored country."





J. H. Cooper

John Baptist Henry Cooper, California Pioneer

By J. R. SHAW, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA



WHEN the generation of 1849 swept westward to the Pacific Coast, John Baptist Henry Cooper was already approaching his majority, and for all his nineteen years had claimed California as his home. He was a Californian-born, inheriting from his mother the fine traditions and noble blood of the great family of Vallejo and from his father the sturdiness and genius for achievement of the Anglo-Saxon stock. From boyhood he was trained to the responsibilities of wealth and high position, and in his own career brought added luster to the honored names which were his treasured heritage.

Mr. Cooper was born at Monterey, California, on September 30, 1830, a son of Captain Juan Baptiste Roger Cooper and Dona Encarnacion Vallejo. His father, who had come to California as early as 1823 as master of his own vessel, the "Rover," had adopted the Spanish form of his Christian names when he settled permanently on the Pacific Coast. Captain Cooper was born on the Island of Alderney, one of the British channel possessions, and had come to the United States in boyhood with his mother, then a widow. She was subsequently married again and of her second marriage, it is interesting to note, Thomas O. Larkin, United States Consul at Monterey at the time of the acquisition of California from Mexico in 1846, was a son. As a boy in Massachusetts, Captain Cooper felt the fascination of the sea and made it his calling from an early age. His ability was such that he rapidly rose to command his own vessel, and it was as master of the "Rover" from Boston, with a cargo of merchandise of a kind suitable to the needs of the people here that he first set foot in California. This was in 1823, when the growing wealth and population of the Mission settlements made trade with them very profitable and when the transition of Mexico, including Alta California from the dominion of Spain to the republican rule of independent Mexico had

JOHN BAPTIST HENRY COOPER, CALIFORNIA PIONEER

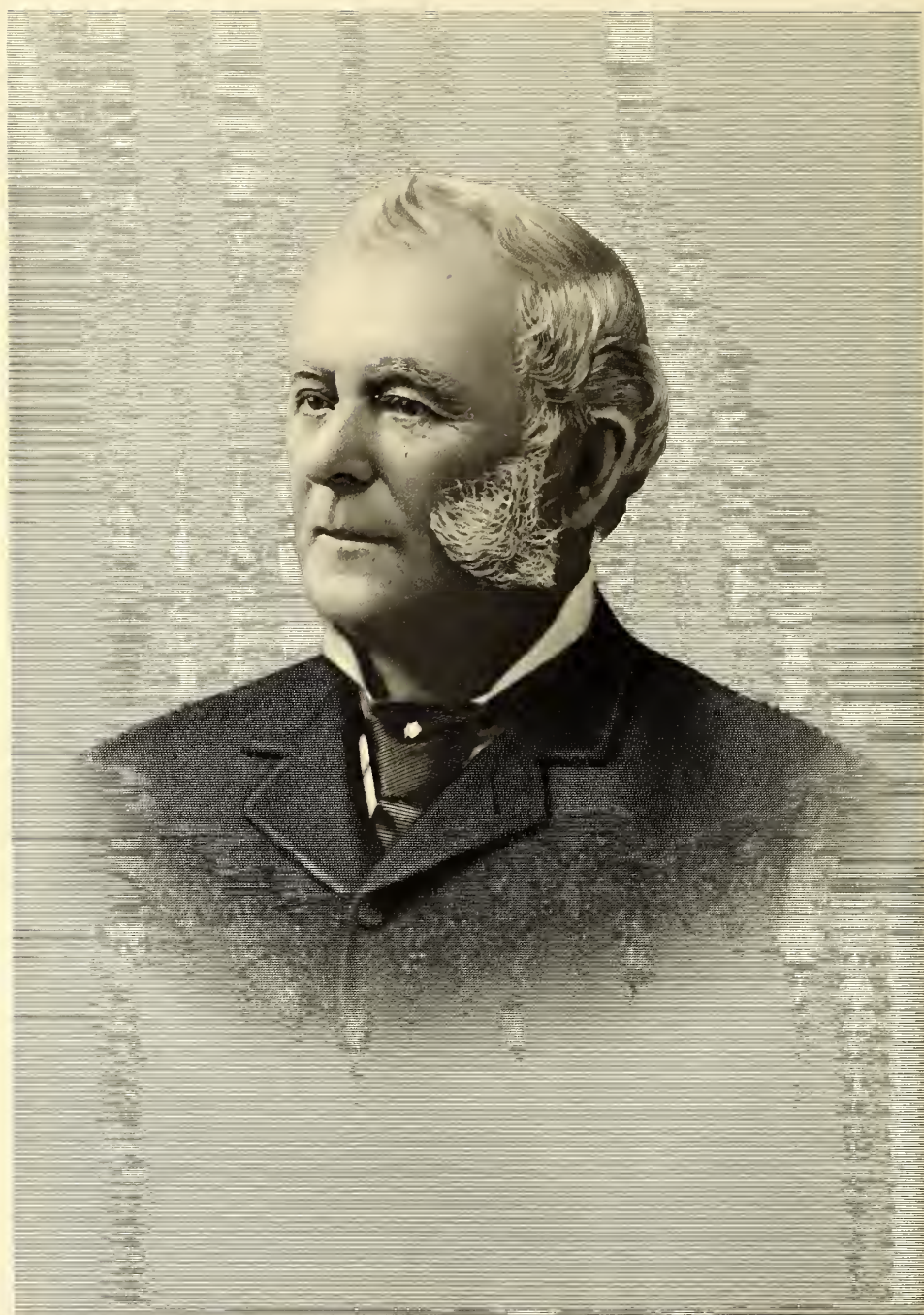
aroused considerable speculation as to the political future of this section.

Shortly after his arrival in California, Captain Cooper sold his vessel, the "Rover," to Governor Arguello, but for three years thereafter continued in command of her, making numerous voyages out of the port of Monterey to Chili, China, the Hawaiian Islands and other places in pursuit of trade. In 1826, moved by the hospitality of the Spanish families, who made him welcome, and by the advantages of climate and fertility of soil which California possessed, he resolved to make it his permanent home. Nevertheless, for a number of years he continued to follow the sea, making numerous voyages to the Mexican Coast and to the islands of the Pacific in command of the "California," a vessel belonging to the government. In 1846 he voyaged to Peru and in 1849 went again to China as a master of the "Eveline." Meanwhile, however, he gradually acquired large ranch holdings and eventually he gave up the sea to assume the place of prominence among the leading landowners of California to which his energy, integrity and talents justly entitled him. At one time Captain Cooper owned the following land grants: 50,000 acres in San Rafael; 50,000 acres in Petaluma; 50,000 acres in Sacramento; and 50,000 acres in Santa Rosa. Like others of that day, however, he lost many of his holdings through the activities of squatters who settled on his lands and because of the burden of taxation. Much still remained to him, nevertheless, and his time was taken up after he left the sea by the care of his vast estates. Captain Cooper resided in Monterey until the period of the '60's, but about 1865 he removed to San Francisco, where his long and honorable career came to an end with his death on February 9, 1872.

On August 24, 1827, in the Chapel of the Presidio of Monterey, as the ancient records show, Captain Cooper married Doña Encarnacion Vallejo, daughter of the illustrious General Don Ygnacio Vallejo and Dona Maria Anlugo, who entertained the highest respect for him and had become his warm friends. Doña Encarnacion was a sister of General Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, distinguished like his father in both civil and military life—first in the service of the Department Government of California, later in the Constitutional Convention of 1849 under which the State of California was first organized and still later in the Senate of California. While loyal to



*The Cooper House
Monterey, California*



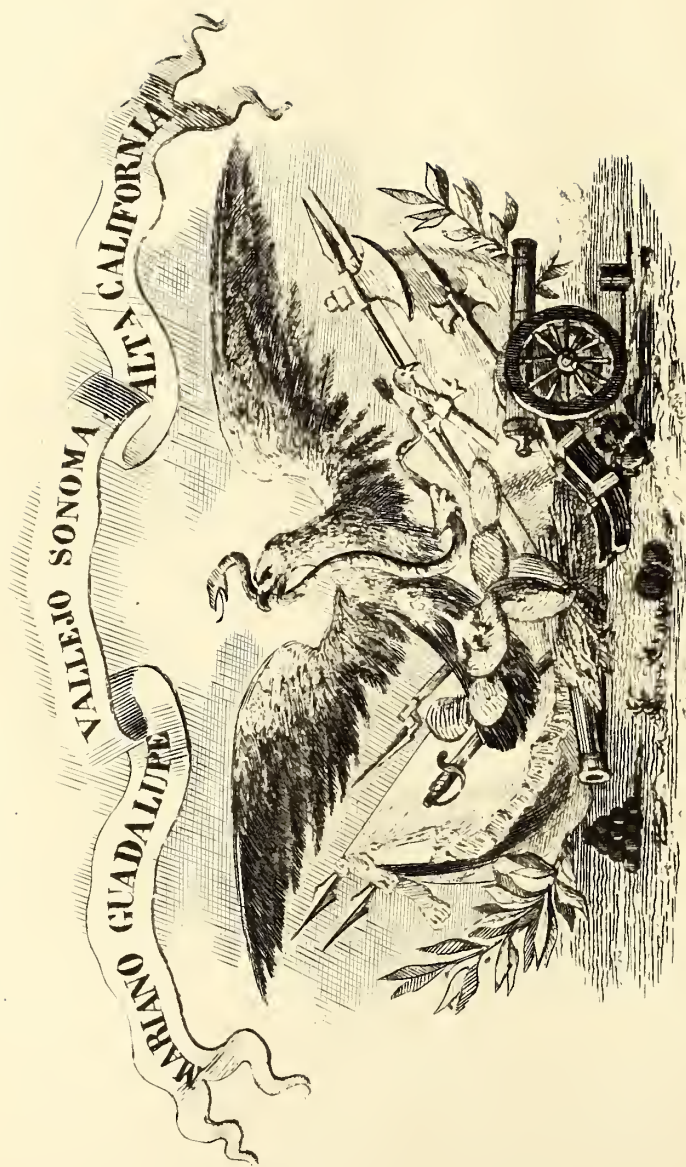
American Historical Socy

Steel Engraving by W. J. Gonn

General Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo



*The Home of General. H. G. Vallejo
Sonoma, California*



*Seal of Authority given to
General Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo
by the Mexican Government*

JOHN BAPTIST HENRY COOPER, CALIFORNIA PIONEER

the Mexican Government until the change of sovereignty, he early foresaw that the declining power of the home government could not withstand the challenge of stronger nations eager to possess California. Rather than the monarchies of Europe, he preferred an alignment with the sister republic of the United States and in due time made his influence and counsel an important factor in harmonizing the Spanish and Anglo-Saxon peoples in the new State.

Captain Cooper and his wife, Doña Encarnacion, were the parents of six children, four of whom lived to reach maturity. The second surviving child and eldest son was John Baptist Henry Cooper, whose natural vigor and hardy constitution were further strengthened by the outdoor life which he knew from childhood on his father's estate. Spanish was the mother tongue of his early years, but at the age of ten his father sent him to Honolulu, where he was placed at school to gain an English education with the missionaries whom Captain Cooper had earlier carried on his own vessel from Boston to the Pacific Islands. Here the boy remained for several years, returning in 1844 to resume his studies in the schools of Monterey. The easy mastery of both Spanish and English which he gained in early life was subsequently of great advantage to him in his contacts with the mingled cultures of these two tongues which was long particularly noticeable in Monterey County.

As he grew older, Mr. Cooper assumed increasing responsibilities in assisting his father in the care of his land, and eventually was placed in charge of the ranch of 8,884 acres where grain and stock were raised and dairying carried on upon an extensive scale. Later he succeeded to a large share of the remaining landed estates of his father, and this, together with the land which he himself acquired, made him one of the largest owners of property in all California, holding at one time some 17,000 acres. Included in his estate was the Moroco Jo Ranch, between Castroville and Salinas, a valuable property containing twelve large wells of fine water which furnished facilities for complete irrigation. Here, after the establishment of the Spreckels factory, part of the land was devoted to beet culture, which brought an excellent return. Another large estate owned by Mr. Cooper was the San Barnabas Ranch of thirteen thousand acres, near King City, whose cultivation and management he personally superintended until the time of his death.

JOHN BAPTIST HENRY COOPER, CALIFORNIA PIONEER

Mr. Cooper always recognized and welcomed the obligations of good citizenship and although entirely without ambition to advance in public life, he served as a member and president of the Board of Supervisors of Monterey County for nine years, bringing to the duties of this office the same fidelity he so conspicuously manifested in every relationship of life. He declined all further official honors, which might easily have been his, but always displayed an eager interest in the cause of civic progress and generously gave his support to innumerable worthy causes. In 1881 he removed to San Francisco, where he established one of the most beautiful homes in the city and maintained his residence until his death. Frequent visits to Monterey, however, enabled him to maintain his many contacts and pleasant associations in the county of his birth.

Mr. Cooper was a life member of the Olympic Club of San Francisco and a member of the Society of California Pioneers. He possessed social gifts of a high order, but he was happiest in his home and liked best to welcome his friends there with the warm and gracious hospitality so highly valued by those who were privileged to share it. Much of his time, even after his removal to San Francisco, was spent at his country home on his ranch, El Sur, in Monterey County.

On May 28, 1871, at Monterey, California, John Baptist Henry Cooper married Martha M. Brawley, who was born in Illinois, daughter of John Giles and Lucretia Brawley. Her father, who followed agricultural pursuits, was a first cousin of Abraham Lincoln. Mr. and Mrs. Cooper became the parents of four children: 1. Alicia F., who married Frank Orcutt, of Boston, and has one son, John. 2. John Baptist Roger, who married Juanita Johnson. They have two children, Terry Alice and Martha. 3. Abelardo Enos. 4. Alfred Guadalupe. Mrs. Cooper, who shared the many interests of her husband's life, survives him and now resides in Monterey.

John Baptist Henry Cooper died at his ranch, El Sur, in Monterey, on June 21, 1899. With his passing, one more link with California's historic past was broken, but the wide circle of his friends and acquaintances throughout the State felt, rather, a deep and lasting personal loss in the consciousness that his rare spirit had gone from among them. As a previous biographer has written:

In him the sturdy virtues of the Anglo-Saxon and the proverbial hospitality of the Spaniard were blended in happy combination, mak-



American Historical Society

Steel Engraving by M. J. Gonn.

Martha Cooper



*Residence of Martha Cooper
Monterey, California*



A. F. Gault

JOHN BAPTIST HENRY COOPER, CALIFORNIA PIONEER

ing a rounded character that commanded the respect of those who knew him either personally or by repute. His hospitality was boundless. He was never so happy as when using his wealth for the benefit and pleasure of his friends. Withal, he took a warm interest in the affairs of his native California and delighted in the development of the State, whose resources he believed to be as attractive as its climate. To the call of charity he never turned a deaf ear, and there are those still living who owe their present comfort and prosperity to kindnesses and practical aid rendered by him in years gone by, when the recipients of his bounty were in need of a helping hand and a sympathetic friend.



Governor John Webster and His Family

BY MYRTLE M. LEWIS, GLEN ROCK, NEW JERSEY

Arms—Argent, a fess gules between three cross-crosslets fitchée azure.

Crest—The sun rising out of the sea proper.

Motto—*Emergo.*

(W. H. and Rev. M. R. Webster, D. D.: "History and Genealogy of the Governor John Webster Family of Connecticut," p. 7.)



EBSTER, as a surname, is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *webbestre*, meaning a "female weaver," and thus is a surname of occupational origin. One of the earliest and probably most important Webster families of England claims descent from John Webster, of Bolsover, Derbyshire, whose ancestor is said to have come over from Flanders, *temp.* Richard II. John Webster was a resident of Bolsover in the reign of Henry IV, and his descendants were found settled in Essex, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire. John Webster was granted large estates by Henry IV in the two latter counties about 1400. Of the American families of the surname Webster, there are two important branches, that founded by the John Webster whose record is related in the following pages and who was the progenitor of Noah Webster, the lexicographer, and that founded by another John Webster, who came from Suffolk, England, settled in Massachusetts and was the progenitor of Daniel Webster.

(M. A. Lower: "Patronymica Britannica." W. R. Cutter: "Genealogical and Personal Memoirs Relating to the Families of Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1374.)

Governor John Webster, progenitor of one branch of the Webster family in America, was born in England and died in Hadley, Massachusetts, April 5, 1661.

Numerous writers state that Governor John Webster came from Warwickshire, but Charles Edward Banks, in a short article on "The English Ancestry of Governor John Webster of Connecticut," published in 1931 in the "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," disagrees with them. After some preliminary remarks Mr. Banks states that, from items gathered by him from local records in



Webster

GOVERNOR JOHN WEBSTER AND HIS FAMILY

Leicestershire (adjoining Warwickshire), John Webster was a yeoman of Cossington in Leicestershire, England. The Cossington parish register and the Leicestershire wills add confirmation to this origin, Mr. Banks says. He quotes, from "Leicester Probate," 1592, the will of Mattheue Webster of Cossington, County Leicester, husbandman, "dated 25 Aug., 1592," and also from "Leicester Probate," 1594, the will of "John Webster of Cossington," County Leicester, husbandman, "dated February 1, 1593, proved at Leicester 26 Oct., 1594." This last mentioned John Webster was the grandfather of Governor John Webster, of Hartford, Connecticut.

The Cossington parish register states that a John Webster married there, November 7, 1609, Agnes Smith, which agrees with other records stating that Governor Webster came over with his wife, Agnes.

However, from an ancient chart in possession of descendants of Noah Webster, LL. D., the following is set forth as the possible line for Governor John Webster :

The Websters settled in Yorkshire at a very early period and, according to Burke and Playfair, of Scottish descent, held the manor of Lockington, Yorkshire, in the time of Richard II (1389-99). The family apparently was founded by John Webster, of Bolsover, near Chesterfield, Derbyshire, who "in the 12th of Henry VI (1434) was returned into chancery among the gentlemen of that county who made oath in behalf of themselves and their retainers for the observance of the King's laws." One of his descendants, also named John Webster, received from Henry VIII, upon the dissolution of the monasteries, large grants in Cambridgeshire, Essex and Huntingdonshire (1509-47). From him descended, in the third generation, John Webster, who came to Watertown, near Boston, New England, from Warwickshire, England, about 1630.

John Webster came to the Massachusetts Bay Colony about 1630-1633, according to the traditional account. He removed from Newtowne, now Cambridge, Massachusetts, to Hartford, Connecticut, presumably with the Rev. Thomas Hooker, in 1636, when he is of record as one of the original proprietors. At Hartford, he settled on the south side of Little River, on what is now known as Governor Street, not far from what became the famous Charter Oak. Gov-

GOVERNOR JOHN WEBSTER AND HIS FAMILY

ernor Street was so named because of the men in that vicinity who became governors, Edward Hopkins, George Wyllys, Thomas Welles, John Webster and, as late as 1850, Thomas Seymour. The two-acre house-lot of Governor John Webster lay on the east side of Governor Street.

From the very beginning of his residence at Hartford, John Webster was a man of influence and standing in the Hartford Colony. Out of the one hundred and fifty-three original settlers of Hartford, only ten gentlemen, besides himself, were honored with the imposing prefix "Mr." His first appearance as an officer of the court was in April, 1637, when he was a member of a committee who, for the first time, sat with the court of magistrates for the purpose of declaring war against the Pequot Indians. That same year he was elected to the General Court, and he was also elected as one of the deputy commissioners in 1638. Then came his election to the court of magistrates at the first General Court held by Governor Haynes in April, 1639, and from then on, for twenty successive years, Mr. Webster was annually chosen for the magistracy of Connecticut, serving as magistrate from 1639 to 1655 and a chief judge or magistrate from 1657 to 1659. During the two intervening years, 1655 and 1656, he held even higher offices, serving as Deputy Governor and Governor, respectively.

However, this long service in judicial office was by no means the only form in which John Webster participated in public affairs. He was frequently called upon to use his talents in behalf of the Colony in other official capacities. Thus, in 1640, together with Mr. Ludlow and Governor Welles, he was appointed to consult with friends in New Haven regarding Indian murders which had been committed, to learn whether a decree of war would be approved. With William Phelps he was appointed to formulate a law against lying or perjury. He was also a member of a committee, with William Phelps, to frame a code of criminal laws for the Colony, which was approved by the General Court in 1642. In 1654, John Webster was appointed, with Major-General Mason, a member of the Congress of the United Colonies at Albany, New York. When it was determined to provide a frigate of ten or twelve guns to defend the coast of Long Island against the Dutch and Ninigrate, Mr. Webster was one of the com-

GOVERNOR JOHN WEBSTER AND HIS FAMILY

mittee "to treat with the owners of the frigate and agree with them for the use of the same." He surveyed the highway from Hartford to Windsor and "overlooked its amendment." He was one of the committee which purchased and disposed of Simsbury.

Eventually came his election to the office of Governor. That office, in that period, had some peculiarities not connected with it now. The Governor not only had to be a freeman, but was also required to have been previously a magistrate and always a member of some "appointed congregation." His election by ballot was by the greatest number of votes cast by all who had been admitted freemen, had taken the oath of fidelity and were of that jurisdiction. The vote was taken on the second Thursday in April of each year at a convention held for the purpose in Hartford.

In the great contest about church government Governor Webster took sides with the Rev. Mr. Russell, of Wethersfield, and, being one of the disaffected members, he removed in 1659 up the river to found Hadley, Massachusetts. He was chosen magistrate of Hadley in May, 1660.

In the Hadley records, John Webster's name appears first on the list of settlers from Hartford. The agreement to remove to Hadley is dated at Hartford, April 18, 1659, and signed by fifty-nine persons belonging to Hartford and Wethersfield, including one or two from Windsor. The tract of land which the settlers purchased was upon the Connecticut River on the east, covering what is now included in the present towns of Hadley, Amherst, South Hadley and Granby, and, on the west side, Hatfield and a part of Williamsburg. During the work of laying out roads and other details of settlement John Webster made his temporary home at Northampton, where he was taken sick and made his will, dated June 25, 1659. It was witnessed by John Russell, Jr., the minister at Hadley, and Eleazer Mather, the minister at Northampton.

Mr. Webster, however, recovered and lived nearly two years more, dying April 5, 1661, at Hadley, Massachusetts, where he was buried according to instructions in his will. "Under circumstances without record now extant, the Puritan and Pilgrim of two hemispheres, the faithful judge, the Deputy Governor and Governor of an incipient American State, the public-spirited citizen and public servant,

GOVERNOR JOHN WEBSTER AND HIS FAMILY

in old age an exile for conscience sake from the infant city which he helped to found, in a new home, but surrounded by neighbors who had suffered with him, he closed his labors and sleeps with the pioneers who with him blazed the path of the empire in the New World."

His most eminent descendant, Noah Webster, LL. D., one of the chief lexicographers of the English language, erected in the old Hadley Cemetery in 1808 a modest slab upon or near the spot where Governor Webster was buried, bearing the following inscription:

To the memory of John Webster, Esq., one of the first settlers of Hartford in Connecticut, who was many years a Magistrate or Assistant, and afterwards Deputy Gov. and Governor of that Colony, and in 1659 with three sons Robert, William and Thomas, associated with others in the purchase and settlement of Hadley where he died in 1661, this monument is erected in 1818 by his descendant Noah Webster of Amherst.

On the two hundredth anniversary, in 1836, of the settlement of Hartford, its citizens erected a monument in memory and honor of its founders. This monument stands in the cemetery at the rear of the First Church. Fifth from the top, among the names of Governors inscribed, is that of John Webster, the fifth Colonial Governor.

Governor John Webster's will is to be found on pages 20 and 21 of the "Northampton, Massachusetts, Probate Records." It mentions wife Agnes; sons Matthew, William, Thomas and Robert; daughters Marsh, Markham, and Mary, wife of William Holton; grandchildren Jonathan and Mary Hunt; and other grandchildren to whom are bequeathed ten shillings apiece.

Governor John Webster married in England, Agnes (perhaps Smith). She came to this country with her husband, as did also several of their children. On this point James Savage, the genealogist, says: "He brought from England his wife Agnes and children Matthew, Robert, Ann, Elizabeth and Mary. Perhaps also Thomas and William, though one or both of the latter may have been from this side of the ocean. All of these lived to marry and all left issue except William and Elizabeth." Governor John Webster's widow survived him six years and died, probably, at Hartford, in 1667.

There is disagreement among good authorities concerning the correct order of birth for Governor John Webster's children. This

GOVERNOR JOHN WEBSTER AND HIS FAMILY

article tries to follow the most probable conclusions, but the order still remains conjectural.

Children of Governor John and Agnes Webster: 1. Matthew, baptized at Cossington, Leicestershire, England, February 11, 1609-1610, died July 16, 1675. His will is dated February 26, 1673-74. He was made a freeman at Hartford, Connecticut, April 10, 1645, and was in Farmington as early as 1650. In 1660 he gave a deed to his father, Governor John Webster, in which Matthew Webster agrees to bind one certain tract of land in Farmington for the maintenance of his son for the whole lifetime of said John. His daughter, with Joseph Easton, of Hartford, was to have £6 a year for the rest of the land for a year or two longer. Governor John was instructed to make disposition of the property "for the good of my son, after his, my said father's decease." On January 1, 1671, Matthew Webster made an agreement with William Judd and John Woodruff for the care of himself and his son John in consideration of which Matthew Webster gave fifty acres of land "in ye great meadow." Matthew Webster married, but the name of his wife is not known. She died February 11, 1656. Children: i. John. ii. A daughter. 2. William, of Hadley, Massachusetts, was born about 1617. His estate was administered upon April 27, 1688, and the inventory was filed June 3, 1698, showing £9, 16s. 5d. He was made freeman May 11, 1670, and with his brother Thomas located early in Massachusetts. William Webster married, February 17, 1670, Mary Reeve, a daughter of Thomas Reeve, of Springfield, Massachusetts. She was tried for witchcraft, but was acquitted at a county court, held March 31, 1685, at Northampton, Hampshire County, Massachusetts. 3. Lieutenant Robert, of Middletown, Connecticut, said to have been born in 1627, died about May 31, 1676, and was buried June 2, 1676. His will is dated May 20, 1676, and his estate was valued at £670. He was a man of ability and served his community in various ways. He settled in Middletown, Connecticut, and was chosen recorder, when the town was organized in September, 1651. He represented Middletown at the General Court from September, 1653, to May, 1655; from May to October, 1656; in October, 1657; and in October, 1658, at which time he returned to Hartford. He was "confirmed as a Leiftenant in Middletown in 1654." October 3, 1654, at a General Court in Hartford, he was among the Deputies and one of the committee for Mid-

GOVERNOR JOHN WEBSTER AND HIS FAMILY

dletown to press men and necessities for the Narragansett Expedition. He served as a juror in 1662-63. On February 12, 1669, he was one of fifteen members of the Second Church of Hartford. In 1675 he was appointed a member of the committee of safety. Savage says he was "on service in the war of 1675," and record of payment to him reads: "To Robert Webster of Hartford, 2 pounds, 13 shillings and 6 pence." Lieutenant Robert Webster married, in 1652, Susannah Treat, said by two writers to have been the daughter of Richard and Alice (Gaylord) Treat, who were married in England, April 27, 1615. She died in 1705. She made a will seven years before her death. The inventory of her estate was dated November 19, 1705, and the estate was valued at £32, 3s. 3d. Children, first four born at Middletown, other seven at Hartford: i. John. ii. Sarah. iii. Jonathan. iv. Susannah. v. Samuel. vi. Robert. vii. Joseph. viii. Benjamin. ix. William. x. Mary. xi. Elizabeth. 4. Thomas, of Northampton, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, where he died after February 8, 1679. In the "Northampton Probate Records" is an inventory of the estate of Thomas Webster, of Northfield, filed October 20, 1686. He settled early in Massachusetts, but was evidently in Hartford for a time. On October 28, 1651, he sold land at Farmington to Captain John Stanley and again sold land there in 1655 and 1656. In 1670 he was of Northampton. He took refuge from the Indians, remaining for a time in Hadley, and February 8, 1679, swore allegiance there. Thomas Webster married, June 16, 1663, Abigail Alexander, who died before 1690, daughter of George Alexander, of Northampton. The Indian desolation of 1690 rendered Thomas Webster's Northfield property valueless for more than twenty years, and his large family of children were brought up among relatives, locating in Lebanon, Connecticut, where they became first settlers. 5. Anne or Ann, baptized in England, July 29, 1621, died at Northampton, Massachusetts, June 9, 1662. She married, about 1642, at Hartford, Connecticut, John Marsh, of Hadley, Massachusetts, who was born in April, 1618, in England, and died at Windsor, Connecticut, September 28, 1688, son of John and Grace (Baldwin) Marsh. He settled in Hartford, in 1636, as one of the original proprietors. He served as magistrate, Deputy Governor and Governor. With others, he separated from the First Church, Hartford, in 1659, removed to Hadley, Massachusetts, and was later of North-

GOVERNOR JOHN WEBSTER AND HIS FAMILY

ampton, Massachusetts. John Marsh married (second), October 7, 1664, Hepzibah (Ford) Lyman, widow of Richard Lyman, of Northampton, and daughter of Thomas Ford, of Windsor, Connecticut. Children of first marriage: i. John. ii. Joseph, died young. iii. Joseph (again). iv. Samuel. v. Jonathan. vi. Daniel. vii. Hannah. viii. Grace. Children of second marriage: ix. Lydia. x. Sarah. 6. Elizabeth, married, about 1658, as his second wife, William Markham, of Hadley, Massachusetts, member of the First Church of Hartford, who withdrew, with others, to found the Hadley Colony. They had no children. 7. Faith, baptized July 29, 1627. 8. Mary, married, in England, John Hunt, of Sudburrowe Thrapstone, Northamptonshire, England, where their son, Jonathan, was born in 1637, and where their daughter, Mary, may have been born. Mary (Webster) Hunt probably died before 1659, since she is not mentioned in her father's will of 1659, though both of her children are mentioned. By some authorities she is thought to have been the eldest daughter of Governor John Webster and, perhaps, the eldest child.

("New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. LXII, pp. 232-34. J. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IV, pp. 448-49. W. H. Webster and Rev. M. R. Webster, D. D.: "History and Genealogy of the Governor John Webster Family of Connecticut," pp. 1, 5, 6, 7, 8-9, 10, 13-14, 15-17, 19, 21, 22, 23-26, 29-30, 31. D. W. Marsh: "Marsh Genealogy, Descendants of John Marsh of Hartford, Connecticut," pp. 13-14. "Farmington, Connecticut, Deeds," Vol. II, p. 101. Deeds in the office of the Secretary of State, Hartford, Connecticut.)



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICA, published quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for April 1, 1935
State of New York, }
County of New York, } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared M. L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of March, 1935.

(Seal.)

ROSE HALPIN,
Notary Public, New York County,
Clerk's No. 432, Register's No. 6H552,
(Commission Expires March 30, 1936.)



